

Volume I

# FROM BACTRIA TO TAPROBANE

*Selected Works of Osmund Bopearachchi*

Volume I

CENTRAL ASIAN AND INDIAN NUMISMATICS



CENTRAL ASIAN AND INDIAN NUMISMATICS

OSMUND BOPEARACHCHI



MANOHAR

# FROM BACTRIA TO TAPROBANE



# From Bactria to Taprobane

*Selected Works of Osmund Bopearachchi*

VOLUME I

Central Asian and Indian Numismatics

OSMUND BOPEARACHCHI



MANOHAR

2015



First published 2015

© Osmund Bopearachchi, 2015

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without prior permission of the author and the publisher.

ISBN 978-93-5098-068-2 (Set)  
ISBN 978-93-5098-069-9 (Vol. I)

*Published by*  
Ajay Kumar Jain *for*  
Manohar Publishers & Distributors  
4753/23 Ansari Road, Daryaganj  
New Delhi 110 002

*Typeset at*  
Digigrafics  
New Delhi 110 049

*Printed at*  
Salasar Imaging Systems  
Delhi 110 035

*To Paul Bernard  
and to the loving memory of  
George Le Rider and Raoul Curiel*



# Contents

<i>Prelude</i>	ix
<i>Preface</i>	xi

## PRE-BACTRIAN NUMISMATICS

1. Sophytes, the Enigmatic Ruler of Central Asia	3
2. The Seleucid Coins of Central Asia and the Bactra Mint	17
3. Two Unreported Coins from the Second Mir Zakah Deposit	38
4. The Monetary Policy of Bactria under the Seleucids	42
5. 'Greek Realms in Afghanistan: New Data'	60
6. The First Local Monetary Issues of North-West India: New Data	82

## BACTRIAN AND INDO-GREEK NUMISMATICS

7. Overstruck Indo-Greek Coins	95
8. The Evidence of the Overstrikes for the Reconstruction of the History of the Indo-Greeks	125
9. Graeco-Bactrian Issues of Later Indo-Greek Kings	159
10. Menander Soter, an Indo-Greek King: Chronological and Geographical Observations	168
11. The Euthydemus' Imitations and the Date of Sogdian Independence	235
12. On the So-Called Earliest Representation of Gaṇeśa	256
13. Indian Brahman on a Coin of Indo-Greek Telephus	283
14. Bactrian and Indo-Greek Coins	293
15. Coin Production and Circulation in Central Asia and North-West India (before and after Alexander's Conquest)	300
16. Recent Coin Hoard Evidence on Pre-Kushana Chronology	387
17. Some Interesting Coins from the Pandayale Hoard	439
18. Two More Unique Coins from the Second Mir Zakah Deposit	445

19. 'Thundering Zeus Revisited'	448
20. Diomedes Overstruck by Agathocleia	454
21. To Err is Human	458
22. Three Interesting Indo-Greek Coins	460
23. Over-struck and Double-struck	463
24. Two Rare Pre-Kushan Coins	465
25. Was Indo-Greek Artemidoros the Son of Indo-Scythian Maues? Amluk Dara Hoard Revisited	471
26. A Note on Some Interesting Indo-Greek Coins	486
27. The Emergence of the Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek Kingdoms	491
28. Two Exceptional Indo-Greek Numismatic Documents	502

#### INDO-SCYTHIAN, INDO-PARTHIAN AND KUSHAN NUMISMATICS

29. A Gold Coin of the Indo-Parthian Ruler Abdagases II	509
30. Našten, a Hitherto Unknown Iranian Ruler in India	520
31. Indo-Parthians	528
32. A New Gold Coin of Abdagases II	549
33. The Numismatic Data and the Dating of the Begram Bazaar	558
34. Sabedana or Sarpadana	581
35. Some Observations on the Chronology of the Early Kushans	583
36. Begram Stûpa Deposit: Further Study on the Origin of Kushan Gold	600

#### CULTURAL HERITAGE OF AFGHNAISTAN

37. Vandalized Afghanistan: The Destruction of Afghanistan's Cultural Treasures during the Period of the Civil War in Looting and Illegal Excavations has Caused a Huge Loss of Human Heritage	615
38. Preserving Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage: What is to be Done?	625
39. A Joy and a Curse	636
<i>Index</i>	689

## Prelude

That I would be called upon one day to write a Prelude to this monumental two-volume collection of Professor Osmund Bopearachchi's essays was beyond my imagination till recently. Having been offered this opportunity some days back I am both delighted and proud. Even before I had an opportunity to personally meet Professor Bopearachchi in his stronghold, the ever-covetable city of Paris, I was familiar with many of his writings, and I was, needless to say, looking forward to our first meeting at that venerable institute of learning, Ecole Normale Supérieure. What impressed me most about that first meeting was that unassuming Osmund turned out to be as meticulous a host as he is a scholar, and this is an impression which has continued to receive additional confirmation over the years of our friendship and academic exchanges. What struck me as somewhat puzzling at the early phase of my acquaintance with Osmund's writings was that despite his Srilankan origin, he was writing essentially on material from Central Asia, Afghanistan, Frontier regions of Pakistan and India with an ease which suggested mastery over various technical aspects of the material such as language, script, the precise archaeological context of the material and other types of expertise, all of which are a prerequisite for the area he was writing on. It was only later that I came to learn that Osmund had had his preliminary training in Greek and Latin in Sri Lanka; this must have provided the base for his extremely fruitful apprenticeship with Dr. Paul Bernard, the celebrated excavator of the Bactrian city of Ai-Khanum in north Afghanistan. Over the years, sustained fieldwork in Pakistan, India and Sri Lanka, combined with his relentless search for material in various collections, private and public, gave Osmund an unmatched familiarity with varieties of archaeological artefacts of early historical South Asia and beyond. It also provoked him to write at a furious pace on varieties of this material. Articles on particular objects of interest for concerned research journals were being written alongside specialized monographs, synthesizing and collating material of the same or related series. Many scholars in India have attempted similar collations, but mainly using whatever is already published, and to me what lends far greater authenticity to Osmund's work is the degree of intimacy he has been able to cultivate with his material over the years, which puts his work beyond simply technical. It is this quality of intimacy gained over the years which has also meant that Osmund could not have been a mute witness to the destructive way in which politics has been changing in relation to Archaeology in particular and processes of learning in general, over the many years of his work in several countries. His immediate agony and apprehensions about Archaeology's future in a world increasingly becoming intolerant toward 'other' cultures are all the more acute because of the closeness of his association

with vandalized sites and comprehensively looted artefacts. Although Osmund's early publications were mostly on Numismatics material and themes, they expectedly led to his interest in related material on art history and the history of maritime activities. The much-traversed fields of Gandhāran Buddhist art or of South Asia's 'Silk Route' contacts, instead of being alien specializations, are by nature the contiguous frontiers to which his earlier studies have led him. The positive results of these excursions have been new archaeological projects, yielding fresh material, experimentation with new archaeological questions and techniques, and, obviously, publications with fresh insights. I am happy that Osmund and his publisher have together hit upon the idea of bringing out a collection of his articles in two volumes. I am all for this trend of publishing sets of anthologies. It not only saves the interested reader a lot of physical labour; it may also lead him on to a field which he/she may not have read on before. Written over a period of almost quarter of a century (1990 to 2013), the fifty-seven articles being put together are not easily accessible even in this age of e-learning. They are all products of a kind of scholarship which has come to be rarely imparted, at least in South Asian educational Institutions, even though they may be teaching South Asian early history and archaeology. Our dependence on scholars like Osmund and those like him is therefore all the greater today than before. Covering a vast terrain, in terms of both subject matter and spatial spread, the essays in the collection begin with pre-Bactrian Central Asian coinage and end with the history and archaeology of maritime contacts in the regions of Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka, the wide coverage suggesting at the end of the reader's long journey the nature of possible interconnectedness even in the early historical period. I very much appreciate the title chosen for the collection: *From Bactria to Taprobane*. It immediately evokes, in my mind, the image of an ancient 'Silk Route' adventurer of the early centuries of the common era, perhaps someone like the mysterious anonymous author of *The Periplus*, to whose curiosity all distances were alluring. In a sense, an archaeologist too, alone or in company, is an adventurer into the unknown. While welcoming the publication of this massive and useful collection, I wish its author many more years of such fruitful adventure.

B.D. CHATTOPADHYAYA

Former Professor of History,  
Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi

## Preface

The suggestion to publish my selected works was made by my good friend Prof. Tansen Sen, then Head and Visiting Senior Research Fellow at the Nalanda Sriwijaya Centre in Singapore. If it were not for his enthusiasm and for the unfailing cooperation of Mr. Ramesh Jain of Manohar Publishers & Distributors, this project would never have become a reality. I am also most grateful to my dear friend Prof. B.D. Chattopadhyaya, an eminent scholar of early Indian history who has inspired me immensely in my research in numismatics and historiography, for writing the 'Prelude' to these two volumes.

I wish to express my sincere thanks to Ms Katharine Wallerstein and very particularly to Dr. Alexandros Tzamalīs for translating some selected articles from French into English, a project financed by the Margot and Tom Pritzker Family Foundation, to whom I express my profound gratitude. Special thanks for their unfailing help and encouragement to Prof. Robert H. Sharf, D.H. Chen Distinguished Professor of Buddhist Studies, and Dr. Sanjyot Mehendale, Chair and Vice Chair, respectively, of the Center for Buddhist Studies at the University of California, Berkeley.

Finally, I would like to express my appreciation to all the editors of the respective journals and proceedings of the colloquia who have generously given us permission to publish the articles selected for these two volumes.

*From Bactria to Taprobane* is divided into two major volumes, the first on 'Central Asian and Indian Numismatics' and the second on 'Art History and Maritime Trade'. The first volume is grouped into four sections: 'Pre-Bactrian Numismatics' (chapters 1-6); 'Bactrian and Indo-Greek Numismatics' (chapters 8-28); 'Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and Kushan Numismatics' (chapters 29-36); and 'Cultural Heritage of Afghanistan' (chapters 37-39). This choice was made deliberately to isolate the Central Asian and Indian numismatic studies which constitute the main corpus of my studies. Within the thematic sections the articles are arranged in a chronological sequence.

I have to confess that these studies cannot be fully understood without prior knowledge of the major books that I have published in between and, for this reason, I have given the complete bibliography of my publications at the end of this volume.

My formation as a numismatist I owe to my dear esteemed teachers. During the last thirty-four years, Professor Paul Bernard has been my guide, both as a teacher and critical adviser. None of my major publications reached the printer without his prior approval. Professor George Le Rider and Mr. Raoul Curiel who are no longer with us today, shared their vast knowledge with me and served as great examples of the kind of rigour of thought and critical spirit



that must be applied to the study of historical documents. It is with immense pleasure that I dedicate this volume to Paul Bernard and to the loving memory of George Le Rider and Raoul Curiel.

This volume narrates the story of my life as a numismatist. The reconstruction of the history of the Greeks in Bactria and India and their nomadic successors (Scythians, Parthians, and Kushans) depends mainly on coins as ancient texts dealing with the early history of these kingdoms are rare, only a few short passages from Greek and Latin authors, and some Indian and Chinese texts. It is thanks to the coins that we know about the existence of forty-five Greek kings who ruled in Bactria and India, when the written sources mention only seven. The coins are crucial in understanding the role of these kings: their stylistic features suggest broad chronological periods; overstrikes of one king on the coins of another indicate the succession of reigns; and minting techniques, metrology, iconography, and monograms associated with find spots aid the evaluation of the geographical localization of different kingdoms. When I finished my Ph.D. thesis under the supervision of Paul Bernard, the number of Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins, including all the published ones and the unpublished specimens conserved in public and private collections that I was able to examine were limited to approximately thirty thousand. This picture drastically changed in 1992, just one year after my first major publication *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques, Catalogue raisonné* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1991). As a result of accidental finds and illegal excavations which followed the political instability in Afghanistan, a large number of hoards, some colossal, of Graeco-Bactrian, Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and Kushan coins were discovered in Central Asia and Pakistan.

Apart from coin hoards, inscriptions surfaced during the last twenty years have provided new insights into the economic activities, modes of production, and artistic tastes of these regions, as have the discovery of thousands of artefacts, sculptures, and ceramics.

As for the expansion of the Scythians and Yuezhi in Sogdiana, we rely mostly on their material culture, since Scythians did not start minting coins until they settled in the North-West Frontier. Their *kurgans* (funerary mounds) punctuate the long march toward India. Discoveries of their artefacts at Pasirik in the Altai, Orlat, Khalchayan in Sogdiana, and Tilla Tepe and, more recently, in Jelalabad, Mes Aynak and Vardak in Afghanistan are of great importance in understanding the customs and warfare of the Scythians and Yuezhi.

The discovery of an unprecedented number of inscriptions in Greek, Bactrian, and Gandhāri enables us to tackle fundamental questions regarding the relative chronology of the Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, and Kushans who reigned in Central Asia and India.

These are the new discoveries of thousands of coins that I have attempted to record and analyse to the best of my ability. When reading my publications, one is actually aware of how often I have changed my own opinion regarding the chronology and geographical attribution of certain rulers.

In the course of my research I realized that the history of Greeks and their successors in central Asia and India, can no longer be written solely on the basis of numismatics. Coins are no doubt essential in this exercise as a primary source of information, but other forms of human activity such as architecture, sculpture, epigraphy, ceramics and artefacts cannot be neglected any more. A general vision of their history cannot be obtained simply by reshuffling the chronological order of these kings every time we come across a new overstrike or a new monogram, by attempting to establish a genealogy without literary evidence, or by conveniently assessing royal marriage alliances. Given the now ocean of data, the primary task of a good historian has become more and more complex.

All good historians since the time of Theodore Bayer have attempted to propose a reliable account of the history of the Greeks and their successors in Bactria and India. Today we have four tons of coins at our disposal. . . Without the immense contributions of our scholarly predecessors we would not have reached today's level of scholarship. I am sure the next generation of historians will feel the same when they review our contributions. We may never know the absolute truth about the history of these enigmatic rulers, yet what is important is to come as close to it as possible. This is what I have attempted to demonstrate in my publications, based on my own investigations and the contributions of eminent archaeologists, historians, numismatists, epigraphists and art historians of Central Asia and India. The latest developments of these researches will be surmised in my forthcoming book: *Indo-Greek Kingdoms Revisited*.

CNRS-ENS, Paris

OSMUND BOPEARACHCHI

---

## Pre-Bactrian Numismatics

---



## Sophytes, the Enigmatic Ruler of Central Asia\*

Sophytes, known to us through a good number of coins bearing his name in the genitive form: ‘ΣΩΦΥΤΟΥ’, is one of the most enigmatic rulers of Central Asian history. The geographical situation of his kingdom, the definition of his chronology and the origin of his name has caused much ink to flow since the publication of his first known coin by Alexander Cunningham in 1866. These coins, because of their excellent workmanship and the unusual name, have aroused much curiosity among the numismatists and historians of Central Asia and India.

The discovery of two interesting coins, each representing an unreported denomination for the series, made us examine the question of Sophytes afresh. The first is a tetradrachm of Attic standard now in the collection of Professor Ikuo Hirayama (Kamakura, Japan). The second is a didrachm of local standard now in the Alpha Credit Bank Numismatic Collection (Athens, Greece).<sup>1</sup>

1. Silver tetradrachm of Attic standard (17.20 g). Collection of I. Hirayama (Kamakura) (Plate 1, no. 1).  
*Obv.*: In a beaded circle, head to r., wearing an Athenian helmet with a laurel wreath, and the cheek-piece with a bird’s wing.  
*Rev.*: Cock standing to r., wings closed. ΣΩΦΥΤΟΥ. In the field to the left caduceus.
2. Silver didrachm of local standard (7.4 g). Alpha Credit Bank Numismatic Collection (Athens), no. 7461. Both obverse and reverse types are similar to the previous coin (Plate 1, no. 2).

We do not pretend to have found solutions to all the problems concerning Sophytes, yet thanks to new discoveries we are now in a position to propose solid arguments to solve the questions of his chronology and the limits of his kingdom. Before coming directly to these questions, let us digress for a while to make a few observations regarding the evolution and the present state of the problem.

\*Reprinted from *Nomismatika Chronika*, no. 15, 1996, pp. 19-32.

<sup>1</sup>We are grateful to Ikuo Hirayama and Anastasios P. Tzamalīs, Curator of the Alpha Credit Bank Numismatic Collection, for authorizing us to publish these two unique coins. We owe special thanks to A.P. Tzamalīs for encouraging us to re-examine the question in the light of these new discoveries. We would also like to thank Carmen Arnold-Biucchi, Curator of Greek Coins of the American Numismatic Society, for authorizing us to illustrate some of the coins in her coin cabinet.

As we shall see subsequently, the historians and numismatists who took up the question of the date of issue of these coins have put forward three hypotheses:

- A. For some, they were struck by Greek settlers in Bactria, under the Achaemenid empire, immediately before the expedition of Alexander to this area.
- B. For others these coins were either issued during the time of Alexander's conquest of India or at the time of Seleucus I's invasion of India c. 306-305 BC.
- C. A. Cunningham (1866: 221-2) in publishing the first specimen has well observed that 'the name of Sophytes is not Greek . . .'. He is responsible for identifying Sophytes as the Indian Prince Sopeithes, the contemporary of Alexander the Great according to written sources. The date assigned by Alexander Cunningham to the reign of Sophytes is 316-306 BC when Seleucus assumed the royal title.

Percy Gardner (1886: xix) twenty years later declared:

The coins of Sophytes . . . are the more interesting because their date and place of issue can be approximately fixed. We learn from several of the historians of Alexander's reign that Sopeithes, or Sophytes, ruled a district on the banks of the Acesines at the time of Alexander's invasion, and was confirmed by the latter in the possession of it.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless Gardner correctly observes:

But Sophytes' coins are copied from the issues, not of Alexander, but of Seleucus. It would appear from them that Sophytes renewed with Seleucus, very probably on the occasion of that king's eastern expedition against Sandracottus, the friendship which he had established with Alexander.

A. von Sallet (1879: 285), following both Cunningham and Gardner qualifies Sophytes as 'Indischer Fürst im Indusland Vasall Alexanders d. Gr. (und Seleucus' I); Prägung nach 306 v. Chr.' Though Gardner did not explain why he considered Sophytes a contemporary of Seleucus I, von Sallet put forward a solid argument to justify the date of 306 BC by making the analogy between the obverse type of Sophytes *Unbärtiger behelmter Kopf des Fürsten r. mit Kranz* and the helmeted head of Seleucus I.<sup>3</sup> E.J. Rapson (1904: 323-4) curiously contests von Sallet's hypothesis and assumes: 'It seems probable, moreover, that the coins of Sophytes are older than those of Seleucus; that is to say, they would seem to belong to the time of Alexander's Indian expedition (326 BC) rather than the time of the Indian expedition of Seleucus against Chandragupta (306 BC).' How Rapson, like many of his predecessors, was haunted by the

<sup>2</sup>This is the famous episode narrated by Strabo, Diodorus and Arrian. For example, Strabo (15.I.30) writes: 'Some put both Cathaea and the country of Sopeithes, one of the provincial chiefs.'

<sup>3</sup>A. von Sallet refers to the series of coins struck by Seleucus I (cf. our plate 1, no. 15) that will be discussed towards the end of this article.

spectre of Sopeithes in the Punjab at the time of Alexander's invasion can be felt when he goes on to speculate: 'As his sporting propensities were strong, it is possible that the cock on his coins may be a fighting cock. That sport was certainly popular in Ancient India.'<sup>4</sup> V.A. Smith (1906: 3) who had a sound knowledge of Indian numismatics, disturbed by the fact that coins of Sophytes have no place in the evolution of Indian coinage on the one hand and on the other, still too worried not to consider Sophytes as a contemporary of Alexander the Great, makes the following remark: 'The coins of Sophytes, form a class by themselves, and are not connected with the subsequent development of coinage in India'. He then argues on p. 7, n. 1, against his own point of view: 'These coins, apparently copied from an issue of Seleukos Nikator, evidently were struck when he invaded India in 305 BC and Sophytes presumably submitted to him'. Obviously Smith could not leave the question in abeyance, so he then tries to salvage the credibility of his opinion by speculating: 'The portrait of Sophytes is that of an elderly man. He must have been young when he met Alexander in 326 BC, according to Plutarch. Probably Seleukos was not allowed to advance far beyond the Hydaspes (Jihlam), which formed the eastern boundary of the dominions of Sophytes.' G. Macdonald (1922: 347-8) adheres to Cunningham's initial hypothesis and admits that: 'Sophytes (Saubhuti) has been by universal consent identified with the Sopeithes of Arrian (VI, 2, 2) and Strabo (XV, 699).'<sup>5</sup> If the view is right, then the coin may be regarded as a very direct memorial Greek reference in India.'

The same ambiguity can be seen in the early writings of R.B. Whitehead. In 1914 (1914: 9) he considered Sophytes a satrap in the Punjab about the time of Alexander. In 1943 Whitehead modified his position first by admitting 'I have never believed that these coins were struck in India; I hold that they should be attributed to the locality suggested by their style, the Oxus region'. After more than three-quarters of a century, Whitehead (1943: 72) had the boldness to contest Cunningham's hypothesis: 'The Sopeithes of Arrian is not the Sophytes of the coins. The literary tradition of Sopeithes and all that can be legitimately deduced from it hold good, but there is no connexion with the ruler who issued coins.' As we shall see later, we completely agree with Whitehead firstly in isolating the Sophytes of the coins from the Sopeithes of Arrian and Strabo and secondly in considering Sophytes a ruler or prince of the Oxus region. But we disagree with him (1943: 72) that these issues should be dated as early as 320 BC, and we shall come to that point later.

However A.K. Narain (1957: 1-5), ignoring all the arguments developed by his predecessors, made a *volte-face* by asserting; 'Sophytes may well have been an eastern satrap under Achaemenid rule, a Greek with the semblance of an Iranian name'. In order to arrive at this conclusion he makes a long detour

<sup>4</sup> Rapson, 1914: 152-3.

<sup>5</sup> Regarding the hypothesis according to which Sopeithes, whose name in its Greek form is supposed to represent the Sanskrit Saubhuti, see the commentary by P. Bernard, 1985: 25 and addenda on 160.

by giving enormous importance to the story narrated by Quintus Curtius (VII, 5, 28) about the Branchidae:

The Branchidae claimed to be sacred gens, descended from Branchos, the mythical founder of the temple of Apollo near Miletus in Ionia. Their forefathers had yielded up the treasure of their temple to Xerxes; this affair brought so much odium on them that they retired with Xerxes into the interior of Asia. Xerxes transported them to a small town in Sogdiana which may have been between Balk and Samarcand, where their descendants were found by Alexander. They were now a bilingual and partially de-hellenized race, but still attached to their tradition and origin.

Narain then goes on to narrates his part of the story:

It is possible that these people played an adventurous part in the confused drama of the last days of the tottering Achaemenid empire, and that here and there satraps or peoples started minting their own coinage. At least one name, that of Sophytes, is left to posterity. This ruler, whose name does not seem to be Greek, minted coins without any royal title, with his portrait on the obverse; this might be that of a Greek; the features are not those of an Indian.

Regrettably, with the new chronology proposed by A.K. Narain (1957), the framework set out by P. Gardner and A. von Sallet, later developed by R.B. Whitehead, faded into obscurity for another quarter of century, until P. Bernard (1985: 20-8) examined afresh the question of the coins of Sophytes and other related coinages in the light of new discoveries made in the excavations conducted by the French Archaeological delegation in Afghanistan under his direction. P. Bernard (1985: 24, 123-5) should be credited with showing that Branchidae mentioned by the Latin historian were


... une petite communauté de réfugiés politiques se maintenant tant bien que mal dans un pays étranger, coupée depuis longtemps de ses racines et dans une large mesure assimilée au milieu local, mais gardant l'usage de sa langue nationale dans ses activités domestiques et familiales. Nous voyons mal comment on pourrait comparer, à supposer qu'ils aient existé, des établissements aussi modestes, et dont l'hellénisme ne pouvait être que déclinant, aux cités florissantes de la côte anatolienne ou syro-phénicienne qui battaient alors monnaie, et la gravure en intaille à laquelle nous devons les trois groupes de monnaies dont nous venons de parler ici.<sup>6</sup>

Having exposed briefly different opinions expressed by various scholars concerning the chronology of Sophytes, let us take up the question in the light of recent discoveries made in Afghanistan. As a result of extensive clandestine diggings during the last seven years, the soil of Afghanistan has yielded an unprecedented number of ancient coins.<sup>7</sup> A hoard containing imitations of Athenian 'owls', coins of the 'eagle' series and of Sophytes was found, most probably in 1990, in northern Afghanistan and was later published by H. Nicolet-Pierre and M. Amandry (1994). Apart from the 65 coins that they have

<sup>6</sup> See below for the different groups of coins mentioned by P. Bernard, having a relationship with the coins of Sophytes.

<sup>7</sup> For a summary of these discoveries, see Bopearachchi, 1995.



catalogued, many other coins belonging to the same hoard have appeared in the coin market in recent years. We have published five of them<sup>8</sup> elsewhere. According to a reliable source, the Attic tetradrachm of Sophytes mentioned above (no. 1) was in the same hoard. Though we are not certain, it is not unlikely that the didrachm of local standard now in the collection of the Alpha Credit Bank (Athens) is also from the same hoard (Plate 1, no. 2). The unpublished Attic tetradrachm of the imitation Athenian 'owl' series bearing the monogram , in I. Hirayama's collection (see plate 1, no. 8) should also be added to the same list.










Many numismatists, especially E.J. Rapson (1904: 324-5), B.V. Head (1906: 14), R.B. Whitehead (1943: 68), A.K. Narain (1957: 4) and P. Bernard (1985: 20-1), have correctly observed that the coins issued in the name Sophytes cannot be dissociated from the group of the imitations of Athenian 'owls' and the 'eagle' series. This group of coins can be divided into three broad categories with subdivisions:

#### 1. IMITATIONS OF ATHENIAN 'OWLS'

##### 1. A.

*Obv.* Head of Athena to r., wearing round earring and crested helmet.

*Rev.* Owl standing to r., head facing and wings closed. AΘE (see plate 1, nos. 5-9).

Compared to the original issues of Athens, these imitations, although executed in an excellent style, bear some distinguishing characteristics, and some symbols not attested elsewhere, such as, , olive sprig, crescent-moon, prow of galley and bunch of grapes; and the monograms: , , , , , , , .

This series is represented by Attic-standard tetradrachms and didrachms; local-standard didrachms; drachms, hemidrachms and diobols. Cf. Mitchiner, 1975/6: types 24-5; H. Nicolet-Pierre and M. Amandry, 1994: 35, nos. 1-51; O. Bopearachchi and A. ur Rahman, 1995: nos. 63-7.

##### 1. B.

*Obv.* Two bodied owl with a single head facing.

*Rev.* Unidentified object (see plate 1, no.10).

This series without additional symbols or monograms is represented by local-standard obols. Cf. H. Nicolet-Pierre, 1973: 36, no. 8.

<sup>8</sup>Bopearachchi and Rahman, 1995: nos. 63-7. Quite a number of coins, most probably belonging to the same hoard, later appeared in sale catalogues, see for example, Giessener Münzhandlung Dieter Gorny GmbH, Munich, 71, 3. May 1995, nos. 457-8; Kurpfälzische Münzhandlung, Auc. IL., December 1995, no. 248; Joel L. Malter & Co. Inc., Auc. 66, 14 August 1995, nos. 618-19; Classical Numismatic Group, Auc. 35, 20 September 1995, nos. 433-4; *ibid.*, Auc. 38, 6-7 June 1996, nos. 481-2.

## 2. 'EAGLE' SERIES

## 2. A.

*Obv.* Head of Athena to r., wearing round earrings and a crested helmet.

*Rev.* Eagle standing to l., head facing r. and wings closed (see plate 1, nos. 11-12).

This series is characterized by additional symbols: two bunches of grapes on stalk and caduceus and the monogram:  $\Xi$ , and is represented by local-standard drachms, hemidrachms and diobols. Cf. Mitchiner, 1975/6: types 26-7; H. Nicolet-Pierre and M. Amandry, 1994: 38, nos. 52-64.

## 2. B.

*Obv.* Laureate and bearded head of Zeus.

*Rev.* Eagle standing to l., head facing r. and wings closed (see plate 1, no. 13).

The series is characterized by additional symbols: two bunches of grapes on stalk, and is represented by local-standard diobols. Cf. Mitchiner, 1975/6: type 28; H. Nicolet-Pierre and M. Amandry, 1994: 38, no. 65.<sup>9</sup>

3. COINS BEARING THE LEGEND  $\Sigma\Omega\Phi\Upsilon\text{TOY}$ 

## 3. A.

*Obv.* In a beaded circle, head to r., wearing helmet ornamented with a laurel wreath, and the cheek-piece with a bird's wing.

*Rev.* Cock standing to r., wings closed.  $\Sigma\Omega\Phi\Upsilon\text{TOY}$  (see plate 1, nos. 1-3).

This series is characterized by additional symbols: caduceus and under the neck, letters: M, MN, or MNA, and is represented by Attic standard tetradrachm, local standard didrachm, drachms, hemidrachms and obols. Cf. Mitchiner, 1975/6: types 29-30, 32.

## 3. B.

*Obv.* Head of Athena to r., wearing a Corinthian helmet.

*Rev.* Cock standing to r., wings closed.  $\Sigma\Omega\Phi\Upsilon\text{TOY}$  (see plate 1, no. 4).

This series is characterized by additional symbol: caduceus, and is represented by local standard diobols. Cf. Mitchiner, 1975/6: type 31.<sup>10</sup>

What are the arguments for combining these three categories of coins into one homogeneous group?

I. Most of these coins were found in the territories north of the Hindu Kush

<sup>9</sup>The anepigraphic bronze coins, with the same types found in the excavations at Ai Khanum should be added to the same category, cf. Bernard, 1985: 19, nos. 1-9.

<sup>10</sup>The anepigraphic coin, with the same types should be added to the same category, cf. Mitchiner, 1975/6, type 33.

mountains, more precisely in the Oxus region.<sup>11</sup> The hoard recently published by H. Nicolet-Pierre and A. Amandry (1994) came from the same place and coins of all the three categories, except our type 3.B., were represented in the hoard.

- II. It is interesting to note that these coins are struck according to two different standards, one Attic and the other local. The Attic standard tetradrachm of Sophytes is a significant addition to the series, because so far the Attic standard coins were only attested in the series of Athenian 'owls' of Afghanistan.
- III. All these series, in spite of their iconographic differences, bear the same stylistic characteristics, such as the treatment of feathers of the owl, eagle and cock on the reverse.
- IV. One group is linked with the other by identical symbols or attributes such as bunches of grapes on stalk (category one with the second)<sup>12</sup> and caduceus (category two with the third).<sup>13</sup>
- V. With few exceptions, dies of all the coins are adjusted to six o'clock.
- VI. The most significant revelation in this context is the unpublished coin of Sophytes in the American Numismatic Society (see plate 1, no. 3)<sup>14</sup> bearing the three Greek letters MNA under the neck of the portrait on the obverse. The same letters are also found on some imitations of 'owls' (e.g. plate 1, no. 5).<sup>15</sup>

For these reasons, it is logical to assume that the three categories in question are related to one another geographically and chronologically. The attribution of these coins to northern Afghanistan, or more precisely to the Oxus region, has been unanimously accepted by all historians since R.B. Whitehead (1943). Consequently to consider Sophytes the king of the Salt Range in the Panjab is now out of the question.

The first question one may ask is whether there is any validity in A.K. Narain's hypothesis according to which they were struck by the Yavanas

<sup>11</sup> Macdonald (1922: 347) correctly observed that 'the coins in the British Museum acquired at Rawalpindi appear to have been brought without exception from northern side of the frontier and thus to be Central Asian rather than Indian origin'. R.B. Whitehead, an ardent collector of Bactrian coins, with a vast experience in the field, confirms further Macdonald's observation: 'My experience as a collector in the Punjab shows that such coins as those of Sophytes are brought from Afghanistan and the Oxus to India, where they are usually obtained from the well-known agents at Rawalpindi'. Apart from the coins from the hoard found in 1990, many others were found in the so-called Oxus treasure, see Bellinger, 1962: 54; Zejmal, 1979: 73-4.

<sup>12</sup> For example, compare. Nicolet-Pierre and Amandry, 1994, nos. 40-51 of the first category with nos. 52-65 of the second category.

<sup>13</sup> For example, compare Nicolet-Pierre and Amandry, 1994, nos. 63 and 64 of the second category with Mitchiner 1975/6, types 29 and 30 of the third category.

<sup>14</sup> Ex H. Fowler, Inv. no. 1995.51.60. weight, 1.61 g.

<sup>15</sup> Bopearachchi and Rahman, no. 63.

(Greeks) settled in Afghanistan during the last days of the tottering Achaemenid empire.<sup>16</sup> A serious objection can be made to Narain's hypothesis. Do imitations of Athenian 'owls' or the other two relevant series enter into the numismatic sequence of Central Asia and north-west India under the Achaemenid empire? As revealed by the Tchaman-i-Hazouri hoard<sup>17</sup> and discoveries made in Afghanistan in recent years<sup>18</sup> the local silver issues, the 'bent-bars' and local punch-marked coins were in circulation, in large quantities, at the time of the conquest of these areas by Alexander the Great. The fabric and the iconography of the 'bent-bars' and 'punch-marked' coins have nothing in common with the imitations of Athenian 'owls' and the two corresponding series.<sup>19</sup> On the contrary, the imitations of Athenian owls, coins of the 'eagle' series and of Sophytes are struck according to the Western tradition, in other words, flans were cast according to precise weight and then struck with a hammer by using obverse and reverse dies. As revealed by the excellent workmanship of these coins, dies were engraved by experienced Greek artists. If these coins were struck in a mint situated in the Oxus Valley before the arrival of Alexander, as A.K. Narain assumes, one has the right to raise the question, with P. Bernard (1985: 26):

S'il avait existé un atelier monétaire central-asiatique lors du passage d'Alexandre et qu'il eut produit d'aussi belles monnaies, celui-ci n'aurait pas manqué de l'utiliser pour émettre ses propres frappes. Or on sait que Babylone fut son atelier le plus oriental.

Our second argument concerns the iconography of these three series. The Athenian 'owls', the coinage *par excellence* of the city of Athens, no doubt were one of the foremost exports of the Greek world. In the Tchaman-i-Hazouri hoard there were 'owls' struck in Athens.<sup>20</sup> Since the genuine Athenian 'owls' served as the prototype of the coins of this class (our type 1.A) struck in

<sup>16</sup>Cf. Narain, 1957: 5. H. Nicolet-Pierre (1973) supported Narain's hypothesis in 1973 and later in 1994 (cf. Nicolet-Pierre and Amandry (1994)), who preferred to consider them issues of Alexander's time. However, Nicolet-Pierre never discussed the coins of Sophytes as a part of the rest of the group. One cannot treat the coinage of Athenian 'owls' and the 'eagle' series from Afghanistan by dissociating them from the coinage of Sophytes, because as we showed earlier, they all belong to the same group. Mørkholm (1979: 67) correctly contested Nicolet-Pierre's hypothesis: 'A group of Athenian imitations from Afghanistan has been published by Nicolet-Pierre. They probably derive from a hoard. The author dates the initial issues to the time before Alexander, but this seems highly unlikely to me. The analogy of the Mesopotamian imitations would rather place them in the last two decades of the 4th century. They were probably struck in one of the Greek settlements in Bactria.'

<sup>17</sup>Curiel and Schlumberger (1953: 1-45).

<sup>18</sup>Cf. Boppearachchi 1995.

<sup>19</sup>One side of the 'bent-bars' has two circular symmetrical floral symbols at either end of the face, marked by the same punch. The bars appear to be strips cut from oblong ingots. After being cut, the bars were adjusted more exactly to the correct weight by chiselling the corners. A common circular symmetrical floral symbol is punched at either end of the face. The coins were struck while hot on a wooden anvil, which resulted in the concavity of the coins.

<sup>20</sup>Curiel and Schlumberger 1953: Pl. II, nos. 31-3.

Afghanistan, it is difficult to place them in a precise chronological framework. However, our types 2.B, 3.A and 3.B are more evocative in this context, because their types can be integrated in a precise chronological sequence. The type 3.B (plate 1, no. 4) of Sophytes bearing the same reverse type as 3.A but characterised by a different obverse, depicting the head of Athena to right wearing a Corinthian helmet,<sup>21</sup> derives from the coinage of Alexander the Great. E.T. Newell (1937: 59-60) by publishing a coin showing the same obverse and reverse types but with a well-known Egyptian hieroglyph, *uah*, instead of Sophytes' name, correctly attributed it to Egypt,<sup>22</sup> concluded: '... is certainly of Alexander's period, or slightly later. The Athenian head is directly copied from the gold staters which he and his immediate successors struck in such great quantities.'

The obverse of our type 2.B (plate 1, no. 13), depicting a laureate and bearded head of Zeus gives another clue to the problem. Our immediate attention is drawn to the coins depicting similar types introduced by Philip and Alexander in Macedonia.<sup>23</sup> This obverse type of Alexander was then copied by Seleucus I in many of his mints, especially Seleucia, Susa and Bactra.<sup>24</sup> However, the laureate and bearded head of Zeus of our type 2.B is closer in workmanship and style to the coins of Seleucus I minted in Bactria (plate 1, no. 14).<sup>25</sup> B.V. Head (1906: 13) correctly observed: '... the obverse type, the head of Zeus, though doubtless derived from the coins of Philip of Macedon, bears a still closer resemblance to the same head on coins of Seleucus and Antiochus of Graeco-Indian provenance, and of the same standard of weight.' E.T. Newell (1938: 229) dated these issues of Seleucus I to before c. 285 BC.

As many numismatists<sup>26</sup> have correctly observed, the obverse type of Sophytes (our type 3A, plate 1, nos. 1-3) is certainly copied from another similar type of Seleucus I depicting on the obverse head of king wearing helmet with bull's horn and ear, and panther skin; and on the reverse, Nike crowning trophy (plate 1, no. 15).<sup>27</sup> Newell (1938: 113-15, 154) attributes these coins

<sup>21</sup>A coin of this type was first published by Dressel (1904: 89), and he describes it correctly: 'Kopf der Athena r. mit dem Korinthischen Helm . . . das Haar hängt über dem Nacken in Locken herab' Also see R.B. Whitehead, 1943: 64-5.

<sup>22</sup>Newell (1937: 60) further confirms this attribution: 'The lotus plant symbol is typically Egyptian in form, and so suggests coinage in that country rather than in northern Arabia or Palestine'.

<sup>23</sup>On the reverse of these coins struck in Macedonia, the eagle stands on a thunderbolt, cf. Mørholm, 1991: 42 and PL 1, no. 5. See Alpha C.B.N.C. (inv. no. 1239) specimen at the end of Greek translation.

<sup>24</sup>See for example, Newell 1938, Seleucia: Pl. VI, 1-12; Susa: Pl. XXIII, 14-17 and Bactra: PL L, 1-22.

<sup>25</sup>See for example, Newell 1938: Pl. L, 1-22; Mitchiner 1975/6, especially type 51; Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995: no. 69.

<sup>26</sup>See for example, Cunningham 1866: 222; Gardner 1886: xix; von Sallet 1879: 285; Head 1906: 13.

<sup>27</sup>Cf. Newell 1938: Pl. XIII, 6-9, Pl. XXXII, 1-18; Mørholm 1991: Pl. VIII, 139-40.

to Susa and Persepolis and dates them between 300-298 BC. He (1938: 114) justified his chronology by arguing that ‘. . . at Susa, the decisive victory of Ipsus gained by Seleucus in 301 B.C. over Antigonus and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes was suitably commemorated by an issue of coins’ O. Mørkholm (1991: 72) put forward a different point of view which we personally believe more attractive regarding the dating and especially the interpretation of types:

The obverse type has often been regarded as a portrait of Seleucus I, but in view of its youngish features and the divine attributes on the helmet, I would prefer to see in it a representation of Alexander the Great assimilated to Dionysus, the conqueror of India and master of leopards. The victory type on the reverse has been connected with the resounding victory at Ipsus over Antigonus Monophthalmus in the summer of 301, but this explanation raises the problem of why this victory should have been celebrated by special coin issues only at the comparatively small mint of Susa in the East. I would prefer a somewhat wider interpretation, referring the propaganda message conveyed by these coins in a general way to the victories of Alexander over the Orientals and to Seleucus as his rightful successor in the Iranian provinces. One might even speculate on the possibility that some specific victory celebration after Seleucus’ Indian campaign provided the occasion for the first issue of this type. If this were the case and there were no connection with Ipsus, the precise date of the coins would become uncertain, though the place of issue in the sequence from Susa shows that here they must belong to the years before 300.

Though the obverse type of Seleucus I in question has few variations (especially the panther skin and the bull’s horn and ear on the helmet) compared to that of Sophytes, one cannot miss the fact that one is copied from the other. It goes without saying that neither Alexander nor Seleucus would have copied the types of Sophytes, a minor ruler or a satrap, for their royal coinage. Besides, eminent historians and numismatists like A. Cunningham (1866: 222), P. Gardner (1866: xix), A. von Sallet (1879: 285) and B.V. Head (1906: 13) could correctly establish the Seleucid influence over the coins of Sophytes and the other corresponding series (our types 1-3). Unfortunately none of them could differentiate Sopeithes, the contemporary of Alexander from Sophytes on the coins. It is in this context that we can understand the hesitations and contradictions of excellent numismatists like A. von Sallet (1879: 285) or V.A. Smith (1906: 3). Once this obstacle—dissociate Sopeithes from Sophytes—is removed, coins of Sophytes can be placed within a precise chronological framework. As we have seen earlier, it is out of the question to consider the coins of Sophytes and corresponding series pre-Alexandrine. If the chronology proposed by Newell (1938: 114) is correct, the coins of Sophytes should be dated after 300 BC. However, as far as we are concerned, the hypothesis of Otto Mørkholm (1991: 72) seems more convincing. It would appear that Seleucus I struck coins with the head wearing a helmet/Nike crowning trophy, after his eastern expedition against Chandragupta which led to the treaty signed with the latter in 303 BC.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup>For a detailed discussion about this treaty, see Bernard 1985: 85-95.

For these reasons, we believe that the imitations of Athenian ‘owls’, coins of the ‘eagle’ series and of Sophytes were struck towards the very end of the fourth century BC. They were certainly the precursors of the Bactrian issues of the Seleucids. Yet we have to confess that we have no evidence whatsoever, at present, to define the political role played by Sophytes under the Seleucids.

## POSTSCRIPT

Our basic analysis of coins struck in the name of Sophytes and the group of Athenian ‘owls’ and the ‘eagle’ series has not changed, but the new numismatic discoveries made after the publication of the present article made us change the chronological sequence of these coin series, see the article: ‘Les royaumes grecs en Bactriane et en Inde’, *L’art d’Afghanistan de la préhistoire à nos jours. Nouvelles données, CERDAF*, 2005, pp. 49-69 and in the present volume: ‘Greek Realms in Afghanistan: New Data’, chapter 5.

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ANS, MN</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes</i>
<i>MDAFA</i>	<i>Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan</i>
<i>NC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
<i>RN</i>	<i>Revue Numismatique</i>

## REFERENCES

- Bellinger, A.R. (1962), ‘The Coins from the Treasure of the Oxus’, *ANS, MN*, 10, 1962, 51-67.
- Bernard, P. (1985), ‘Fouilles d’Ai Khanoum IV. Les monnaies hors trésors. Questions d’histoire gréco-bactrienne’ (*MDAFA XXVIII*), Paris.
- Bopearachchi, O. (1995), ‘Découvertes récentes de trésors indo-grecs: nouvelles données historiques’, *Comptes Rendus*, Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres, Paris, 1995, 611-30.
- Bopearachchi, O. and A.ur Rahman (1995), *Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan*, Islamabad.
- Cunningham, A. (1866), ‘Coin of the Indian Prince Sophytes, a Contemporary of Alexander the Great’, *NC*, 1866: 220-31.
- Curiel, R. and D. Schlumberger (1953), ‘Trésors monétaires d’Afghanistan’ (*MDAFA XIV*), Paris.
- Dressel, H. (1904), ‘Erwerbungen des Königlich Münzcabinet in den Jahren 1898-1900 (antike Münzen)’, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1904: 17-104.
- Gardner, P. (1886), ‘The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India’, The British Museum, London, 1886 (rpt. 1968).
- Head, B.V. (1906), ‘The Earliest Graeco-Bactrian and Graeco-Indian Coins’, *NC*, 1906: 1-16.
- Macdonald, G. (1922), ‘Athenian and Macedonian Coins in India’, in *The Cambridge Ancient History of India*, I, *Ancient India*, ed. E.J. Rapson, 1922, rpt. 1970.
- Mitchiner, M. (1975/6), *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, 9 vol., London.






- Mørkholm, O. (1979), 'B. The Hellenistic Period', in *Survey of Numismatic Research, 1972-1977*, ed. R. Carson, P. Berghaus & N. Lowick, Berne, 60-97.
- (1991), 'Early Hellenistic Coinage. From the Accession of Alexander to the Peace of Apamea (336-188 B.C.)', ed. P. Grierson & U. Westermark, Cambridge.
- Narain, A.K. (1957), *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford.
- Newell, E.T. (1937), *Miscellanea Numismatica: Cyrene to India*, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, The American Numismatic Society, no. 82, New York.
- (1938), 'The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints from Seleucos I to Antiochos III', New York, 1938, rpt. 1978.
- Nicolet-Pierre, H. (1973), 'Monnaies grecques trouvées en Afghanistan', *RN*, 1973: 35-42.
- Nicolet-Pierre, H. and M. Amandry (1994), 'Un nouveau trésor de monnaies d'argent pseudo-athéniennes venu d'Afghanistan (1990)', *RN*, 1994: 34-54.
- Rapson, E.J. (1904), 'Ancient Silver Coins from Baluchistan', *NC*, 1904: 311-25.
- (1914), *Ancient India: From the Earliest Times to the First Century AD*, London.
- Sallet, A. von (1879), 'Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Baktrien und Indien. II, Die Münzen', *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 6, 1879: 271-411.
- Smith, V.A. (1906), 'Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta'. Including the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. 1, Oxford.
- Tarn, W.W. (1951), *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 2nd edn., Cambridge, 1951.
- Whitehead, R.B. (1914), *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum*, Lahore, vol. 1, *Indo-Greek Coins*, Oxford.
- Zejmal, E.V. (1979), *Amudar'inskij Klad*, Leningrad.

## KEY TO PLATE


### COINS OF SOPHYTES

1. Silver tetradrachm of Attic standard (17.20 g). Collection of I. Hirayama (Kamakura). Type 3.A.
2. Silver didrachm of local standard (7.40 g). Alpha Credit Bank Numismatic Collection (Athens), inv. no. 7461. Type 3.A.
3. Silver hemidrachm of local standard (1.61). Ex H. Fowler. The American Numismatic Society, inv. no. 1995.51.60. Under the neck, letters: MNA. Type 3.A.
4. Silver diobol of local standard (1.01). Ex H. Fowler. The American Numismatic Society, inv. no. 1995.51.59. Type 3.B.

### IMITATIONS OF ATHENIAN 'OWLS'

5. Silver tetradrachm of Attic standard (17.05 g). Cf. Bopearachchi & Rahman 1995, no. 63. Behind the neck, letters: MNA. Type 1.A.
6. Silver tetradrachm of Attic standard (16.75 g). Cf. Bopearachchi & Rahman 1995: no. 64. Monogram: . Type 1.A.
7. Silver tetradrachm of Attic standard (16.65 g). Cf. Bopearachchi & Rahman 1995: no. 65. Monogram: . Type 1.A.
8. Silver tetradrachm of Attic standard; Collection of I. Hirayama (Kamakura). Monogram:  Type 1.A.



9. Silver tetradrachm of Attic standard (16.61), Alpha Credit Bank Num. Collection (Athens) inv. no. 3914. Monogram . Type I.A.
10. Silver obol? of local standard (0.72). Ex H. Fowler. The American Numismatic Society, inv. no. 1995.51.382. Type I.B.

## COINS OF THE 'EAGLE' SERIES

11. Silver drachm of local standard (3 40). Ex E.T. Newell. The American Numismatic Society, inv. no. 1944.100.74342. Type 2.A.
12. Silver drachm of local standard (2.95). Ex H. Fowler. The American Numismatic Society, inv. no. 1995.51.65. Type 2.A.
13. Silver diobol of local standard (1.13). Ex H. Fowler. The American Numismatic Society, inv. no. 1995.51.244. Type 2.B.

## COINS OF SELEUCIDS

14. Silver hemidrachm of Attic standard (2.07). Ex Jameson. The American Numismatic Society, inv. no. 1954.203.299. Cf. Newell, 1938: Pl. L, 8.
15. Silver tetradrachm of Attic standard (16.95). Alpha Credit Bank Numismatic Collection (Athens), inv. no. 8714.



PLATE 1

## The Seleucid Coins of Central Asia and the Bactra Mint\*

This article is based on a presentation that I made at the École Pratique des Hautes Études at the invitation of Georges Le Rider. I greatly benefited from his thoughts while working on this study and for this I am very grateful to him. During the last fifteen years he has shared his vast knowledge with me and his teachings have given me the example of what rigour of thought and critical spirit must be when applied to the study of historical documents of all kinds. It is with great pleasure that I present this modest contribution to the *Mélanges* of Greek Numismatics dedicated to him and to which his own works, as we shall see, are not unknown.

As we know, the conquests of Alexander the Great which extended to the valley of the Indus, profoundly modified the political map of Central Asia, but they did not affect monetary practice in this region of the Empire in the least, neither while the conqueror was alive nor during the years that followed his death. Under the Achaemenids Central Asia seems not to have had mints. We have no proof that the few royal Achaemenid coins that were found in the territories to the north and the south of the Hindu Kush were struck in the same area.<sup>1</sup> These Achaemenid darics must have been brought from the regions to the west, as were the coins of the Greek cities found in the Kabul hoard.<sup>2</sup>

Neither do we have proof that Alexander started mints in Bactria. Concerning the monetary production in all the territories conquered by Alexander, Georges Le Rider, in a recent study (1996: 860), rightly concluded: “Alexander, at the beginning of his reign in 333/2, does not seem to have envisaged turning his

\* Reprinted from *Travaux de Numismatique Grecque Offerts à Georges Le Rider*, édités par Michel Amandry et Silvia Hurter avec la collaboration de Denyse Bérend.

<sup>1</sup> For example, eight darics in the Oxus hoard, cf. A.R. Bellinger, ‘The Coins from the Treasure of the Oxus’, *MN* 10, 1962, pp. 51-67, especially, pp. 53 and 54; eight sigloi in the Kabul hoard, cf. R. Curiel and D. Schlumberger, *Trésors monétaires d’Afghanistan*, *MDAFA* XIV, 1953, pp. 32 and 36; one siglos in the hoard found near Bhir Mound at Taxila, see J. Marshall, *Taxila*, Cambridge, 1951, p. 795, and two sigloi from Afghanistan; see *Pre-Kushana Coins*, nos. 15 and 16.

<sup>2</sup> This is a hoard discovered in 1933 in a place called Tchamân-i Hazouri, in the eastern part of Kabul. It was found by a team of workers digging the foundations of a house and contained coins and fragments of jewels. A small portion of it was published by Daniel Schlumberger in 1953; see R. Curiel and D. Schlumberger, *op. cit.* The following cities and Greek states are attested in the Kabul hoard: Aigina, Melos, Akanthos, Thasos, Lampsakos, Erythrai, Chios, Samos, Lycia, Aspendos, etc. (*ibid.*, pp. 32-6).

tetradrachms and his staters into 'coins of the Empire', or at least, if this idea presented itself to him, he abandoned it."<sup>3</sup> Le Rider also rightly notes:

He (Alexander) preferred to use the funds that his victories poured into his chests, and he thus continued to use the coins of the Persian era, especially the darics. After his return from India at the end of 325, the energetic measures that he was led to take concerning his army, as well as other circumstances (one of which was that Persian coinage belonged more and more to the past), caused a massive production of his coinage in the western part of his empire, from Babylon to Amphipolis. In this era, alexanders became the coinage for inter-regional exchanges. But in June 323 this coin had still not become established in the vast territories that covered the provinces to the east of the Tigris.<sup>4</sup>

We note that all the coins struck in the name of Alexander found to date in Central Asia come from the mints of Marathos, Termessos, Perge, Lampsakos, Amphipolis, Babylon and Ecbatana.<sup>5</sup> These coins were discovered with those of the towns of Akanthos in the Chalkidike and of Paros.<sup>6</sup> It is quite probable that they were brought by Greek or Macedonian soldiers of the army of Seleucos I.

About twenty years after the death of Alexander in June 323, the old Achaemenid territories that he had conquered passed to the control of Seleucos I, with the exception of the territories to the south of the Hindu Kush, which soon fell under the power of the Indian empire of the Maurya. With a treaty concluded in 203 BC with Chandragupta, the founder of the dynasty, Seleucos I officially recognised the sovereignty of the Maurya Empire over this region. The unification of the empire by Seleucos I from the Levant to the Hindu Kush was the incentive for setting up the first mint in Central Asia. The very first coins that were struck could not have been earlier than 305 BC. They are represented by imitations of Athenian owls,<sup>7</sup> by the series with the eagle<sup>8</sup> and the coins

<sup>3</sup> 'Histoire économique et monétaire de l'Orient hellénistique', *Annuaire du Collège de France 1995-1996, Résumé des Cours et Travaux*, 1996, pp. 829-60, especially p. 860.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 860.

<sup>5</sup> Marathos: C.Y. Petitot-Biehler, 'Trésor de monnaies grecques et gréco-bactriennes trouvé à Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan)', *RN*, 1975, pp. 23-57, see no. 58; Termessos: *Pre-Kushana Coins*, no. 57; Perge: *ibid.*, no. 58; *RN* 1975, no. 60; Lampsakos: *Pre-Kushana Coins*, no. 61; Amphipolis: *RN* 1975, no. 62; Babylon: *RN* 1975, no. 57 and Ecbatana: *Pre-Kushana Coins*, no. 59.

<sup>6</sup> Akanthos: *Pre-Kushana Coins*, no. 55; Paros: *ibid.*, no. 56. These two coins seem to have come from the Aï Khanoum IV hoard.

<sup>7</sup> On the obverse a helmeted head of Athena to r. and on the reverse an owl to r. with the legend A Θ E. Cf. Mitchiner, series 24 and 25 and H. Nicolet-Pierre and M. Amandry, 'Un nouveau trésor de monnaies d'argent pseudo-athéniennes venu d'Afghanistan (1990)', *RN* 1994, pp. 34-54, especially p. 35, nos. 1-51.

<sup>8</sup> On the obverse a helmeted head of Athena to r. and on the reverse an eagle to r., turning its head and without a legend; cf. Mitchiner, serie 26 and 27; *RN* 1994, p. 38, nos. 52-64. We must also add to this category the series of coins with the bearded head of Zeus on the obverse and the same eagle on the reverse: see Mitchiner, series 28, *RN* 1994, p. 38, no. 65.

struck in the name of a certain Sophytos.<sup>9</sup> These coins, without exception, were found to the north of the Hindu Kush, and more precisely in the valley of the Oxus.<sup>10</sup> They were struck according to two weight standards, the Attic for the tetradrachms and a local weight for the small denominations.

Certain historians have wanted to attribute this triple series of coinages to Greek colonists who were thought to have been settled in Central Asia by the Achaemenid authorities.<sup>11</sup> Based on the arguments developed by P. Bernard,<sup>12</sup> we have shown elsewhere that all these coins were struck after the conquest of Alexander toward the end of the fourth century BC, in circumstances that remain unclear but which must be connected to the re-conquest by Seleucos I of the satrapies of Central Asia (306-305), i.e. just before the introduction of proper Seleucid coinage to Bactria.<sup>13</sup>

According to E.T. Newell the very first Seleucid issues in Bactria did not start before about 285 BC.<sup>14</sup> He based his reasoning on the fact that the head of Zeus represented on a series of tetradrachms attributed to this province<sup>15</sup> is an imitation of the one on an issue of Seleuceia on the Tigris<sup>16</sup> that he dated to 300. Nancy Waggoner rightly contested Newell's dating and proposed that the beginning of this series of Seleuceia on the Tigris should be placed earlier, in 305,<sup>17</sup> on the return of the expedition of Seleucos in Upper Asia. If this is the case, we must, as Bernard suggested, place the beginning of the corresponding coinage in Bactria earlier, to around 295 BC.<sup>18</sup> In the same way the issues in the joint names of Seleucos and Antiochos (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ANTIOXOY), that Newell dated to 256-280 BC.<sup>19</sup> were struck during the period 290-285 BC; they coincide with the association of the successor to the throne by his father, the future Antiochos I, on whom the responsibility of governing the upper satrapies was conferred. The coins in the joint names were not struck in the Attic weight but followed a lighter weight system whose drachm does not exceed 3.5 g. It is precisely this weight system that was used for the drachms and their divisions of the pseudo-Athenian coins bearing the

<sup>9</sup> On the obverse: helmeted head of a dynast called Sophytos in the legend and on the reverse a cockerel to r and the legend ΣΩΦΥΤΟΥ: cf. Mitchiner, series 29, 30 and 32; O. Bopearachchi, 'Sophytes, the Enigmatic Ruler of Central Asia', *Nom. Khron.* 15, 1997, pp. 19-32.

<sup>10</sup> For a good summary of their find spots, see *Monnaies hors trésors*, pp. 20-8 and H. Nocollet-Pierre and M. Amandry, art. cit., no. 7, pp. 34-54.

<sup>11</sup> Especially A.K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford, 1957, pp. 1-5.

<sup>12</sup> *Monnaies hors trésors*, pp. 20-8.

<sup>13</sup> O. Bopearachchi, art cit. in fn. 9.

<sup>14</sup> Newell, *ESM*, p. 229, nos. 657-60.

<sup>15</sup> *ESM*, No. 657, pl. 50, nos. 1 and 2.

<sup>16</sup> *ESM*, p. 29, nos. 69 and 71, pl. 9, nos. 3 and 5.

<sup>17</sup> N.M. Waggoner, 'The Early Alexander Coinage at Seleucia on the Tigris', *MN* 15, 1969, pp. 21-30.

<sup>18</sup> *Monnaies hors trésors*, pp. 37-8.

<sup>19</sup> *ESM*, pp. 231-3, nos. 664-73; pl. 50, nos. 9-22.

eagle and the coins of Sophytos that we believe to have been slightly earlier than the proper Seleucid issues in Bactria. The second characteristic of the coins with the joint names of Seleucos and Antiochos is that most of them bear variants of a monogram composed of a *delta* and an *iota*, most often within a circle:  $\Delta I$ ,  $\Delta$ ,  $\oplus$ ,  $\otimes$ ,  $\ominus$ ,  $\otimes$ , and  $\oplus$ . They are followed by a series in the name of Antiochos I with the portrait of the king and the same type of monogram  $\otimes$ , and the head of a horned horse<sup>20</sup> on the reverse.

With this group of coins the Bactria mint returned to the Attic weight never to leave it again. Newell also notes a change in the arrangement of the diadem on these coins of Antiochos, whose fanons fall straight down at the beginning of the series,<sup>21</sup> while towards the end one of them falls straight down while the other rises undulating.<sup>22</sup> We find this characteristic again on the coins of his successors, Antiochos II and Diodotos. Antiochos I later adopted the usual reverse type of the Seleucids, Apollo sitting on the omphalos. The attribution of the series to the Bactria mint is justified by the presence of the monogram  $\otimes$  and its variants.<sup>23</sup>

On the coinage struck in Bactria in the name of Antiochos II, we observe the first indications of the desire of the local satrap, Diodotos, to be independent. Parallel with the normal issues of Antiochos II with the usual types (portrait of the king and Apollo seated on an omphalos for the silver and gold coins) and the name of the king without epithet, the main mint of Bactria started striking a series that, while conserving the name of Antiochos II,<sup>24</sup> substituted the portrait of the Seleucid monarch with the portrait of the satrap Diodotos, and his personal type, a thundering Zeus.<sup>25</sup> The last step was taken and the secession confirmed when the name of Diodotos replaced that of Antiochos in the legend. Thus it was in the reign of Anthiochos II, around 250 BC, that the satrapies situated in the extreme east of the Seleucid Empire, detached themselves from it and at the initiative of their satrap Diodotos, formed an independent kingdom. Diodotos and his successors, the Graeco-Bactrian rulers, issued their coins following the Attic weight standard, with unilingual Greek legends. These were generally destined to circulate to the north of the Hindu Kush in the basin of the middle Oxus, the cradle of Greek power in Central Asia. Although it is true that the Graeco-Bactrian coinage was born from the Seleucid tradition, starting with the reigns of Euthydemos I<sup>26</sup> and his son Demetrios I,<sup>27</sup> who succeeded the two Diodotoi, a number of innovations were introduced. Technically speaking, the flans of the silver issues become larger,

<sup>20</sup> *ESM*, pl. 51, nos. 1-22 and pl. 52, 1-3.

<sup>21</sup> *ESM*, pl. 51, nos. 1 and 2.

<sup>22</sup> *ESM*, pl. 51, no. 18.

<sup>23</sup> *ESM*, pl. 52, nos. 4-53, nos. 1-3.

<sup>24</sup> *ESM*, pl. 53, nos. 5-16.

<sup>25</sup> *ESM*, pl. 53, nos. 18 and 19.

<sup>26</sup> *BN*, Euthydème I, series 9-12.

<sup>27</sup> *BN*, Démétrios I, series 1.



the dies are henceforth adjusted to 12:00 instead of 6:00 and we witness a increase of monograms. As is indicated by the finds made in Bactrian territories, only Graeco-Bactrian coins were accepted within this kingdom.

How did we come to attribute to the Bactria mint all the Seleucid issues just discussed?

The discovery in 1877-78 of the "Oxus Hoard", which contained a large number of Seleucid coins unknown at the time, of a style that was particular to them and many bearing monograms composed of *delta*, *iota* and *omicron*, posed the problem of identifying the mint responsible for them. Everyone agreed that it could only be situated in the larger area of Central Asia, that is in the geographic zone that goes from the Oxus basin to that of the Indus. The precise find-spot of this hoard is not known, but there is no doubt that it was found somewhere in Bactria on the banks of the middle Oxus. At the time of discovery Percy Gardner<sup>28</sup> and Alexander Cunningham<sup>29</sup> inventoried a certain number of specimens supposed to have come from the hoard.<sup>30</sup> Gardner<sup>31</sup> attributed the Seleucid coins with a monogram composed of *delta*, *iota* and *omicron*, Δ, ΔΙ, ⚭, ⊕, to the mint of Dionysopolis mentioned by Ptolemy, which was confused with the Nisa to the south-east of Kabul, where Alexander is thought to have found traces of a cult of Dionysos. Cunningham on the other hand, placed this mint at Begram-Alexandria of the Caucasus,<sup>32</sup> at the foot of the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush. Henry Howorth proposed to attribute this series to Nisa, the capital of Parthia.<sup>33</sup>

In his masterly book on Seleucid coinage issued in the east of the empire, E.T. Newell favoured a different attribution. For him the Seleucid coins bearing the monograms composed of the *delta*, *iota* and *omicron* were struck in Bactra, the capital of Bactria,<sup>34</sup> and he based his conclusions on the following arguments:

<sup>28</sup> P. Gardner, 'New Coins from Bactra', *NC* 1879, p. 1-12; *ibid.*, On some Coins from Syria and Bactra, *NC* 1880, pp. 181-91; *ibid.*, Coins from Central Asia, *NC* 1881, pp. 8-12.

<sup>29</sup> According to Alexander Cunningham the hoard consisted of 150 gold coins and between 1,000 and 12,000 silver coins, of which the majority were tetradrachms. Among these coins, he was able to examine 64 gold and 459 silver coins, cf. A. Cunningham, 'Relics from Ancient Persia in Gold, Silver and Copper', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1881, pp. 151-86; *ibid.*, 'Relics from Ancient Persia in Gold, Silver and Copper, 2nd Notice', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1883, pp. 64-7; *ibid.*, 'Relics from Ancient Persia in Gold, Silver and Copper, 3rd Notice', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1883, pp. 258-60.



<sup>30</sup> See also the lists published by A.R. Bellinger, art cit. in no. 1, pp. 51-67 and E.V. Zejmal, *Amudar'inskij Klad. Katalog vystavki*, Leningrad, 1979, pp. 73-8.


<sup>31</sup> *NC* 1879, p. 12.


<sup>32</sup> A. Cunningham, *Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East* (Collection of articles from *NC* 1868, 1870, 1872, 1873 reprinted in a single volume, London 1884); Chicago, 1969; Delhi-Varanasi, 1970, p. 63.

<sup>33</sup> H.H. Howorth, 'The Earliest Capital of the Seleucidae', *NC* 1888, pp. 293-9.

<sup>34</sup> *ESM*, pp. 228-9.

- the hypothesis of a localization in Begram must be put aside because the treaty signed in 303 BC between Seleucos I and the Indian king Chandragupta acknowledged a political situation where the territories situated to the south of the Hindu Kush henceforth escaped from Greek control.
- against the hypothesis of Howorth, Newell remarks that Bactra certainly played a more important role in the Seleucid empire as capital of Bactria than Nisa in Parthia.
- the importance of Bactra, political, economic and commercial, that was evident before the Greek conquest, is related to the strategic position of the town on the great international route from the north that connects the Indus Valley with Mesopotamia and to the fact that it is in the heart of a network of local Central Asian roads serving not only Bactria and Sogdiana, but also Aria and Margiana.
- as Bactria was far from Balyon, when Seleucos took control of the Oxus Valley it would have been necessary to supply the Central Asian market with coins struck locally in a Bactrian town, and it is logical to place the royal mint in Bactra, capital of the Seleucid satrapy of Bactria-Sogdiana.
- Newell observed that a series of coins of Antiochos I with the monograms ΔΙ, ,  that he attributes to Bactra, bears the head of a horned horse<sup>35</sup> on the obverse. He linked this exceptional reverse type in Seleucid coinage with the name *Zariapse*, which was also that of the town of Bactra in Antiquity (Strabo XI, 11, 9; Pliny, VI 18) and the name of the river that flows through it, the Zariaspis or Zariaspai, in which we find the root of the Iranian word *asp* – that designates the horse.<sup>36</sup>

This attribution, that has never been contested, has recently been questioned by an American numismatist, Brian Kritt, in a book that appeared in 1996.<sup>37</sup> Kritt believes that all the coins bearing the monogram  and its variants that Newell attributed to Bactra, should be transferred to Aï Khanoum.<sup>38</sup> According to him this radical re-attribution is justified for the following reasons:

- the principal argument is that we find the monetary monogram  as a stamp on certain baked bricks used in the public buildings in Aï Khanoum.
- the discovery of ten unstruck flans in the excavations of this site makes the existence of a mint in Aï Khanoum certain.
- the find-spot of the Oxus hoard, in which a large quantity of Seleucid


<sup>35</sup> *ESM*, p. 51, nos. 1-22 and 52, esp. nos. 1-3.

<sup>36</sup> Newell, *ESM*, p. 240, remarks furthermore that the army of Darius III possessed 30,000 Bactrian horses.

<sup>37</sup> B. Kritt, *Seleucid Coins of Bactria*.



<sup>38</sup> Cf. Kritt, pp. 22-34.



coins marked with the monogram  and its variants was discovered, is closer to Aï Khanoum than to Bactra; these coins must consequently be attributed to Aï Khanoum.

- Aï Khanoum, because of its geographic position, had direct access to the silver mines of Badakhshan.
- Aï Khanoum is located in a strategic position on the confluence of the Oxus (Amou Daria) and a tributary on its left bank, the Kokcha.
- the discovery in Aï Khanoum of Seleucid bronzes with unpublished types indicated the importance of the mint.
- Aï Khanoum was a Greek city of extreme importance, as is attested by the monumental public buildings that were discovered there; palace, gymnasium, theatre, temples, ramparts.

Kritt's study resulted in the attribution to the local mint of Aï Khanoum (that he calls "Mint B")

- (a) of all the Seleucid series, of all metals, marked with the monogram  or its variants previously assigned to Bactra, i.e. almost all the issues that Newell attributed to this city;
- (b) with only one exception (series P.B. II), all the Seleucid bronzes discovered at Aï Khanoum, of which many were unknown types that Bernard had shared between a local mint (series P.B. I, IV/3, IV/4) and the Bactra mint (series P.B. III, IV/2, IV/5, V/1 with the monogram , reserving the possibility that the anepigraphic series he attributed to Aï Khanoum might have been partially struck in the Bactra mint.

Having removed from Bactra almost all the issues that Newell had credited it with, Kritt filled the vacuum that he had created by attributing to it a series ('Mint A'), whose core consists of a group of issues, notably those in the name of Seleucos I, that Newell had previously given to Susa (*ESM*, Susa, group G = nos. 334-5), but on whose Susan origins Le Rider had already cast doubt, arguing certain known find spots in the more eastern provinces of the empire as well as certain stylistic and technical particularities.<sup>39</sup> Thus, according to Kritt, the main mint of Seleucid Central Asia was opened in Bactra between 290 and 285 BC ('Mint A') and worked until 280, this short period of operation corresponding to a production of which we know 47 coins in gold, silver and bronze. In 280 the mint was transferred to Aï Khanoum, which had just been founded and did not stop working until Diodotos took power around 250 BC.

Before considering the discussion of Kritt's arguments, let us return for an instant to those that Bernard used to justify his classification of the coins of Aï Khanoum. Let us not forget that when Newell was writing his book on the eastern mints of the Seleucid Empire, published in 1938, no Hellenistic site had been excavated in Bactria and that of Aï Khanoum had not yet been discovered. In a word, this Greek city, situated in the north of Afghanistan at

<sup>39</sup> Le Rider, *Suse*, pp. 24-7, 31-2, 453.

the confluence of the Oxus (Amou Daria) and the Kokcha, its Afghan tributary on its left bank, was excavated between 1965 and 1978 by archaeologists of the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan (DAFA) under Bernard's direction. The site has given us four monetary hoards of which two were discovered during regular excavations and two uncovered illegally.<sup>40</sup> Apart from these hoards, 284 coins and 10 unstruck flans were collected from different parts of the excavation; it was possible to read 224 of these coins and they were the subject of a separate publication by Bernard.<sup>41</sup> They are classified as follows: 184 pre-Seleucid, Seleucid, Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek, 28 Indian, 5 Kushan, 7 Islamic. The coins that were collected outside the hoards are, if we exclude the Indian punch-marked coins and one stater of Antiochos II, exclusively bronze, that is to say, everyday coins for small daily transactions. From the catalogue made by Bernard we note that the coins that are by far the most numerous are those of the Seleucids, with 68 specimens or almost 35 per cent of all Greek issues.<sup>42</sup> This predominance of the Seleucids, as Bernard underlines, is even stronger than it appears if we take into account the fact that the excavation did not reach virgin soil except in very limited parts. Seleucos I is represented by a single coin struck in his own name (series II); we count 3 coins in the joint names of Seleucos I and Antiochos; 62 coins of Antiochos I in his own name and 2 of Antiochos II, of which one is a stater. The exceptionally high number of coins of Antiochos I can be explained by the importance of this reign that coincides with the first great urban development of the site. It is tempting to connect the meagre representation of issues of Antiochos II with the fact that it was during his reign that Diodotos, the local satrap, prepared for the independence of his domain and started to take over his master's royal issues.



<sup>40</sup> The first hoard, called Aī Khanoum I, composed of 677 coins with multiple punch-marks and 6 Indo-Greek drachms, was discovered in 1970 in room 20 of the palace that occupied the centre of the lower city, see R. Audouin and P. Bernard, 'Trésor de monnaies indiennes et indo-grecques d'Aī Khanoum (Afghanistan)', *RN* 1973, pp. 238-89 and *RN* 1974, pp. 7-41. The second hoard was discovered in 1973 during the excavation of a house outside the walls of the site of Aī Khanoum. It was composed of 63 silver tetradrachms of Attic weight, see C.Y. Petitot-Biehler, art cit. in no. 5, pp. 23-57). The third was unearthed by an agricultural worker in Spring 1974 in the northern suburb of the city and was sold clandestinely in the Kabul bazaar. When it appeared on the market of New York in 1975 and 1976 it was examined by Nancy Waggoner. It is from her notes and a set of photographs that were taken by an antique dealer that Frank Holt published the 139 drachms and tetradrachms that it contained; see Fr. Holt, *The Euthydemid Coinage of Bactria: Further Hoard Evidence from Aī Khanoum*, *RN* 1981, pp. 7-44. The fourth that must have originally included almost 1,500 coins, was recently discovered, according to our information, by unauthorized excavators. Unfortunately our knowledge of the composition of this hoard is limited to a few coins; see O. Bopéarachchi, 'Découvertes récentes de trésors indo-grecs: nouvelles données historiques', *CRAI* 1995, pp. 611-30.


<sup>41</sup> *Monnaies hors trésors*, p. 5.



<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Of the 25 series of pre-Seleucid and Seleucid bronzes that were found on the site of Aï Khanoum,<sup>43</sup> 9 are unpublished and Bernard noted on this that

instead of limiting themselves to copying the established models, the Graeco-Bactrian engravers, while drawing part of their inspiration from traditional Seleucid ideology (hump-backed bovine, horned helmet, anchor), had already demonstrated from the Seleucid period, a taste for innovation that we can also observe in the work of architects throughout Greek hegemony in Central Asia. These same coin engravers put this to good use when, after political independence had been established, they had to create a completely new coinage.<sup>44</sup>

Bernard supported Newell's hypothesis and attributed to Bactra the bronze issues of Antiochos I bearing the monograms  and . But what is to be done with the numerous large series without a monogram? We count 3 from 9 series of pre-Seleucid and Seleucid bronzes, and the most numerous are I, IV/3, IV/4. At the same time the mints of Ecbatana and Seleucia on the Tigris issued coins that have monograms. The group of 4 series of bronzes of Diodotos and Euthydemos I (VI/1, 2, 3: Diodotos; VI; Euthydemos) is also without monograms. Of course, the discovery of virgin flans suggested the existence of a local mint<sup>45</sup> and Bernard rightly observed that the ancient form of some of them, thick, with a curved surface and bevelled edges, gives a *terminus ante quem* for the beginning of this mint of the end of the reign of Euthydemos I, when a change in the form of the flans took place. But to attribute to Aï Khanoum all the production of bronze coins without monograms found in the excavations of the site would mean that we accept that under Diodotos and Euthydemos I Bactra never struck bronzes, while Kritt himself admits that the Bactra mint reopened after its temporary transfer to Aï Khanoum. Or we must admit that no coin of Bactra ever reached Aï Khanoum, and that, for example, the 49 specimens of series VII of Euthydemos all came from a local mint. Bernard preferred to suppose that some of these bronzes without a monogram could have been struck by the Bactra mint.

After these explanations we are better equipped to present the objections that we believe must be raised to the various arguments put forward by Kritt to justify his attribution of the coins bearing the monogram  and its variants to the mint of Aï Khanoum.

Kritt's main argument consists of identifying the official mark  stamped on baked bricks of certain public buildings of Aï Khanoum, which are among the most ancient of the site, with the monogram  and its variants that appear on Seleucid coins found in Bactria. The possibility of this link had not escaped Bernard's notice, but he had rejected the idea faced with the consequence that he judged inadmissible. I could not express the obstacle that he saw better than he did:

<sup>43</sup> Instead of 10 that Bernard counts, we should, as Kritt proposes, unite the two series IV/1 and IV/2 of which Bernard attributed the first to Seleucia on the Tigris.

<sup>44</sup> *Monnaies hors trésors*, p. 12.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

Would this mean that we must take from Bactra the monetary series bearing this monogram and attribute them to the mint of Aī Khanoum? In this case we would deprive Bactra of almost all Seleucid coinage because the issues struck with one or other of the variants of the monogram ⊕ during the reigns of Seleucos I and Antiochos I form a homogeneous group that appears impossible to split between two mints.<sup>46</sup>

This would be equivalent to saying that we must pretend that Bactra was not what it had in fact been, the capital of the satrapy of Bactria-Sogdiana, whose conquest was attributed in the Achaemenid period to the legendary Semiramis, for which Alexander had made bee-line as soon as he had crossed the Hindu Kush, and which had served him as a rear base during his difficult pacification of Sogdiana, the stronghold in which Antiochos III besieged Euthydemus in vain. We will return later to the comparative importance if Bactra and Aī Khanoum.

What does the Bactrian monogram ⊕ represent on the coins? We know that the significance of monograms in Bactrian numismatics poses a real problem in that we cannot identify them with the names of towns or with the names of magistrates.<sup>47</sup> On the other hand, what does the mark on the bricks of Aī Khanoum represent? Its character as an official stamp cannot be doubted, but it is not possible to go further than that. Could the same person have placed his stamp both on the bricks and on the coins? But why always the same for the whole production—and it was certainly abundant for the silver—attributed by Newell to Bactra and by Kritt to Aī Khanoum. We must also take into account the fact that the monogram ⊕ when it appears on the bricks is always accompanied by another sign 𑀧 and that both are part of a single stamp within a rectangular border. A.K. Narain<sup>48</sup> interpreted this symbol as the Brāhmī *akṣara jha* and advanced the hypothesis that the city of Aī Khanoum was not founded by Alexander or by Seleucos I but by Diodotos. He argued that, as Brāhmī writing does not appear in India before the edicts of Ashoka dated to around 250 BC, and as the bricks bearing this sign were found in the oldest buildings of Aī Khanoum, we cannot date the foundation of the city before this period, and thus not before the reign of Diodotos.

We could say a great deal concerning Narain's interpretation, but this would take us beyond the framework of the present article. We can, however, make a remark concerning the method used. It is not sufficient to state that the sign 𑀧 on the stamp represents a Brāhmī letter and draw a conclusion from this. It

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>47</sup> On the problem of the interpretation of the monograms in Bactria, see O. Bopearachchi, *BN*, pp. 31-4.

<sup>48</sup> A.K. Narain, 'The Greek Monogram ⊕ and Aī Khanoum: The Bactrian Greek City', *Num; Digest*, 10, 1986, pp. 4-15; *ibid.*, 'On the Foundation and Chronology of Aī Khanoum: 'A Greek-Bactrian City'', in *India and the Ancient World, History, Trade and Culture before AD 650. P.H.L. Eggermont Jubilee volume, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 25, 1987, pp. 115-30; *ibid.*, 'On some Greek Inscriptions from Afghanistan', *Annali, Istituto Universitario Orient*, 47, 1987, pp. 269-92.

is also necessary for the conclusion to be historically plausible. How can the Brāhmī writing that had only just been formed and, with it, the Indian language, to whose expression it is linked, have reached at this early date Bactria, a cultural area that always remained fundamentally foreign to them belonging, as it did, to the territory covered by the Iranian languages and scripts derived either from the Greek alphabet (Kushan), or more often from the Aramaic (Parthian, Pehlevi, Sogdianian)? In Aī Khanoum, even when we sometimes find a document written in a language other than Greek, it was composed in a Parthian and not in an Indian, Brāhmī or Kharoṣṭhī script. Brāhmī was not used in the Oxus basin until much later in the Hellenistic era and in the well-defined framework of the Buddhist religion. The explanation that the writing of the sign  $\text{P}^{\text{I}}$  was Brāhmī thus seems, for reasons of historical likelihood, impossible to accept. The sign that Narain interprets as a Brāhmī *akṣara* could, after all, simply be a mark used by the brick makers and may have nothing to do with the Brāhmī alphabet.

As far as the date of the foundation of Aī Khanoum is concerned, Kritt simplifies Bernard's thought to the point of changing it. 'In his discussion of the Aī Khanoum coins 1-9, Bernard suggests the possibility that Aī Khanoum was a foundation of Alexander the Great', he writes.<sup>49</sup> In fact, this remark is applied to the discussion of the pseudo-Athenian bronze coins of Aī Khanoum (series 1) which Bernard considered could be immediately pre-Seleucid, but Kritt omits to cite the reasoning that led the excavator of Aī Khanoum to make it:

Let us add that if we managed to prove that these coins were before the conquest of Bactria by Seleucos I, it would automatically follow that Aī Khanoum was founded by Alexander, the Alexandria of Oxiana of Ptolemy. Their number (9 specimens + 2 outside the excavation) effectively makes a local origin probable—we know from the unstruck flans that Aī Khanoum possessed a mint—rather than that they were the product of a different city in the area. The colony must have existed from that time and we can only attribute its foundation to Alexander.<sup>50</sup>

It is quite clear that for the author of these lines the idea of a foundation by Alexander is far from being proven. What he says is that the only numismatic proof that we could bring to bear would be to show that the coins are pre-Seleucid and not Seleucid, and on the other hand that they were struck in Aī Khanoum. Both conditions can be seen as possible, but nothing more. Bernard is perfectly aware of the uncertainty that surrounds the date of the foundation of the city and he does not hide it: 'Uncertainty continues to surround this date and we still hesitate between the passage of Alexander and the coming of Seleucos I.'<sup>51</sup> The hypothesis of a foundation by Diodotos put forward by Narain is in any case incompatible both with the chronological conclusions of

<sup>49</sup> Kritt, p. 31.

<sup>50</sup> *Monnaies hors trésors*, p. 35.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Kritt and with those of Bernard. It does not explain how, in a city founded around 250 BC by a rebel satrap of Antiochos II, we find so many bronze coins of Antiochos I. The circulation of bronzes is by its nature local: these coins only travel far from their area of origin<sup>52</sup> in exceptional cases.

What are the other arguments put forward by Kritt to justify his hypothesis? The discovery of ten unstruck flans in the excavations of Aï Khanoum is, according to Kritt, an indication to make one consider Aï Khanoum the main mint of Bactria. It is true that the virgin flans found in Aï Khanoum have bevelled edges and that the mint of Aï Khanoum certainly struck the series of Seleucid bronzes with flans of this type (see below), but this does not suffice to make it the main mint of Bactria. Let us note that the striking of bronzes with bevelled flans did not end in Aï Khanoum with Diodotos coming to power, but continued until the end of the reign of Euthydemos I.<sup>53</sup>

The area of the find of the Oxus hoard has been used in a contradictory manner both by Newell and Kritt, the first<sup>54</sup> to place in Bactra the main Bactrian mint and the majority of silver and gold Seleucid coins contained in the hoard, while the second<sup>55</sup> to situate this mint in Aï Khanoum. Despite the uncertainty that surrounds the circumstances of the fortuitous discovery of this hoard in 1877-8, we are more or less sure today that it came from the site of Takht-i Kobad on the right bank of the Oxus River, near the confluence with the Qunduz, in a place where travellers and ancient maps note that there was a ferry crossing of the Oxus.<sup>56</sup> It has recently been attempted, for no good reason, to displace the find-spot a few kilometres upstream so as to link the hoard to a rich deposit of offerings unearthed in the course of the last few years in an

<sup>52</sup> Narain was aware of this grave objection to which his theory would be exposed and he tries to answer it in advance by supposing that despite everything Aï Khanoum could, already have existed before Diodotos: 'Probably (Aï Khanoum) was founded at the end of the first quarter of the third century BC, as a small regional administrative center with minting facilities. Gradually it developed into a flourishing city of strategic and commercial importance after the younger Diodotus made Bactria free from the nominal rule of the Seleucids and became securely entrenched to develop the economy' (*Num. Digest* 10, 1986, p. 15). But the thesis of a refoundation by Diodotos has the same weakness as that of the foundation that we have stated earlier: toward the middle of the third century BC it is impossible that Indian writing and the Indian language that it presupposes had taken root in Bactria, especially to the point of being used on an official stamp—whatever the precise significance of this may be—could be that of a Greek colony.

<sup>53</sup> See on this, O. Bopearachchi, *BN*, p. 49.

<sup>54</sup> For Newell, *ESM*, p. 229: 'Hence, a royal Seleucid mint at the capital of Bactra would be extremely probable—the more so as this city represents the nearest large commercial and political centre to the spot where the Oxus Treasure was unearthed'.

<sup>55</sup> For Kritt, p. 23: 'As for reason 2, Aï Khanoum is actually slightly closer to the find site of the Oxus Treasure than Bactra, and far more accessible, but was unknown to Newell'.

<sup>56</sup> P. Bernard, 'Le temple du dieu Oxus à Takht-i-Sangin en Bactriane: Temple du feu ou pas', *Studia Iranica* 23/1, 1994, pp. 81-121, especially pp. 101-9, where the important contributions of E.V. Zajmal' to this problem are mentioned.



important temple consecrated to the god Oxus at the confluence of this river and the Waksh, a tributary on its right bank, on the site of Takht-i Sangin (Tadjikistan).<sup>57</sup> At Takht-i Kobad we are about 100 km as the crow flies from Ai Khanoum and 120 from Bactra. The difference is not such that the argument of proximity could be used in favour of Ai Khanoum over Bactra. In both cases one would have to cross the Oxus to reach Takht-i Kobad on the right bank, and for travellers coming from one or the other city the surest means would have been to cross at the point of the site. The position of Takht-i Kobad cannot, in itself, give us an argument for the attribution of the Seleucid coins in the hoard to one rather than the other of the two cities, especially as silver and gold coins can travel very far from their place of issue.

Kritt states that, compared to Bactra, the city of Ai Khanoum possessed more direct and easier access to the silver mines of Badakhshan in the Panjshir Valley, from where we believe the metal came. We must not give this argument a weight that it does not have, first of all because from Bactra we could also reach these mines without great difficulty, although the route was two or three days' march longer. This is especially true because what was exported was not the ore, which would have given a real advantage to the closest site, but the metal in the form of ingots, whose transportation did not pose a problem: there would have been no real difference with a route that was longer or shorter by 100 km or so. It was different with the mines situated in the hinterland of Ai Khanoum, access to which the city could easily control, as was the case for the lapis mines in the upper valley of Kokcha, whose product was not reducible to ingots. But the mines of Panschir were situated on the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush and we cannot really say that Ai Khanoum was better situated than Bactra to control them. What was more important was the political control exercised over their exploitation. If, as we believe, the political capital of Seleucid Bactria was situated in Bactra, the control was exercised from Bactra. It seems to us that there is some naivety in believing that if Ai Khanoum was founded where it is situated and if the mint was transferred there, it was to bring it closer to the sources of precious metal. Athens never thought of moving closer to the mines of Lavrion. The problem must be considered in terms of ingots smelted on the site of extraction and not in terms of crude ore.

Anxious to increase the importance of the role of Ai Khanoum compared to Bactra, Kritt uses the remarks made by Bernard on the advantages of its situation at the confluence of the Oxus (Amou Daria) and the Kokcha. It was the metropolis of a rich agricultural land that had been actively cultivated before Alexander's conquest; it occupied a strategic position that allowed it to survey and control the eastern borders of Bactria; it also watched over the frontier region of the Badakhshan Mountains which were rich in mineral resources.

<sup>57</sup> This hypothesis presented by I.R. Picikjan, the excavator, was refuted by E.V. Zejmal' (op. cit. in no. 30) and P. Bernard (op. cit. in previous note).

We must emphasize, however, that the city of Bactra had advantages, to which those of Ai Khanoum in the heart of Bactria cannot even be compared. Bactra was the junction of many great trade routes. It was one of the important trading posts on the great route through India starting from Pataliputra (Patna), the ancient capital of the Maurya, passing through Mathura, Taxila, Pushkalavati and Alexandria of the Caucasus (Bagram), and continuing in the direction of Alexandria of Aria (Herat) and Ecbatana. To the south, across the hills of the Hindu Kush, it was linked with Alexandria of Arachosia (Kandahar), Seistan and the southern route through Persia and Mesopotamia. To the north-west and the north went the routes that led to Margiana and Sogdiana and on to Alexandria Eschate (Leninabad) and Chinese Turkestan. To the east it was the point of departure of another route which, passing through Badakhshan and the upper plateaus of Pamir, also reached Chinese Turkestan. On the contrary, Ai Khanoum was situated almost in a dead end at the eastern extremity of Bactria. It was off both the great route through India and the routes leading to the east that passed either further north or further south. The most frequented points for the crossing of the Oxus were located upstream. The importance of Ai Khanoum was that of a local metropolis, not of an international capital, as Bactra undoubtedly was.

History has not even preserved the ancient name of Ai Khanoum, as it is not certain, as Bernard himself admits, that we must attribute to it the name of Alexandria on the Oxus mentioned by Ptolemy. We cannot even ascertain whether Alexander passed through the plain where it was to be built. On the contrary history is full of the name of Bactra. Already under the Achaemenids it was home to the satrap who represented the Great King in the key province of Bactria-Sogdiana. We have said that Alexander wanted to conquer it without delay, that it served as his base camp in his campaigns. It was in Bactra that Euthydemus took refuge to resist the attacks of Antiochos III who did not manage to breach the strong fortifications despite a siege lasting two years. The prestige of its name was such that it became synonymous with all that is Greek in Central Asia and even simply with all that is Bactrian. It is thus that a Greek source preserved by Plutarch (*Precepts of Statecraft, Moralia*, 821 e) has the famous Indo-Greek king Menander reign in Bactra where he never set foot. We could cite many other texts from later periods which similarly refer to the city of Bactra.

The existence of Ai Khanoum was of short duration. The city was abandoned by its Greek population in 145 BC and the nomads who had caused this exodus did not settle there. After the departure of the Greeks the city was briefly re-occupied by local populations. If the site had the strategic importance that Kritt ascribes to it, we cannot understand why the history of the city stopped there and did not continue.

The two last arguments used by Kritt insist on the fact that, contrary to Bactra, the excavations of Ai Khanoum have permitted us to discover on the site numerous Seleucid bronzes with unknown types and an ancient city whose



importance is reflected in the number and the impressiveness of its constructions. These are observations that no one can dispute, but I am afraid that the conclusions that the American numismatist draws from them are mistaken because of an error of perspective.

We must reason based on the material data available to us, but it is equally important to relate this data to what history can teach us from other sources. At this time Ai Khanoum appears to us in a privileged light because lengthy excavations (about fifteen years) have taken place there. Let us not forget however that Hellenistic Bactria was famous for its 'thousand cities' and however much we decide Justin, the abbreviator of the *Philippic Histories* of the Latin historian Trogus Pompeius, a contemporary of Augustus (XLI, 1; 4), was exaggerating, we must remember that Ai Khanoum, did not exist in the splendid isolation which characterizes it today and that there were other Greek colonies in Bactria, apart from Bactra itself, even though they did not have the importance of these two cities.

Nor should we forget that the excavation of Ai Khanoum was carried out in exceptionally favourable conditions for the collecting of information about what a Greek colony in Central Asia was like. In fact the French excavators had the good fortune to find this Greek city on the banks of the Oxus in an almost virgin state, because after its abandonment by the Greeks it was never re-occupied; virgin also, because it had never been excavated before and they were able to collect information that had remained intact. The other Greek cities that we know of in Central Asia were all re-occupied by the successors of the Greeks and this resulted in the re-use of building material and serious disturbance of the older strata. This is the case of Bactra (Balkh), Alexandria of the Caucasus (Bagram), Alexandria in Aria (Herat), Alexandria of Arachosia (Kandahar), Alexandria Eschate (Leninabad) and Maracanda (Samarkand).

Let us take the case of Bactra, as this city is at the centre of the debate. Alfred Foucher, the great French expert on India, author of *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*,<sup>58</sup> carried out the first excavations here. The results were absolutely negative because the vestiges of the Greek city that he had come to look for were buried much too deep for him to reach and because, obsessed by the memory of the Greek cities of the Mediterranean world, he expected constructions of stone and not of un-baked bricks, with stone reserved for ornaments. In a letter addressed to Émile Sénart, president of the archaeological commission of Afghanistan, dated 23 January 1924, Foucher eloquently expresses his disillusionment:<sup>59</sup>

The point on which you were impatient to be informed is, I have no doubt, the defined object of our voyage. But on this my perplexity is quite profound. Bactra bears a name that is so strongly evocative, so charged with history, so crowned with hopes that we refuse to admit the possibility of a disappointment even at the moment we are feeling it. The distance

<sup>58</sup> A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, MDFA I, Paris, 1942.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., pp. 55-6.

between the universal and uncontested prestige which this site enjoys in European imagination and the humbleness of local realities are such that it is impossible not to ask who has made the mistake here. Add to this the fact that nothing is more disconcerting in this place than the contrast between the magnitude of the piles of ruins and the meanness of the material of which these immense mounds seem to be composed and you will understand that, like a hesitant traveler faced with a dissipating mirage, not knowing exactly where reality begins and where illusion ends, I have come to doubt the testimony of my eyes and to repent my assessments as soon as I write them. It is necessary however—given that this is why you sent me here—that I send you a sort of inventory and an evaluation of the site; in the meanwhile take these notes for what they are, a hurried and provisional summary, albeit unfortunately sincere, of my first impressions.

A little further on Foucher expresses his confusion, although with a touch of humour:

I see from here the face of our Parisian amateurs growing longer and I seem to hear them returning at a gallop: What! Not a single shaft or a capital of an Achaemenid column? Not a fragment of Greek architecture still standing on two columns? Not a Sassanian arch remaining standing? Not an element of antique architecture that rises on the horizon, messenger of future discoveries, and which breaks a little the monotony of these naked mounds? No, nothing of all this, and even worse, not even a vestige of a stone wall, no matter what its date?<sup>60</sup>

And to conclude: 'I promise you I will no longer write to transmit precise facts; and as for all the questions that we asked ourselves on the subject of the "contents" of Balkh, only the mattock can answer peremptorily: I give it the floor.'<sup>61</sup>

Unfortunately the 'mattock' did not answer the expectations of the archaeologists and historians in Bactra. After the end of the Second World War, the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan (DAFA) worked twice more on the site of Bactra: in 1947-8 and in 1955-6. In the meantime, in 1953, the American Rodney S. Young had excavated part of the Southern rampart.<sup>62</sup> In 1947-8 the DAFA carried out soundings of a preliminary character inside the ramparts, especially on the Arg, the citadel. The work of 1955 aimed at resolving the problem of the successive states of fortification. We observe the same disappointment of the French archaeologists, when Jean-Claude Gardin concluded his study of the ceramics: 'Balkh, the Beautiful, Balkh, Mother of Cities, these titles that the Persians and the Arabs gave to the oriental city of Khorassan, exceed, let us admit it, the image that the objects presented here give of its history; and the reasons to believe in a "Bactrian mirage" seem to be ever increasing.'<sup>63</sup> The archaeological reality of most ancient sites in Central Asia is below expectations. The excavations being carried out in the ancient city of Maracanda (Samarkand) where Alexander periodically stayed

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 61.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 83.

<sup>62</sup> R.S. Young, 'The South Wall of Balkh-Bactra', *AJA*, 1955, pp. 267-76.

<sup>63</sup> J.-C. Gardin, *Céramiques de Bactres*, *MDAFA* XV, 1957, Paris, p. 114.

during the years 329-327 BC have, with the exception of the well preserved ramparts, long denied excavators any vestiges of a Greek presence.<sup>64</sup> This absence surprised Bernard who had excavated the north-west terrace of the site and wrote:

Must we then, in a heartbreaking revision, admit that during all the Hellenistic period the western part of this north-west zone, that was always considered, but without any real proof, to have been the area of choice for the settlement of Greek colonies, remained empty behind its rampart of any domestic constructions, serving as a dumping area, housing only a few industrial activities? Was it necessary to wait for the first centuries of our era before a great sanctuary was established here as well as living quarters? And if the residential area of the Hellenistic period is not at this place, where must we seek it? So many troubling questions that the pursuit of the research into the older periods of Maracanda can no longer avoid and which, if the negative indications are confirmed, will necessarily lead us to imagine a different concept of the urbanisation of Hellenistic Maracanda.<sup>65</sup>

It was necessary to await the two last years to finally witness the appearance on the site of a building of the Greek era, a monumental grain warehouse, which is currently being excavated. At Kandahar the scarcity of traces of Hellenistic constructions led the excavators to ask themselves whether classical authors were not mistaken when they spoke of Greek colonists settled in the city.<sup>66</sup>


To return to the question of Bactra, it is clear that we cannot place the excavations that were carried out here on the same footing as those carried out in Aī Khanoum. In Bactra the Greek layers were never reached.<sup>67</sup> At Aī Khanoum they were found everywhere we dug. Before the excavation of Aī Khanoum we were ignorant of practically every monetary type of the Seleucid bronzes that appeared there. Can we consider that the same would not be true for Bactra if we had the means to excavate an equally large area of the Hellenistic strata as we were able to do at Aī Khanoum? For our part, we doubt that we can ignore these considerations, as it appears certain to us that the excavation

<sup>64</sup> P. Bernard, Fr. Grenet and M. Isamiddinov, *Fouilles de la Mission franco-soviétique à l'ancienne Samarkand (Afrasiab): première campagne, 1989*, CRAI 1990, pp. 356-80; *ibid.*, *Fouilles de la Mission franco-ouzbègue à l'ancienne Samarkand (Afrasiab): deuxième et troisième campagnes (1990-1991)*, CRAI, 1992, pp. 275-311.

<sup>65</sup> CRAI 1992, pp. 293-4.

<sup>66</sup> A. McNicoll and W. Ball, *Excavations at Kandahar 1973 and 1975. The first two seasons at Shahr-i Kohna (Old Kandahar) conducted by the British Institute of Afghan Studies*, London, 1996, p. 395: 'But the absence of significant "Greek" remains from the 1975 excavations confirms McNicoll's initial suggestion (1978: 46) that even if the site is indeed Alexandria, the Greek occupation was little more than mere formal taking over of the upper echelons of administration and defence, rather than the founding and laying out of a whole new Greek city as Fraser (1979: 12) suggests'. W. Ball refers here to the articles of A. McNicoll, 'Second Interim Report', *Afghan Studies* 1, 1978, pp. 41-66 and of P.M. Fraser, 'The Son of Aristonax of Kandahar', *Afghan Studies* 2, 1979, pp. 9-23.

<sup>67</sup> We do not even know exactly which part of the rampart should be considered Hellenistic.

of Hellenistic Bactra would give us at least as many monetary innovations as that of Ai Khanoum did. It would be especially interesting to know how many of the bronzes that we would find there, would bear the monogram  or its variants. The objection that we developed against Krit্ত's hypothesis can be summarized by saying that choosing Ai Khanoum over Bactra is due to biased premises, given that we possess the results of the excavations of the one but not the other. This does not, however, mean that we must refrain from every effort to analyse the interpretation of the numismatic material, such as is at our disposal at the moment, but we cannot avoid taking its limitations into account.

We share Krit্ত's point of view about the existence of a second mint of lesser importance in Bactria during the Seleucid period (his 'Mint A'),<sup>68</sup> but we do not agree with him when he says he believes that this secondary mint was in Bactra, the real capital of Bactria, and when he moves the principal mint to Ai Khanoum, which, since Newell, has been assigned to Bactra. In a review he wrote of the publication by Bernard of the coins found outside the hoards at Ai Khanoum, Georges Le Rider, whom we are honouring today, accepted the splitting of the attribution of the bronzes as proposed by the author of that study between the mint of Bactra and a local mint. It appeared to him that these attributions had been made 'with the necessary caution'.<sup>69</sup> We have tried to show that this verdict remains valid and that the book by Krit্ত, which has the merit of updating the list of monetary finds that have multiplied over the last few years in the field of Bactrian numismatics, does not offer sufficient reason to question the classification of the Bactrian mints in such a radical manner.

## POSTSCRIPT

Few years after the publication of this article, A. Houghton and C. Lorber (*Seleucid Coins: A Comprehensive Catalogue, Part I: Seleucus I through Antiochus III*, Lancaster and New York, 2002, p. 103) raised some objections against my observations. I have answered them in 2004 ('La politique monétaire de la Bactriane sous les Séleucides', *Topoi, Suppl.* 6, 2004, pp. 349-69; for the English translation of this article, see in this volume: 'The Monetary Policy of Bactria under the Seleucids', chapter 4).

The discovery of silver ingots in Shaikhan Dehri (in the ancient city of Pushkalavati) proves, as we have suggested in this article, what was exported was not the ore, but the metal in the form of ingots whose transportation did not pose a problem, see with this regard O. Bopearachchi, 'Premières frappes

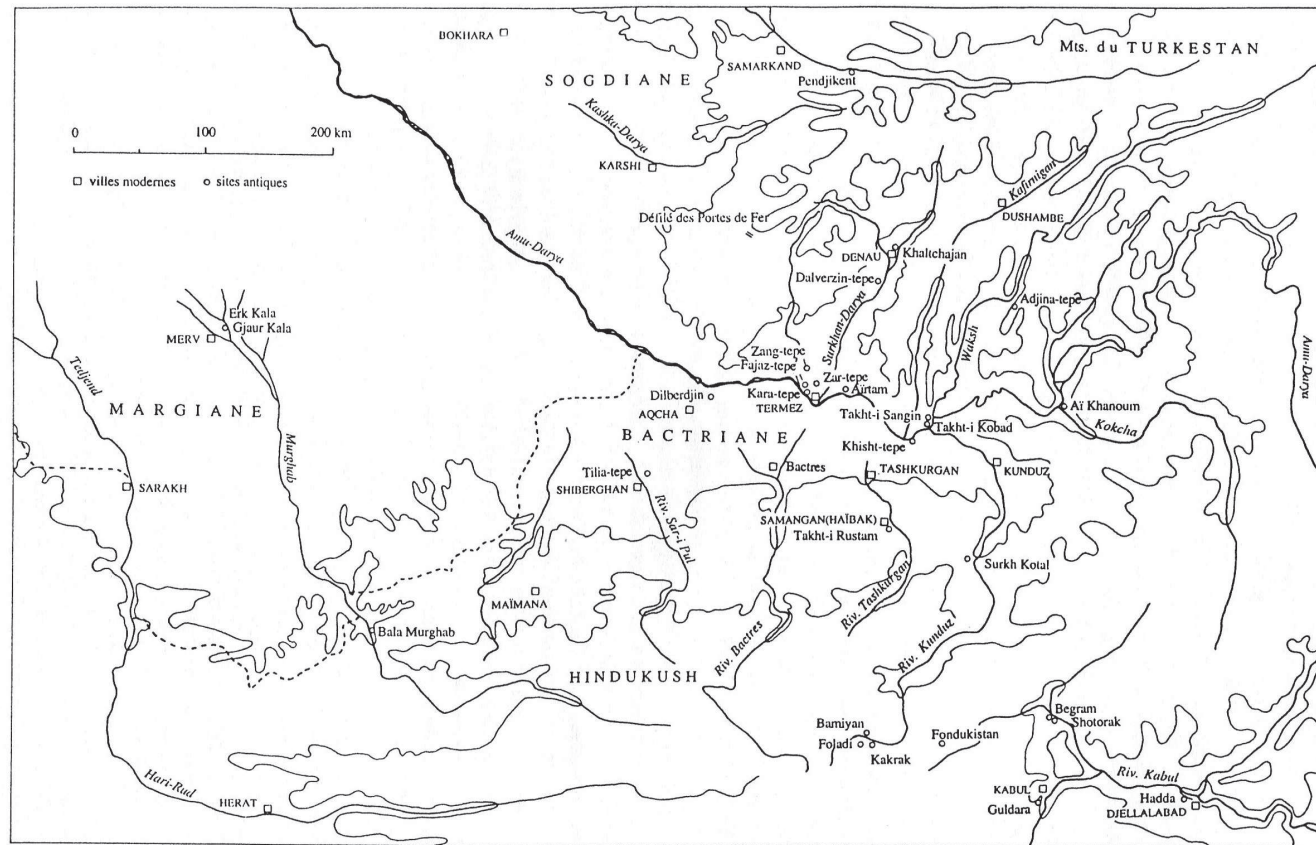
<sup>68</sup> Since a die study carried out by Sergei Kovalenko on the coins struck in the name of Diodotos shows that under Diodotos there existed at least a second mint that issued silver coins. S. Kovalenko, 'The Coinage of Diodotus I and Diodotus II, Greek Kings of Bactria', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 4, Kamakura, 1995/6, pp. 17-74.

<sup>69</sup> G. Le Rider, 'Monnaies d'Ai Khanoum', *RN* 1987, pp. 236-44, especially p. 239.

locales de l'Inde du Nord-Ouest: Nouvelles données', in *Trésors d'Orient. Mélanges offerts à Rika Gyselen*, ed. Ph. Gignoux, Ch. Jullien and F. Jullien, Paris, 2009, pp. 39-50; translated into English in this volume: 'The First Local Monetary Issues of North-West India: New Data', chapter 6.

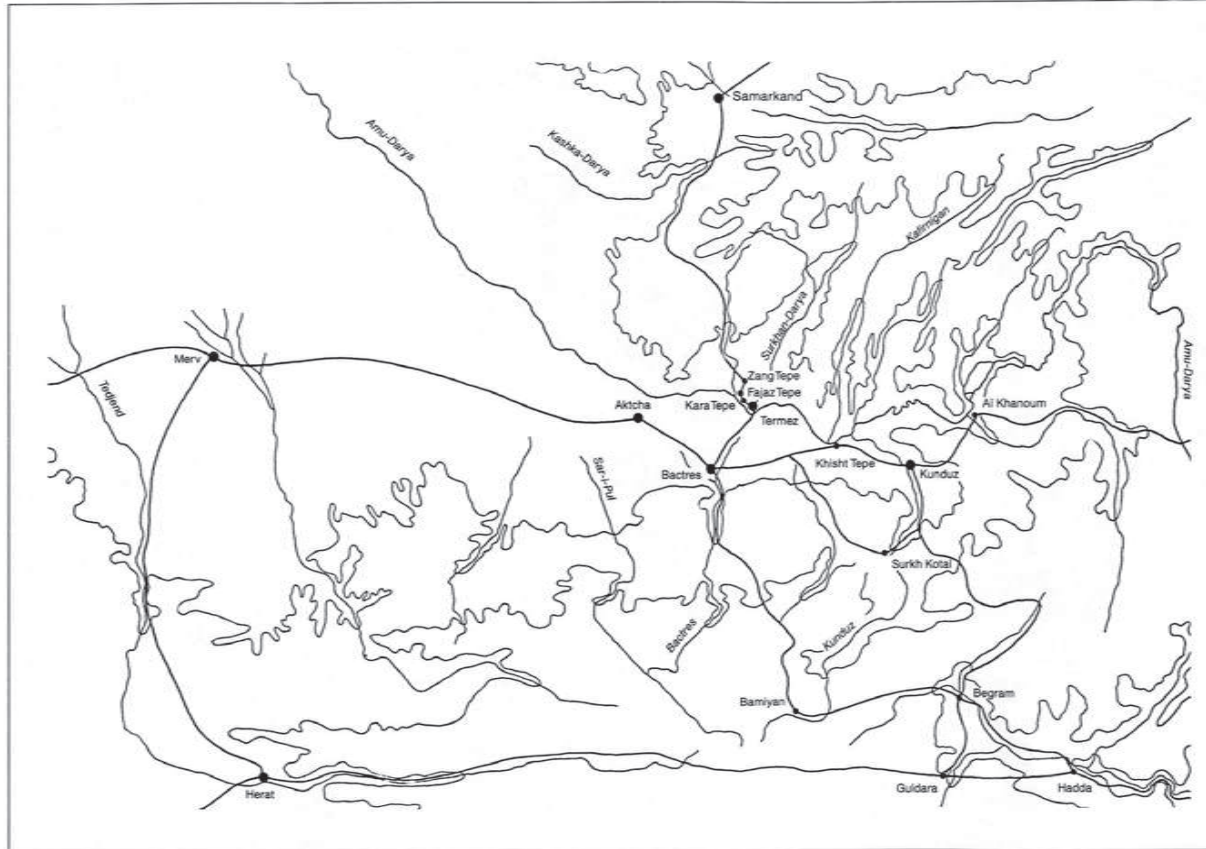
#### ABBREVIATIONS

<i>BN</i>	O. Bopearachchi, <i>Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques, Catalogue raisonné</i> , Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1991.
Kritt	B. Kritt, <i>Seleucid Coins of Bactra</i> , Lancaster, 1996.
<i>MDAFA</i>	<i>Mémoires de la Délégation française en Afghanistan</i>
Mitchiner	M. Mitchiner, <i>Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage</i> , 9 vols., London, 1975-6.
<i>Monnaies hors trésors</i>	P. Bernard, <i>Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum IV. Les monnaies hors trésors. Questions d'histoire gréco-bactrienne (MDAFA XXVIII)</i> , 1985, Paris.
<i>Pre-Kushana Coins</i>	O. Bopearachchi and A. ur Rahman <i>Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan</i> , Karachi, 1995.



The principal regions of Central Asia (Drawing by G. Lecuyot).





Bactra and trade routes of Central Asia and north-west India (according to A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, MDAFA I, Paris, 1942).

## Two Unreported Coins from the Second Mir Zakah Deposit\*

The aim of this short article is to present two unpublished coins from the second Mir Zakah deposit which represent a great interest. As we now know, the second Mir Zakah treasure is one of the largest ancient coin deposits ever attested in the history of mankind. It was discovered accidentally in 1992 in the village of Mir Zakah, 53 km north-east of the city of Gardez in Afghanistan. It must have consisted of 3 to 4 tonnes of gold, silver and bronze coins, in another words about 500,000 specimens. It contained more than 500 kg of silver and gold objects. The results of our investigations on this important deposit have been published from time to time.<sup>1</sup> Two interesting coins found in the same deposit reached the London market recently, and I am most grateful to the collector—who wished to remain anonymous—for authorizing me to publish them.

The first coin which deserves our attention is a gold coin weighing 8.11 g with a diameter of 16 mm which correspond to an Attic standard stater or a gold daric (see Figure below).



The dies are adjusted parallel. As on popular silver issues of Alexander, the head of Heracles to right wearing lion's skin headdress is depicted on the obverse.<sup>2</sup> One would expect on the reverse the usual Zeus naked down to the

\*Reprinted from *ONS Newsletter*, no. 165, Autumn 2000, pp. 15-16.

<sup>1</sup>O. Boppearachchi and Aman ur Rahman, *Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan*, Karachi, 1995; 'Na st en, a hitherto unknown Iranian ruler in India', *Studies in Silk Road Coins and Culture, Silk Road: Art and Archaeology*, Kamakura, 1997, pp. 67-74; 'Le dépôt de Mir Zakah. Le plus grand trésor du monde, son destin son intérêt', *Dossiers d'Archéologie*, 248, November 1999, pp. 36-43.

<sup>2</sup>For silver tetradrachms in the name of Alexander, see for example M.J. Price, *The*



waist, enthroned to left, holding a sceptre in his left hand and an eagle on his outstretched right hand and the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, but instead we see a winged Nike standing to left, holding a wreath in extended right hand. This is the usual reverse type of Alexander's staters where, on the obverse, the head of Athena to right, wearing crested Corinthian helmet is depicted.<sup>3</sup> A few observations have to be made regarding this unique coin. Firstly, the most important characteristic of this coin is that it is an overstrike. It is struck over an eastern type Daric. On the obverse, in the middle of Heracles' head the oblong incuse impression of the under-type can be seen. Furthermore, the thickness and the irregularity of the flan correspond to a gold daric rather than to a gold stater of Alexander the Great. Secondly, the coin is legendless and of crude style. So, it is evident that the dies were cut purposely to strike this coin. Thirdly, it is the only gold coin of this series, with types copied from two different series. It may be a local Bactrian issue, minted after Alexander's death. It is difficult to say, at this stage, who issued this coin.



The second coin is a gold stater of the Graeco-Bactrian king Euthydemus I of 8.07 g, characterized by a new monogram:  $\text{Ϸ}$  which is not so far attested on his coinage. The second important characteristic of this coin is the depiction of a middle-aged portrait of the king, instead of the young portrait of the known staters of Euthydemus I.<sup>4</sup>

According to the coin sequence which I have proposed for Euthydemus' coins based on Prof. Bivar's hypothesis,<sup>5</sup> stylistically speaking, this middle-aged portrait is quite closer to that of the sixth group of the same king with

*Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great & Philip Arrhidaeus. A British Museum Catalogue*, vols. I & II, London, 1991, pl. XVII.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pls. I-XIV.

<sup>4</sup> See for example, O. Bopearachchi, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques, Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1991, pl. 2, nos. 1 & 2.

<sup>5</sup> A.D.H. Bivar, 'The Bactrian Coinage of Euthydemus and Demetrius', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1951, pp. 22-39.

frontal fold and strand of curly hair.<sup>6</sup> Our classification was based on the difference in age of the royal portrait, the variants in the disposition of the ribbons of the diadem, the iconography and style of the representations of Heracles on the reverse, the elimination of the dotted circle on the reverse and finally the change in orientation of the dies. According to our classification, the coins of the sixth group with the portrait of the sovereign, stylistically closer to our coin, have, on the reverse, Heracles seated on a rock holding a club against his right thigh. However, on the reverse of our coin, the club that Heracles holds rests aslant on a pile of three rocks in front of him. Apart from the right foot of the divinity lifted up and posed on a rock, this reverse type is somewhat closer in style to the one depicted on the known staters of Euthydemus I which I have attributed to the first group.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore the dies of this coin are adjusted anti-parallel, and this characteristic corresponds to the known staters of Euthydemus I. Our coin is thus exceptional in many ways, and cannot be attributed to any of the groups of our previously proposed classification.

Unfortunately, it is not the only coin which shows such characteristics. Coins from the Kuliab hoard contained three exceptional coins of this nature. This hoard was found, in January 1998 in the region of Kuliab, situated in modern Tadjikistan, about 8 to 10 km from the Qizil Mazar in the Qizil Su Valley, on the right bank of the Oxus River. The hoard seems to have been composed of 800 tetradrachms and drachms. We have had access to 205 coins, 52 tetradrachms, 48 drachms and 105 obols.<sup>8</sup> All coins in question are Greek and Graeco-Bactrian, struck according to the Attic standard. This hoard is composed of coins of Eucratides I and of his Bactrian and Greek predecessors: coins in the name of Alexander the Great: 6, Seleucus I: 1. Antiochus: 6, Antiochus II: 3, Diodotus I & II: 22, Euthydemus I: 28. Demetrius I: 55, Euthydemus II: 7, Agathocles: 5, Antimachus I: 48. Eucratides I: 21. In this hoard there were many unreported coins either with new types or known series with new monograms. To my knowledge, no coin of Heliokles I or Plato, who are now considered as Eucratides I's successors, was attested in this lot. By its composition this batch thus reminds us of the three hoards from Ai Khanum. published in 1975 and in 1980 and the stray finds from the same site.<sup>9</sup> Since

<sup>6</sup>Cf. O. Bopearachchi, 'The Euthydemus of Sogdian Independence', in *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, 2, Kamakura, 1991/2, pp. 1-21, particularly pp. 5-6, 18, no. 24.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. O. Bopearachchi, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes*, pl. 2, nos. 1 & 2.

<sup>8</sup>For a complete publication of these coins, see O. Bopearachchi, 'La circulation et la production monétaires en Asie Centrale et dans l'Inde du Nord-Ouest (avant et après la conquête d'Alexandre)', *Pubblicazioni di Indologica Taurinensia, Collana di Letture*, Turin, 2000 (in print).

<sup>9</sup>C.-Y. Petitot-Biehler, 'Trésor de monnaies grecques et gréco-bactriennes trouvé à Ai Khanoum (Afghanistan)', *RN*, XVII, 1975, pp. 23-57; Fr. Holt, 'The Euthydemid Coinage of Bactria: Further Hoard Evidence from Ai Khanum', *RN*, XXIII, 1981, pp. 7-44; P. Bernard, *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum IV. Les monnaies hors trésors. Questions d'histoire gréco-bactrienne (MDAFA XXVIII)*, Paris, 1985, pp. 97-105.

the region of Kuliab is situated in the Oxus Valley to which Ai Khanum historically and geographically belonged, one may not wonder why the hoard is deprived of any post-Eucratides issues.



We have illustrated here one of the tetradrachms of Euthydemus I of the Kuliab hoard weighing 16.50 g characterized by some unusual features. On this coin, the portrait of the sovereign, powerfully realistic, is that of an old man. According to our classification, it belongs to the obverse type of the seventh group. One would thus expect, on the reverse, the depiction of an old Heracles seated on a rock holding the club against his right thigh, but on our coin, the club is set down vertically as on the coins of the second group. This means, on our coin, the obverse with the old portrait has the reverse usually seen with the young portrait. Although such anomalies may result from the accidental mixing of old dies, it is not impossible that this would have been done purposely. Further investigations in this direction may enable us to give a solid answer to the question.

## The Monetary Policy of Bactria under the Seleucids\*

The conquest by Alexander the Great, king of Macedonia (336-323 BCE) of the Achaemenid satrapy of Bactria-Sogdiana (329-327 BCE) in Central Asia, as well as the Indian territories situated to the south of the Hindu Kush (327-326 BCE), profoundly modified the political map of this region of the Empire, but had no effect on monetary practices while the conqueror was alive nor in the years that immediately followed his death.

The conquests carried out by Alexander the Great during his short life produced an unprecedented upheaval in the geopolitical structure of the Greek world and propelled him very quickly to the head of a vast empire. Apart from Macedonia and Greece, it soon spread from Egypt to the valley of the Indus. Once the Achaemenid satrapy of Sogdiana-Bactria was annexed, Alexander installed garrisons in the main cities. Having conquered the Persian Empire, whose system of government he retained, Alexander named satraps in the regions of which he had become master. In 329 he founded a city in the southern foothills of the Hindu Kush which he named after himself: Alexandria of the Caucasus. Crossing the fast-flowing river Indus, he then reached Taxila, where he sampled the hospitality of the local ruler. He left the city in 326 and marched in the direction of the Hydaspes (Jhelum) where he fought a decisive battle against the Indian sovereign Porus. Impressed by the personality of his vanquished foe, Alexander not only returned his kingdom to him, but also gave him the rule of one of his satrapies. This included both Porus' original realm and the rest of the regions situated between the Hydaspes and the Acesines (Chenab). The Macedonian then recommenced his advance in the direction of Beas, the easternmost limit of his conquests. Worn out by the interminable marches, his army refused to go on. Descending the Indus, Alexander then reached Patala in the river delta. From there he started a long and arduous march in the direction of Babylon, where he died in June 323 BCE.

During the years that followed the death of the great conqueror and despite an attempted massive exodus of the Greek colonists of Central Asia, suppressed in a bloodbath, it appears that the Macedonian leaders were able to keep these territories under their control, with the exception of the valley of the Indus, which was lost very early on. Slightly later, in the last years of the fourth

\*Reprinted from 'La politique monétaire de la Bactriane sous les Séleucides', *Topoi, Suppl.* 6, 2004, pp. 349-69.

century, the satrapies of Parthia, Aria and Bactria-Sogdiana fell under the domination of Seleucos, founder of the Seleucid dynasty, who had firmly established his power over Syria and Mesopotamia. At the same time the territories situated to the south of the Hindu Kush came under the control of the Mauryan king Chandragupta. Seleucos I, who distinguished himself after the death of Alexander rather than during his lifetime, claimed from Chandragupta Alexander's old Indian possessions situated to the south of the Hindu Kush. In the end Seleucos agreed to relinquish his claim in exchange for a detachment of five hundred elephants and a treaty of friendship. This failed attempt by Seleucos I at re-conquest of the southern Indian territories previously annexed by Alexander is dated, quite reliably, to around 303 BCE.

We have to wait for more than 100 years before we again find written sources mentioning the Seleucid presence in Bactria. According to Polybius (XI, 39, 2), in 208-206, while besieged in Bactra by Antiochos III, a certain Euthydemos, who had taken the title of king, denied, before an emissary of the Seleucid king, ever having personally fomented an act of rebellion against his predecessors. Others, he said, had instigated the rebellion, and if he had taken power in Bactria, it was by exterminating the descendants of these rebels. If we take this text literally—and there is no reason not to with a historian such as Polybius—it was on the death of Diodotos II (he and his predecessor Diodotos I representing the 'real rebels' that the text alludes to), that Euthydemos took the throne of Bactria by eliminating the descendants of the ruling family of the Diodotids. In the same passage Polybius (XI, 39) specifies that Demetrios, son of Euthydemos I, a young man at the time, ratified the treaty signed between the Graeco-Bactrian ruler and the Seleucid king in the name of his father. Taken by 'the appearance, the conversation and the air of grandeur' of his young interlocutor, Antiochos III promised to marry him to a royal princess. Whatever the motives that pushed Euthydemos to overthrow the dynasty of the Diodotids, it is important to emphasize that at the time of the siege of Bactra in 208-206, the Graeco-Bactrian ruler had sufficiently consolidated his power to resist Antiochos III for two years and finally oblige him to abandon Bactria and officially recognise him as king.

Between the two episodes, another event of great political and economic importance took place in Bactria. According to the abbreviated version of the *Philippic History* of Trogus Pompeius (XLI, 4), at the time when the Parthians were starting their battle to break the Seleucid yoke (around the middle of the third century BCE), a certain Diodotos, at the time satrap of Bactria, revolted against his sovereign and founded the independent kingdom of Bactria. It would appear, furthermore, that it was one of his sons who bore the same name as him (Diodotos II), who succeeded him. The real rebels to whom Euthydemos alludes were Diodotos and his son. Because of the ambiguity of the ancient texts on this point, historians have long been divided on the matter. At stake is, in fact, determining under which Seleucid king this event took place. For some it happened under Antiochos II, around 250 BCE, while for others it was

under Seleucos II, around 239/8 BCE. Numismatic data suggest that the final part of this rebellion should be placed around 250 BCE.

Ancient texts that give us information concerning the history of the Seleucids in Bactria and the Graeco-Bactrians that took over from them are rare. Historians in classical times were never really interested in the destiny of their compatriots in these distant lands. If they speak of them or even of the eastern satrapies of the Seleucid Empire, it is in relation to the Parthians. Apart from this, our knowledge of the economic policy of Bactria under the Seleucids depends almost exclusively on numismatic data.

According to the results of recent studies, examined later in the text, the very first Seleucid issues in Bactria were struck during the period 290-285 BCE. What was the monetary policy of the Seleucids in Bactria from the annexation of the province to the empire until then?

The monetary policy of the Seleucids in Bactria cannot be approached without having some idea of the political situation from the time of the conquest of this satrapy by Alexander at the expense of the Achaemenids. Under Achaemenid rule Central Asia does not appear to have had its own mints and A.D.H. Bivar (1971 and 1982) believes that at this time, despite the existence of royal coinages that penetrated these regions, it was precious metals valued by weight that were used as the means of exchange in this part of the empire.

Recent discoveries in Bactria and neighbouring regions have brought to light darics and double darics of the time of Alexander issued between 331 and 300 BCE. The second deposit of Mir Zakah contained more than ten darics and double darics bearing the Greek marks  $\Phi$ ,  $\mp$ ,  $\Lambda$  that we attribute to the Babylon mint. All these gold coins share the types of Achaemenid Persian darics.<sup>1</sup> According to largely accepted opinion, these issues were struck by local satraps under the authority of Alexander the Great for local circulation.<sup>2</sup> Le Rider is right when he notes that 'these gold coins were not unknown in the East, but we must admit that they were considered exactly the same as the ingots of precious metal, despite the allure of the royal figure that decorated them.'<sup>3</sup>

Nor do we have any proof that Alexander set up mints in Bactria. As far as

<sup>1</sup> Bopearachchi 2002, p. 70, nos. a-i. These coins come from the great hoard found by chance in 1993-4 near the locality of Mir Zakah. According to my investigations and my assumptions, this monetary deposit contained more than 4 tons of struck metal, that is to say 550,000 coins in silver and bronze, as well as 350 kg of objects in gold. Most of these gold objects have already entered Japanese and American collections and almost 5,000 coins have been bought by antiquarians in London and New York. When I visited the Peshawar bazaar in Pakistan in February 1994, I was able to examine more than 300 kg of metal or approximately 38,000 coins that came from this hoard. I was also able to study numerous coins of the same provenance that are now in private collections. (For more information on this hoard, see Bopearachchi 1994a-c; 1995; 1999a).

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Hill 1922 and Carradice 1987.

<sup>3</sup> Le Rider 2001, p. 173.

monetary production in all the territories conquered by Alexander the Great is concerned, Le Rider, in a recent study, concludes that 'Alexander, at the beginning of his reign, in 333/2, does not seem to have considered turning his tetradrachms and his staters into the "coinage of an empire", or at least, if this idea presented itself to him, he rejected it later.'<sup>4</sup> The same author then makes some remarks with which we cannot disagree:

He (Alexander) preferred to use the funds that his victories caused to flow into his coffers, and he thus continued the use of the coins of the Persian era, especially the darics. After his return from India at the end of 325, the energetic measures he was forced to take concerning his army, as well as other circumstances (one being that the Persian coinage belonged more and more to the past), caused a massive production of his coinage in the western part of his empire, from Babylon to Amphipolis. In this area, the alexanders would henceforth become the coins of inter-regional exchange. But in June 323 this coinage was still not established in the vast territories that covered the provinces to the east of the Tigris.<sup>5</sup>

All the coins struck in the name of Alexander that have so far been found in Aī Khanoum<sup>6</sup> produced by the mints of Babylon,<sup>7</sup> Seleukeia on the Tigris,<sup>8</sup> Marathos,<sup>9</sup> Alexandria,<sup>10</sup> Termessos,<sup>11</sup> Perge,<sup>12</sup> Lampsakos, Amphipolis<sup>13</sup> and Ecbatana,<sup>14</sup> are in fact posthumous issues struck by the successors of Alexander and we can only obtain from them a negative idea about the spread of Alexander's coinage during the conqueror's lifetime to the east of his empire.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Le Rider 1996, p. 860.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> The hoard was discovered in 1973 during the excavation of a house outside the walls of the site of Aī Khanoum. It included 63 tetradrachms of Attic weight silver (Petitot-Biehler 1975) and is known under the name 'Hoard of Aī Khanoum II'. The hoard called 'Aī Khanoum III' was found by chance by an agricultural worker in Spring 1974 in the northern suburb of the city and was sold clandestinely in the Kabul bazaar. It appeared on the market in New York in 1975 and 1976 and N. Waggoner was able to examine it. Based on the notes of this late numismatist and a set of photographs taken by an antiquary, Frank Holt was able to publish it (Holt 1981). Another hoard (Aī Khanoum IV), that originally included almost 1,500 coins, was recently discovered, according to our information, by illegal excavators. Unfortunately our knowledge of the composition of this hoard is limited to some 500 coins. For all the hoards found in Aī Khanoum, see Bopearachchi 1999c, p. 56.

<sup>7</sup> Petitot-Biehler 1975, no. 52.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., no. 53.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., no. 58.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., no. 59.

<sup>11</sup> Bopearachchi and ur Rahman 1995, no. 57; Bopearachchi 1999c, pl. VII, no. 55.

<sup>12</sup> Petitot-Biehler 1975, no. 60. Bopearachchi and ur Rahman 1995, no. 58; Bopearachchi 1999 c, pl. VII, no. 56.

<sup>13</sup> Petitot-Biehler 1975, no. 56.

<sup>14</sup> Bopearachchi and Ur Rahman 1995, no. 59; Bopearachchi 1999c, pl. VII, no. 57.

<sup>15</sup> These coins were discovered with coins from the towns of Akanthos in the Chalkidike and of Paros: Akanthos; Bopearachchi and ur Rahman 1995, no. 55; Paros: *ibid.*, no. 56.



They were only imported later, when Bactria was annexed by the Seleucid Empire. Apart from the posthumous coins of Alexander, we have also discovered in Bactria coins of Lysimachos<sup>16</sup> and Mazaïos, whom Alexander had named satrap of Babylon in 331.<sup>17</sup>

The Seleucids' policy of tolerance in the satrapy of Bactria was not limited to the free circulation of issues that came from far off. It is also evident in the numerous monetary series, probably struck by local satraps. In our opinion, the very first coins struck in Bactria did not appear before 305 BCE. These are three series that circulated only to the north of the Hindu Kush and whose dating has caused much ink to flow; I am talking of:

1. the imitations of Athenian owls (on the obverse the helmeted head of Athena and on the reverse an owl with the Greek legend ΑΘΕ);<sup>18</sup>
2. the coins with an eagle (on the obverse the helmeted head of Athena and on the reverse an eagle turning its head, without a legend);<sup>19</sup>
3. the coins struck in the name of Sophytos (on the obverse a helmeted head of a dynast and on the reverse a cockerel and the name of the dynast in Greek: ΣΩΦΥΤΟΥ.<sup>20</sup>

These coins, with some rare exceptions, were all found to the north of the

---

These two coins appear to come from the Aï Khanoum IV hoard. We must add to the list of coins struck in the name of Alexander the six drachms that came from the hoard of Kuliab. The discovery of the Kuliab hoard was the result of clandestine excavations on an ancient site in the region of Kuliab. We have inventoried 205 of the 800 coins in this hoard (see Bopearachchi 1999c, pp. 34-53). The Kuliab region is in Tadjikistan, 8-10 km from Qizil Mazar, in the valley of Qizil Su, on the right bank of the Oxus opposite Aï Khanoum (see Bopearachchi 1999c, pp. 59-60).

<sup>16</sup> To date we know of the existence of three coins of Lysimachos found in Bactria, the first from the hoard of Aï Khanoum III (Holt 1981, no. 3), the second from Afghanistan with no further details (Bopearachchi and ur Rachman 1995, no. 62) and the third, still unpublished, from the Aï Khanoum hoard (private collection of K. Grigo).

<sup>17</sup> Two unpublished gold coins (without legends) were found in the hoard of Mir Zakah II (see Bopearachchi 2002, p. 71, no. a-b).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Mitchiner 1975-6, series 24 and 25; Nicolet-Pierre and Amandry 1994, p. 35, nos. 1-51 and Bopearachchi 1996, p. 31, nos. 5-9. We must add to this series the silver coins without legends, with an owl with two bodies and an undetermined object, cf. Nicolet-Pierre 1973, p. 36, no. 8 and Bopearachchi 1996, p. 31, no. 10. For the bronze coins, without legends, with the helmeted head of Athena and an owl, cf. Bernard 1985, p. 19, nos. 1-9.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Mitchiner 1975-6, series 26 and 27; Nicolet-Pierre and Amandry 1994, p. 38, nos. 52-64 and Bopearachchi 1996, p. 31, nos. 11 and 12. We must also add to this category the series with the bearded head of Zeus on the obverse and the same eagle on the reverse: cf. Mitchiner 1975-6, series 28; Nicolet-Pierre and Amandry 1994, p. 38, no. 65; Bopearachchi 1996, p. 31, no. 13.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Mitchiner 1975-6, series 29-30; Bopearachchi 1996, p. 31, nos. 1-3. We must also include in this group the series where the head of the dynast is replaced by a head of Athena wearing a Corinthian helmet: Mitchiner 1975-6, series 31 and Bopearachchi 1996, p. 31, no. 4.



Hindu Kush, and more precisely in the valley of the Oxus. They were struck following two weight standards, the Attic and a local one. We must note that not a single piece was found in an excavation and that our information concerning their provenance is indirect and, generally, second hand.

Some numismatists attribute them to the Greek colonists who had settled in Central Asia before Alexander, at the time of the Achaemenid Empire.<sup>21</sup> Based on the arguments developed by Bernard,<sup>22</sup> we have shown elsewhere that all these coins were struck after Alexander's conquest towards the end of the fourth century BCE, in circumstances that remain obscure but which must be linked to the re-conquest by Seleucos I of the satrapies of Central Asia (306-305), i.e. before the introduction of the proper Seleucid coinage into Bactria.<sup>23</sup>

It is certain that the person, be it satrap or governor, who issued the coins in the name of Sophytos, was not a Greek. The discovery of an inscription in the form of an epigram recently discovered in Kandahar alludes to a certain Sophytos who made his fortune as a merchant in faraway lands. According to G.-J. Pinault, the origin of his name is Indian.<sup>24</sup> If this is the case, we must accept that the Sophytos who struck coins was also Indian, or, at least, non-Greek. Without assuming the royal title, this important personage, imitating the portrait of his sovereign Seleucos I on the obverse of his coins, had sufficient authority, even if it was limited, to issue his own coins. Can we interpret this gesture as the result of a certain tolerance on the part of the Seleucids *vis-à-vis* the satrap of Bactria? It is very probable that we are witnessing here the continuation of the policy practised by the Great King toward the satraps, a policy that had been used by Alexander himself. Le Rider is right when he pointed out

one of the peculiarities of the Persian monetary system is that the dignitaries of the kingdom were able to strike coins bearing their names and decorated with individual types. This practice is surprising because we are used to the idea that the right to strike coins is a royal prerogative and that the production by a great personage of the kingdom of coins in his own name constitutes an act of insubordination against the sovereign. However such an interpretation does not fit the coinage of Persian dignitaries: it is obvious that, in the vast majority, if not all, the cases, they acted with the assent of the Great King.<sup>25</sup>

The practice of a satrap issuing a local coinage in Bactria ends with the royal issues of Seleucos I at the beginning of the third century.<sup>26</sup> According to E.T. Newell, the very first Seleucid issues in Bactria did not start before about 285 BCE.<sup>27</sup> The American numismatist based his reasoning on the fact

<sup>21</sup> Especially Narain 1957, pp. 1-5.

<sup>22</sup> Bernard 1985, pp. 20-8.








<sup>23</sup> Bopearachchi 1996.


<sup>24</sup> Bernard, Rougemont and Pinault 2004.

<sup>25</sup> Le Rider 2001, p. 207.

<sup>26</sup> Le Rider 2003, p. 328.

<sup>27</sup> *ESM*, nos. 657-660.

that the head of Zeus represented on a series of tetradrachms attributed to Bactria<sup>28</sup> is imitated by that an issue of Seleukeia on the Tigris<sup>29</sup> belonging to a group that he dated to 300. Later, using solid arguments, Nancy Waggoner<sup>30</sup> contested the date that Newell gave for the first issues of Seleukeia on the Tigris, proposing to raise the date to about 305, on the return of the expedition of Seleucos to Upper Asia. If this is the case we must, as Bernard<sup>31</sup> suggested, place the beginning of the corresponding coinage in Bactria to around 295 BCE. Still according to Bernard, the issues in the joint names of Seleucos and Antiochos (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ) that Newell dates to 285-280 BCE,<sup>32</sup> were struck during the period 290-285 BCE. These first Bactrian issues thus coincide with the nomination of Antiochos as an associate to the throne in charge of the upper satrapies. These coins were not struck according to the Attic weight standard, but follow a lighter standard whose drachm does not exceed 3.5 g. This is precisely the same standard as that found in certain series we consider to have preceded the Seleucid ones in Bactria, i.e. the imitations of Athens, the series with the eagle and the coins in the name of Sophytos we spoke of earlier. The second characteristic of the coins in the joint names of Seleucos and Antiochos is that most of them bear variants of a monogram composed of a *delta* and an *iota*, most frequently within a circle: , , , , , and . They are followed by a series of Antiochos I in the name and with the portrait of the king with the same type of monogram , and bearing on the reverse the head of a horned horse.<sup>33</sup>

With this group of coins the Bactria mint returns to the Attic weight standard never to leave it again. Newell also notes a change in the disposition of the diadem on these coins of Antiochos, whose dewlaps fall straight down at the beginning of the series,<sup>34</sup> while towards the end one of them falls straight down while the other rises undulating.<sup>35</sup> We find this characteristic again on the coins of his successors, Antiochos II and the two Diodotoi, I and II. Antiochos I later adopted the usual reverse type of the Seleucids, Apollo sitting on the omphalos. The attribution of this series to the Bactria mint is justified by the presence of the monogram  and its variants.<sup>36</sup> The Seleucid coinage of Bactria was diverse and abundant. The hoards of Kuliab, Oxus, Mir Zakah I and II, and the discoveries made in Aï Khanoum are composed of coins in gold, silver and bronze.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., no. 657, pl. L, no. 2.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., nos. 69 and 71, pl. IX, nos. 3 and 5.

<sup>30</sup> Waggoner 1969.

<sup>31</sup> Bernard 1985, pp. 37-38.

<sup>32</sup> *ESM*, no 664-73, pl. L, nos. 9-22.

<sup>33</sup> *ESM*, pl. LI, nos. 1-22 and LII, nos. 1-3.

<sup>34</sup> *ESM*, pl. LI, nos. 1 and 2.

<sup>35</sup> *ESM*, pl. LI, no. 18.

<sup>36</sup> *ESM*, pl. LII, nos. 4-53, nos. 1-3.

<sup>37</sup> For a summary of these discoveries, see Bopearachchi 1999c.

This attribution was questioned by Brian Kritt in 1996.<sup>38</sup> He considers that all the coins bearing the monogram Ⓐ and its variants, attributed by Newell to Bactra, should be transferred to Ai Khanoum.

I believe that I have shown that the book by Kritt, which has the merit of updating the list of monetary finds that have been growing during the last few years in the domain of Bactrian numismatics, does not offer sufficient reason to question the classification of the Bactrian mints proposed by Newell<sup>39</sup> in such a radical manner.

Arthur Houghton and Catharine Lorber, whose recent corpus of Seleucid coinages up to Antiochos III offers us an indispensable tool, return to this question in an unorthodox manner. By minimising and even distorting the arguments that I put forward, they adhere to Kritt's hypothesis:

Bopearachchi, *Travaux Le Rider*, pp. 77-93, took exception to Kritt's thesis. Following Newell and Bernard he argued that historical probability favors the provincial capital Bactria as the mint of this major coinage. He dismissed currently available archaeological evidence as biased by the history of the excavations, and implied that archaeological evidence may never be a fair guide to the relative importance of Bactrian coins, due to the disruption of the level beneath continuously occupied sites.<sup>40</sup>

It is out of the question to take up the discussion on this point here but I shall return to it in detail in my review of their book to appear in *Topoi* 14 (2004). Allow me to quote myself, recalling what I wrote in the conclusion of my article of 1999 b, which explains my opinion<sup>41</sup> unambiguously:

To return to the question of Bactra, it is clear that we cannot place the excavations that were carried out there on the same footing as those carried out in Ai Khanoum. In Bactra the Greek layers were never reached. At Ai Khanoum they were found everywhere we dug. Before the excavation of Ai Khanoum we were unaware of practically every monetary type of the Seleucid bronzes that appeared there. Can we consider that the same would not be true for Bactra if we had the means to excavate as large an area of the Hellenistic layers as we were able to do at Ai Khanoum? For our part, we doubt that we can ignore these considerations, as it appears certain to us that the excavation of Hellenistic Bactra would give us at least as many monetary novelties as Ai Khanoum did. It would be especially interesting to know how many of the bronzes that we found there would bear the monogram Ⓐ or its variants. The objection that we developed against Kritt's hypothesis can be summarized by saying that choosing Ai Khanoum over Bactra is due to biased premises, given that we possess the results of the excavations of the one but not the other. This does not mean, however, that we must refrain from every effort to analyse the interpretation of the numismatic material at our disposal at the moment, but we cannot dispense with taking its limitations into account.

The gap that I referred to four years ago in archaeological documentation is now being filled by new discoveries. Unfortunately it had to be by illegal

<sup>38</sup> Kritt 1996.

<sup>39</sup> See Bopearachchi 1999b.

<sup>40</sup> Houghton and Lorber 2002, p. 103.

<sup>41</sup> Bopearachchi 1999c, p. 91.

excavators who uncovered the Hellenistic layers in Bactra so that we realize that a Greek presence in Bactria is a fact and not a 'Bactrian mirage'.<sup>42</sup> The pillagers have uncovered in one of the quarters of the ancient lower city Corinthian and Ionian capitals that date to the Greek period.<sup>43</sup> We must add to these discoveries a considerable number of Seleucid and Graeco-Bactrian coins uncovered by these clandestine diggers, to which we shall return a little later.

Nor can we pass in silence what Houghton and Lorber present as definitive proof of Krittr's proposal: 'Krittr's arguments in favor of Āi Khanoum have received fresh support from a new bronze (cat. no. 283A) depicting the river Oxus, a type inappropriate to Bactra, which does not lie near the Oxus or any other river.'<sup>44</sup> Their reasoning is once again erroneous, and does not, in my opinion, add any proof.

Poor knowledge of geography alone can explain the surprising claim that there is no river near Bactra. If one has not had the chance to visit the site oneself, the consultation of an atlas or, even better, the reading of geographers and travellers, ancient and modern, from *Hudud al-Alam* to Foucher, via Burnes and a number more, allows us to confirm that there is indeed a 'river of Bactra', the Balkhab in its local Persian name. It rises in the Hindu Kush just east of Bamyān, where it is called the 'river of Band-i Amir', a name derived from the famous lakes from which it issues; it descends the northern slope of the mountains and as it approaches the plain it receives from its right, the river of Darrah Youssouf, whose valley is followed by an ancient Indian route coming from Bamyān.<sup>45</sup> Flowing over the plain, about 10 km from the city, it divides into about twenty branches, natural and artificial, used for irrigation, which empties them before they are able to reach the Oxus. Balk thus finds itself enclosed in a whole network of small waterways that fertilize its territory, some of which cross the ruins, as is the case with the one that divides the quarter of the ancient city called Tepe Zargaran. The work of the geographer *Hudud al-Alam*, written in Persian at the end of the tenth century, describes the river of Bactra in these terms: 'There is another river, that of Bactra, which, born in the region of Bamyān, passes close to the territories of Madr and Ribat-i Kirvan, and reaches Bactra.'<sup>46</sup> Most travellers made the same observation. A. Burnes wrote in 1832:

<sup>42</sup> I allude to the disappointment of Jean-Claude Gardin (1957, p. 114), who, concluding his study of the ceramics, says: 'Balkh the Beautiful, Balkh Mother of Cities, these titles that the Persians and the Arabs give to the oriental city of Khorassan exceed, let us admit it, the image that the objects presented here give of its history; and the reasons to believe in a "Bactrian mirage" seem to be ever increasing....'

<sup>43</sup> These discoveries will soon be published by Paul Bernard in *CRAI*, 2004.

<sup>44</sup> Houghton and Lorber 2002, p. 103.

<sup>45</sup> For a description of this route between Bagram and Alexandria of the Caucasus and Bactra via Bamyān see Foucher 1942, pp. 24-8.

<sup>46</sup> *Hudud al-Alam*, 'The regions of the world'. *A Persian Geography 372 AH-982 AD*, translated and explained by V. Minorsky (Oxford University Press, 1937), p. 73, 211. The river of Bactra was also called by the evocative name of 'Da-has': 'The ten mills'.

In Balkh the water has been distributed with great labour by aqueducts from a river. Of these there are said to be no less than eighteen, but many are now not discoverable. They frequently flood, and leave marshes, which rapidly dry up in the sun. This seems to account for the diseases of the place.... and Balkh itself is not situated in a naturally marshy country, but on a gentle slope which sinks towards the Oxus, about 1,800 feet above sea level. All the water of the river is lost long before reaching the stream.<sup>47</sup>

Commenting on the itinerary followed at the beginning of the seventh century by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuan-tsang from Bactra to Bamyān, Foucher wrote:

Finally leaving Balkh, he went first of all towards the south of the country of Ka-tchin, today Darrah-I Gaz or Valley of the Tamaris: that is to say he went up the course of the river whose waters are lost in fertilising the countryside of the old 'Mother of Cities'. Then his route turned to the south-east up the lateral valley today known by the name of Darrah Yousseuf.<sup>48</sup>

These quotes are sufficient to make us understand that the inhabitants of Bactra had good reasons to associate the prosperity of their town with a river. A river deity with the characteristics of a man-headed bull would not be at all out of place on the coins struck by the mint of their city.

As a general rule, in antiquity it was not necessary for a city to be built on the banks of the river to be designated with reference to it or represent it on its coinage: it was sufficient that the river flowed through its territory or that it constituted one of its borders. This was a reality that was well known to historians of classical antiquity, repeatedly recalled by the great epigraphist L. Robert:

We note on this that the site of the urban centre itself is far from the river and we repeat once more that what is important for an ancient city is the 'city and its territory'; the city is rarely situated on the river itself; normally it is at some distance from it. The only thing that counts is that the river—at least part of its course—is in the territory of the city. This puts it on its coins, as is the case of the Meander in a series of cities of which not one is on the banks of the river itself (562), for example Hermos at Kyme, when the territory of this city extended to the river by the absorption of Larisa of Eolis.<sup>49</sup>

Let us also cite two more examples taken from numerous others: Apollonia on the Meander in Lydia is not situated directly on the Meander represented on its coins by the Meander symbol:  $\Pi\Pi\Pi$ .<sup>50</sup> The river Eilaïos, the Kerkha of today, that gives its name to the town of Seleukis on the Eilaïos, i.e. Susa, flows 2 km away from the site. It is the Ulai the prophet Daniel looked upon from the heights. This means that, in the case of Bactra, if a fluvial divinity was represented on its coins, this can be interpreted either as the 'river of

<sup>47</sup> Burnes 1834, pp. 240-1. The fever from which A. Foucher and his wife almost died during their stay in Bactra in 1925 are a somber and very real illustration of the 'diseases of the place', of which Burnes speaks.

<sup>48</sup> Foucher 1925, pp. 259-60.

<sup>49</sup> Robert 1980, p. 88, n. 652; J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, II, pp. 238-42, 250.

<sup>50</sup> Robert 1983, pp. 498-505, repeated in Robert 1987, pp. 342-9.

Bactra” which watered its immediate vicinity, or as the Oxus, the great river of Bactria, that flowed about 30 km further to the north; we can, in fact, accept that the territory of the city extended that far. Even if this was not the case and the administrative separation of the territory was different, the most famous of the cities of the Oxus River, capital of Bactria, could legitimately claim a special link with the main river, which, moreover, was one of the most important divinities of the country.

The problem is thus different from what Krit্ত and Houghton imagined. Given Greek customs, a river deity on a Bactrian coin struck in a local mint could represent either the Oxus or one of its tributaries (apart from the Kokcha. I am thinking in particular of the powerful river Qunduz<sup>51</sup>), since the territory of the city that struck such a coin was crossed by this river or was situated by it. The fact that Aī Khanoum was built on *the bank* of the Oxus is thus not an entirely decisive factor that would by itself allow us to attribute the coin with the androcephalous bull to the mint of the city and thus deduce that Aī Khanoum is the Alexandria on the Oxus of ancient sources. We could equally well claim the coin for Bactra, or even other cities in the basin of other tributaries of the Oxus. Among the criteria that we should take into account in determining the mint (or maybe the mints) of this type of bronze coin are first of all their find spots, although we must exercise caution if the number of specimens is small.

I would also like to point out that the coin with the androcephalous bull mentioned by Krit্ত is not, as he believes, unique. It appears to me to be almost certain that three bronzes from Aī Khanoum (one found in an excavation, two others collected in the plain), bear the same type and belong to the same series.<sup>52</sup> The ‘humped-back bull with lowered head’ described in the publication is visibly also androcephalous; this had not been noticed in the publication because of the bad state of preservation of the specimens, but the new coin allows us to rectify this. We do not know the provenance of the other two coins of the same type that entered the collection of the British museum and were published by Bernard.<sup>53</sup> As for the coin bought by Krit্ত and published by Houghton and Lorber, there is no proof that it was found in Aī Khanoum. Concerning it the authors note: ‘observable provenance Pakistan’. This only means that it passed through Pakistan.

It is well known that objects discovered by chance or during clandestine excavations transit via the bazaars of Peshawar.<sup>54</sup> An object, once it leaves its archaeological context, loses a great part of its historical value. Deprived of its find spot, a work of art is an object without a soul. This is the reason why it

<sup>51</sup> I confine myself to the left bank of the Oxus.

<sup>52</sup> Bernard 1985, nos. 11-13, pp. 35-6, pl. 2.

<sup>53</sup> Bernard 1985, p. 36, pl. 2.

<sup>54</sup> Bopearachchi 2001, p. 294.

is necessary to be informed of the origin of objects that come from illegal excavations, before they appear in sales catalogues.<sup>55</sup> We can never obtain information from the coin merchants from whom most collectors buy their coins. Without carrying out an on the spot investigation we have no hope of determining their provenance. According to the information that I was able to obtain from three separate reliable sources, the coin bought by Kritz was found in Bactra by clandestine diggers along with 70 other bronze Seleucid coins. A legal, stratigraphic excavation in Bactra will give us, I hope, the possibility to collect from there numismatic material that will permit us to verify the frequency of bronzes bearing the monogram Ⓢ or its variants on this site. Thus we will be able to decide whether they should, as Newell suggested and as we believe, continue to be assigned to the Bactra mint or transferred, as Kritz, Houghton and Lorber propose, to Ai Khanoum. Bactra remains, in my opinion, the principal mint of Bactria under the Seleucids and the Graeco-Bactrians up to the death of Heliokles I around 130 BCE.

Another error is to present this bronze coin as a representation of the god Oxus with no explanation. It would be useful to give some clarifications about this divinity attested by various items from the fields of numismatics, epigraphy, glyptic and plastic art, because, as we shall see further on, one of these is directly related to our subject. The first item is a seal-ring engraved with a winged bull that has a human face, bearded and crowned. We must immediately note that this motif only has distant similarities to the coin illustrated by Houghton and Lorber. The seal-ring in question was found in the Oxus hoard<sup>56</sup> and was published by O.M. Dalton with an erroneous reading of the Aramaic legend to be found above the winged androcephalous bull.<sup>57</sup> We must read Whšw, the name of the Oxus.<sup>58</sup> The second item is a ceramic fragment from the excavations of Ai Khanoum bearing a Greek inscription read by Frantz Grenet as Waxšuwazd in ancient Iranian (Vaxšu-vazdah 'strong by [the god] Oxus' or 'support [of the god] Oxus').<sup>59</sup> The third item is a coin struck by the Kushan ruler Huvishka bearing on the reverse a standing figure, bearded, diademed and nimbate, clothed in Greek style with a long tunic and a mantle draped transversally, resting his right hand on a sceptre and holding in his left

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 294.

<sup>56</sup> The exact find spot of this hoard is not known, but it is beyond doubt that it was found in some part of Bactria, on the banks of the mid Oxus. According to Bernard (1994) it should be localized at Takht-i-Kobad. At the time of its discovery in 1877-8, Percy Gardner (1879, 1880 and 1881) and Alexander Cunningham (1881, 1883 a and b) inventoried a certain number of coins supposed to have come from this hoard (see also Bellinger 1962, pp. 51-67 and Zejmal 1979, pp. 73-4).

<sup>57</sup> Dalton 1964, no. 105, p. 28.

<sup>58</sup> See Grenet 1983, p. 377 and Bernard 1994 b, p. 97. For the symbol of waters, see Borisov and Lukonin 1963, pp. 35-6.

<sup>59</sup> Grenet 1983, pp. 376-7.



hand a fish, accompanied by the legend designating him as the god Oxus: 'Oaxšo'.<sup>60</sup> The fourth item comes from the latest excavations of the Graeco-Bactrian and Kushan sanctuary of Takht-i-Sangin in northern Bactria. It is a fragment from the edge of a large stone basin bearing the Greek inscription: 'of the god Oxus'.<sup>61</sup> The fifth, probably the best known, is a small statuette in bronze representing a Silenus playing the double flute, mounted on a base carved in limestone, which bears, in Greek, a dedication to the god Oxus. It was found on the same site of Takht-i-Sangin.<sup>62</sup> Before returning to the importance of this discovery, which has a direct connection with the Seleucid colonization of Bactria, let us specify that the three iconographic testimonies just mentioned represent the god Oxus in three different aspects, i.e. an androcephalous winged bull, a personage holding a fish, and a Silenus with the characteristics of Marsyas, in each case clearly designated as such by an inscription.

Many specialists have rightly emphasized that the Silenus with the double flute of the statuette of Takht-i-Sangin represents the type of the celebrated Marsyas whose legend ancient tradition situated at the sources of the Meander, of which one bore this name.<sup>63</sup> Bernard, studying the signification of the statuette of the Silenus-Marsyas of Takht-i-Sangin, clarifies the information concerning the colonising policy of Antiochos I.<sup>64</sup> The passage of Strabo (XII, 8, 15) suggests that the valley of the Menander benefited from the colonizing efforts of Antiochos I who founded there the town of Apamea, so named to honour his mother, at the very source of the river near ancient Kelainai. This same region, apparently at the instigation of the king, flooded with its own colonists not only Anatolia where the Magnetes founded Magnesia of Pisidia (Strabo XII, 8, 14 (577)), but also the Orient. We know that there, on two occasions Magnesia on the Meander sent colonists to Antiocheia of Persis, from where the name of Marsyas given to many rivers in this Persian province is also evidence of a settlement from the valley of the Anatolian River. According to Bernard, 'The same thing happened without doubt for the benefit of Bactria. Antiochos must have encouraged the poorer citizens of this densely populated region of Asia Minor to emigrate to the rich province of Central Asia where the royal domain, inherited from the Achaemenids, offered the newcomers good irrigable lands.'<sup>65</sup> Bernard considers that if the Oxus took on at Takht-i-

<sup>60</sup> Rosenfield 1967, p. 92, pl. VIII, no. 155 and Göbl 1984, pl. 18, no. 241.

<sup>61</sup> Drujinina 2001, pp. 264-5. The reading was made by Frantz Grenet (2003) correcting that of the publication: [Θεο]ῦ Ὀξου.

<sup>62</sup> See Litvinskij, Pičikjan and Vinogradov 1985, pp. 85-110; Bernard 1987 and 1994b, pp. 97-101.

<sup>63</sup> See Litvinskij, Pičikjan and Vinogradov 1985, pp. 85-110; Bernard 1987, 1994a.

<sup>64</sup> Bernard 1987, see more specifically p. 107.

<sup>65</sup> Bernard 1987, p. 107.



Sangin the characteristics of Marsyas of Apamea, it is because the image of the Phrygian spirit and his cult were brought to Bactria by colonists who came from the valley of the Meander.<sup>66</sup>

The issue of Seleucid coins in Bactria ended with the coming to power of the local satrap, Diodotos I, founder of the independent kingdom of Bactria. Parallel to the normal issues of Antiochos II with his usual types—portrait of the king and Apollo sitting on the omphalos on the coins in gold and silver and the name of the king without epithet as a legend—the principal mint of Bactria started striking series that, while conserving the name of Antiochos II,<sup>67</sup> substituted the portrait of the Seleucid sovereign and the tutelary Apollo of the Seleucid dynasty with the portrait of the satrap Diodotos himself and his personal type, a thundering Zeus.<sup>68</sup> The last step was taken and the secession confirmed when the name of Diodotos replaced that of Antiochos<sup>69</sup> in the legend. Thus it was in the reign of Anthiochos II, around 250 BCE, that the satrapies situated in the extreme east of the Seleucid Empire, detached themselves from it and formed an independent kingdom on the initiative of their satrap, Diodotos.

Although it is true that the Graeco-Bactrian coinage was born from the Seleucid tradition and that it continued it without change under the two Diodotoi, during the reigns of their successors, Euthydemos I<sup>70</sup> and his son Demetrios I,<sup>71</sup> a number of innovations were introduced. Technically speaking, the flans of the silver issues became larger, the dies were adjusted to 12:00 instead of 6:00 and we witness a renewal of the monograms.

We have seen earlier that it was after the siege of Bactra in 208-206 that Antiochos III officially recognised the royal title of king for Euthydemos I, but the Seleucid coinage in Bactria had already ended with the independence of the first Diodotos. There is no trace of a possible restarting of Seleucid striking in Bactria during the siege of Bactra. The Seleucid coins later than Antiochos II found in the hoards in Bactria are issues of Susa, Ecbatana, Seleukeia on the Tigris, etc.<sup>72</sup> These coins, that represent a low percentage compared to the Graeco-Bactrian issues, must have entered circulation via commerce.

As we have already seen, the regions *to the north* of the Hindu Kush did not start striking coins before the last decade of the fourth century BCE, that is at least twenty years after the death of Alexander. The Bactrian issues of the

<sup>66</sup> Bernard 1987, pp. 109-10.

<sup>67</sup> *ESM*, pl. LIII, nos. 5-16.

<sup>68</sup> *B.N.*, series 1-4.

<sup>69</sup> *B.N.* series 5-7.

<sup>70</sup> *BN*, series 9-12.

<sup>71</sup> *BN*, series 1.

<sup>72</sup> See Holt 1982, nos. 5, 6, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16 and Petitot-Biehler 1975, nos. 55, 56.

Seleucids did not begin before 295 and ended around 250 BCE. How can we explain the lack of a stronger political and economic commitment on the part of the Seleucids as far as this oriental satrapy was concerned? Without doubt they were more preoccupied with the political challenges of the Mediterranean scene than by their eastern possessions. Regarding this, I believe that Bernard was right to underline:

In the eyes of a Seleucid ruler the real grandeur was to extend his power over the old towns of Asia Minor and the islands, to beautify them through his generosity and receive honours from them. This was much more important to him than to reign in Bactra over all the colonies that the two first kings of the dynasty had had the political instinct to make their eastern satrapies. There is no disillusionment in this observation. It does not diminish in the slightest the historical interest of Hellenism, progeny, despite everything, of the Seleucids.<sup>73</sup>

#### POSTSCRIPT

The French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan (DAFA) launched a series of excavations in the ancient site of Tepe Zargaran at Bactra and the excavators reached the post-Hellenistic strata. We are eagerly waiting for further excavations up to the Hellenistic layers. Thousands of coins were found in these excavations, and an exhaustive catalogue has become a top priority (for a preliminary report of these excavations, see Paul Bernard, 'Alfred Foucher Archéologue: les fouilles de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan à Bactres (1923-1925)' in *Bouddhismes d'Asies. Monuments et littératures. Journée d'étude en hommage à Alfred Foucher (1865-1952)*, 2009, pp. 153-209).

I have changed my opinion about the issuing date of the coins struck by the local straps in Bactria, I mean the imitations of Athenian owls, eagle type and the coins struck in the name of Sophytos; with this regard see the article: 'Royaumes grecs en Afghanistan. Nouvelles données', *L'art d'Afghanistan de la préhistoire à nos jours*, Nouvelles données. Actes d'une journée d'étude. UNESCO, 11 Mars 2005, CERDAF, 2005, pp. 49-69, translated into English in this volume, chapter 5.

Paul Bernard has convincingly argued that what A.K. Narain has read as Brāhmī *jha* is the letter *d* in the Aramaic alphabet which was the official language of the Achaemenid Chancery even as early as the fourth century BCE (in George Rougemont, *Inscriptions grecques d'Iran et d'Asie centrale, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicum, Part II Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian period and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia*, London, 2012, pp. 97-8).

<sup>73</sup> Bernard 1994 a, p. 507.

## REFERENCES

- Bellinger, A.R., 1962, 'The Coins from the Treasure of the Oxus', *The American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 10, pp. 51-67.
- Bernard, P., 1985, *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum IV. Les monnaies hors trésors. Questions d'histoire gréco-bactrienne (MDAFA XXVIII)*, Paris.
- , 1987, 'Le Marsyas d'Apamée, l'Oxus et la colonisation séleucide en Bactriane', *Studia Iranica* 16, pp. 103-15.
- , 1994a, 'L'Asie Centrale et l'Empire séleucide', *Topoi* 4/2, pp. 473-511.
- , 1994b, 'Le temple du Dieu Oxus à Takht-I-Sanguin en Bactriane: temple du feu ou pas?', *Studia Iranica* 23, pp. 81-121.
- Bernard, G. Rougemont and G.-J. Pinault, 2004, 'Une nouvelle inscription grecque de l'Asie Centrale', *Journal des Savants* (forthcoming).
- Bivar, A.D.H., 1971, 'A hoard of ingot-currency of the Median Period from Nush-i-Jan, near Malayir, Iran IX, pp. 97-111.
- , 1982, 'Bent bars and straight bars: an appendix to the Mir Zakah hoard', *Studia Iranica* 11, pp. 49-60.
- Bopearachchi, O., 1991, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- , 1994a, 'Grands trésors récents de monnaies pré-sassanides trouvés en Afghanistan et au Pakistan', *International Numismatic News Letter* 24 (Spring 2004), pp. 2-3.
- , 1994b, 'Recent discoveries: hoards and finds of ancient coins from Afghanistan and Pakistan', *Yavanika, Journal of the Indian Society for Greek and Roman Studies* 4, pp. 3-30.
- , 1994c, 'Récentes découvertes de trésors de monnaies pré-sassanides trouvés en Afghanistan et au Pakistan', *Cahiers Numismatiques (Revue trimestrielle de la Société d'études numismatiques et archéologiques)* 121 (September 1994), pp. 7-14.
- , 1995, 'Découvertes récentes de trésors indo-grecs: nouvelles données historiques', *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, pp. 611-30.
- , 1996, 'Sophytes, the enigmatic ruler of Central Asia', *Nomismatika Khronika* 15, pp. 19-32.
- , 1999a, 'Le dépôt de Mir Zakah. Le plus grand trésor du monde, son destin et son intérêt', *Dossiers d'Archéologie* 248 (November 1999), pp. 36-43.
- , 1999b, 'Les monnaies séleucides de l'Asie Centrale et l'atelier de Bactres', in M. Amandry and S. Hurter (eds), *Travaux de numismatique grecque offerts à Georges Le Rider*, London, pp. 78-93.
- , 1999c, 'La circulation et la production monétaires en Asie Centrale et dans l'Inde du Nord-Ouest (avant et après la conquête d'Alexandre)', *Indologica Taurinensia, Official Organ of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies* XXV, Turin, pp. 15-119.
- , 2001, 'Quelle politique adopter face à la dispersion du patrimoine? Le cas de l'Afghanistan et du Pakistan', *L'Avenir des musées*, Actes du colloque organisé au musée du Louvre, les 23, 24 et 25 mars 2000, Paris, pp. 289-306.
- , 2002, in *Treasures of Ancient Bactria*, The Miho Museum, Japan, pp. 70-1.
- Bopearachchi, O. and A. ur Rahman, 1995, *Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan*, Karachi.
- Borisov, A. and V. Lukonin, 1963, *Sasanidskie Gemmy*, Leningrad.
- Burnes, A., 1834, *Travels into Bokhara together with a Narrative of a Voyage on the Indus* (London, 1834, reprint by Oxford University Press 1975).
- Carradice, I., 1987, 'The "Regal" coinage of the Persian empire', in I. Carradice ed., *Coinage and Administration in the Athenian and Persian Empires. Ninth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*, London.

- Cunningham, A., 1881, 'Relics from ancient Persia in gold, silver and copper', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, pp. 151-86.
- , 1883a, 'Relics from ancient Persia in gold, silver and copper, 2nd notice', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, pp. 64-7.
- , 1883b, 'Relics from ancient Persia in gold, silver and copper, 3rd notice', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, pp. 258-60.
- Dalton, O.M., 1964, *The treasure of the Oxus with Other Examples of Early Oriental Metal-Works*, London.
- Drujinina, A. von, 2001, 'Die Ausgrabungen in Taxt-i-Sangin im Oxos – Tempelbereich (Süd-Tadzikistan)', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 33, pp. 257-82.
- Foucher, A., 1925, 'Notes sur l'itinéraire de Hiuan-tsang en Afghanistan', in *Études Asiatiques publiées à l'occasion du vingt-cinquième anniversaire de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, Paris, I, pp. 257-84.
- , 1942, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila I (MDAFA I)*, Paris.
- Gardin, J.-C., 1957, *Céramiques de Bactres (MDAFA XV)*, Paris.
- Gardner, P., 1879, 'New Coins from Bactra', *The Numismatic Chronicle*, pp. 1-12.
- , 1880, 'On some coins from Syria and Bactria', *The Numismatic Chronicle*, pp. 181-91.
- , 1881, 'Coins from Central Asia', *The Numismatic Chronicle*, pp. 8-12.
- Göbl, R., 1984, *Münzprägung des Kušānreiches*, Vienne.
- Grenet, Fr., 1983, 'L'onomastique iranienne à Aï Khanoum', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* CVII, pp. 373-81.
- , 2003, 'Religions du monde iranien ancien', *Annuaire de l'EPHE. Résumé des conférences et travaux* 111, 2002-3.
- Hill, G.F., 1922, *Catalogue of the Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia*, London.
- Holt, Fr., 1981, 'The Euthydemid coinage of Bactria: Further hoard evidence from Aï Khanoum', *RN* XXIII, pp. 7-44.
- Houghton-Lorber, A. and C. Lorber, 2002, *Seleucid Coins. A comprehensive Catalogue. Part I. Seleucus I through Antiochus III*, Lancaster and New York.
- Justin, M. Iuniani, 1935, *Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi. Accedunt prologi in Pompeium Trogum*, ed. O. Seel, Leipzig.
- Kritt, B., 1996, *Seleucid Coins of Bactria*, Lancaster.
- Le Rider, G., 1965, *Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes. Les trouvailles monétaires et l'histoire de la ville (Mémoire de la Mission archéologique en Iran XXXVIII)*, Paris.
- , 1996, 'Histoire économique et monétaire de l'Orient hellénistique', *Annuaire du Collège de France 1995-1996, Résumé des Cours et Travaux*, pp. 829-60.
- , 2001, *La naissance de la monnaie. Pratiques monétaires de l'Orient ancien*, Paris.
- , 2003, *Alexandre le Grand. Monnaie, finance et politique*, Paris.
- Litvinsk, B.A., I.R. Pičkan and Ju. Vinogradov, 'L'ex-voto d'Atrosokès dans un temple de l'Oxus en Bactriane septentrionale', *Vestnik drevnej istorii*, pp. 85-110.
- Mitchiner, M., 1975-6, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, 9 vols., London.
- Narain, A.K., 1957, *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford.
- Nicolet-Pierre, H. and M. Amandry, 1994, 'Un nouveau trésor de monnaies d'argent pseudo-athéniennes venu d'Afghanistan (1990)', *Revue Numismatique* XXXVI, pp. 34-54.
- Petitot-Biehler, C.Y., 1975, 'Trésor de monnaies grecques et gréco-bactriennes trouvé à Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan)', *Revue Numismatique* XVII, pp. 23-57.
- Robert, L., *Opera Minora Selecta: Épigraphie et antiquités grecques*, I, Amsterdam.

- , 1973, 'Sur les inscriptions de Délos', *Études déliennes, Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, Supplément I, Paris, pp. 435-89.
- , 1980, *À travers l'Asie Mineure. Poètes et prosateurs, monnaies grecques, voyageurs et géographes*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 239, Paris.
- , 1983, 'Documents d'Asie Mineure', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 107/1, pp. 499-599.
- , 1987, *Documents d'Asie Mineure, École française d'Athènes*, Paris.
- Rosenfield, J.M., 1967, *The Dynastic Art of the Kushans*, Los Angeles.
- Waggoner, N.M., 1969, 'The early Alexander coinage at Seleucia on the Tigris', *ANS MN* 15, pp. 21-30.
- Zejmal, E.V., 1979, *Amudar'unskij Klad. Katalog vystavski*, Leningrad.

## ‘Greek Realms in Afghanistan: New Data’\*

The territories of the kingdoms of the Greeks who succeeded Alexander the Great stretched way beyond the frontiers of today’s Afghanistan. Afghanistan was in the middle of the realms that included Bactria, the Paropamisades, Arachosia and Seistan. The two terms, Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek, designate both two large geographical areas and two types of coins. Separated by the mountain range of the Hindu Kush, several of whose peaks rise higher than 7,000 metres, each of these two great regions is marked by geographical, climatic, political and cultural features that are clearly distinct. Bactria is situated to the north of this range of mountains, while the Paropamisades, Arachosia and Seistan are to the south and south-east. These last were obviously part of ancient India, where the first hymns to *Rigveda* were chanted in the Vedic period.

Let us now look at the history of the Greeks in these regions in broad outline. The conquests carried out by Alexander the Great during his short life produced an unprecedented upheaval in the geopolitical structure of the Greek world and propelled him very rapidly to the head of a vast empire. Apart from Macedonia and Greece, this in fact soon extended from Egypt as far as the Indus valley. Once the satrapy of Sogdiana-Bactria had been annexed, Alexander installed garrisons in its principal towns. Having conquered the Persian Empire, whose administrative system he retained, he named the satraps of the regions of which he had become master. In 327 he founded a city on the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush which he named after himself: Alexandria of the Caucasus.<sup>1</sup> Having crossed the fast-flowing River Indus, he reached Taxila where he sampled the hospitality of the local ruler. He left this city in 326 and marched in the direction of the Hydaspe (Jhelum) where he fought a decisive battle against the Indian ruler Poros. Impressed by the personality of his adversary, Alexander not only returned his kingdom to him, but also gave him a satrapy to rule. This included both Poros’ original kingdom and the rest of the regions between the Hydaspe (Jhelum) and Acesine (Chenab). The Macedonian then recommenced his advance in the direction of Beas, the eastern limit of his conquests. Exhausted by the interminable marches, his army refused to go any further. Descending the Indus, Alexander soon reached Patala. From there he started a long and arduous march towards Babylon, where he died in June 323 BCE.

\*Published in *Actes d’une journée d’étude*, UNESCO, 11 March 2005, pp. 49-69.

<sup>1</sup> P. Bernard, 1982.





FIGURE 1: Diodotos in the name of Antiochos. Tetradrachm, silver, Cabinet des Médalles, BnF, Paris, O. Bopearachchi, 1991, pl. 1, no. 2.



FIGURE 2: Ethydemos I. Octadrachm, gold, Cabinet des Médalles, BnF, Paris, O. Bopearachchi, 1991, pl. 3, no. 15.



FIGURE 3: Demetrios. Tetradrachm, silver, Cabinet des Médalles, BnF, Paris, O. Bopearachchi, 1991, pl. 4, no. 3.

During the years that followed the death of the great conqueror and despite an attempted massive exodus of the Greek colonists that was suppressed in a blood bath, it seems that the Macedonian rulers managed to keep these territories under their control, with the exception of the valley of the Indus that was lost early on. Slightly later, during the last years of the 4th century, the satrapies of Parthia, Aria and Bactria-Sogdiana fell under the domination of Seleukos, the founder of the Seleukid dynasty, who had consolidated his power over Syria and Mesopotamia. At the same time the territories situated to the south of the Hindu Kush fell, for their part, under the control of the Maurya king Chandragupta. Seleukos I, who began to distinguish himself during the events that followed the death of Alexander rather than during the latter's lifetime, challenged Chandragupta for Alexander's ancient Indian possessions, situated to the south of the Hindu Kush. He ended by agreeing to cede them to Chandragupta in exchange for a detachment of five hundred elephants and a treaty of friendship.<sup>2</sup> This abortive attempt by Seleukos I to reconquer the southern Indian territories previously annexed by Alexander is dated with relative certainty to around 303 BCE.

We must wait over 100 years before the Seleukid presence in Bactria reappears in written sources. It was at the time of the siege of Bactra by Antiochos III in 208-206 that, according to Polybius (XI, 39, 2), a certain Euthydemos who had assumed the title of king explained himself before an emissary of the Seleukid king, stating that he had never fomented an act of rebellion against his ancestors. This rebellion, he said, had been instigated by others and not by himself, and if he had assumed power in Bactria, it was by exterminating the descendants of these rebels. If we take the text literally—and there is no reason not to do so with a historian such as Polybius—it was at the death of Diodotos II (who, along with Diodotos I, were the 'real rebels' to which this text alludes) that Euthydemos conquered the throne of Bactria by killing the descendants of the ruling family of the Diodotids. In the same passage (Polybius, XI, 39) it is stated that Demetrios, son of Euthydemos I, at the time still a young man, ratified in the name of his father the treaty that was agreed upon by the two rulers and the Seleukid king. Conquered by 'the allure, the conversation and the air of grandeur' of the young man, Antiochos III promised him the hand of a royal princess. Whatever the motives that pushed Euthydemos to overthrow the Diodotid dynasty, it is important to underline the fact that at the time of the siege of Bactra in 208-206, the Graeco-Bactrian ruler had sufficiently consolidated his power to resist Antiochos III for two years and to oblige him in the end to leave Bactria and officially recognise him with the title of king. Between these two episodes another event of great political and economic import took place in Bactria. According to an abridged version of the *Historiarum Philippicarum* of Pompeius Trogus (XLI, 4), at the moment that the Parthians began their struggle to break the Seleukid

<sup>2</sup> P. Bernard, 1985, pp. 85-95.





FIGURE 4: Agathocles. Drachm, silver, Kabul National Museum, *RN*, 1974, pl. 1, no. 3.



FIGURE 5: Eucratides. Twenty Staters, gold, Cabinet des Médalles, BnF, Paris, O. Bopearachchi, 1991, pl. 16, no. 25.



FIGURE 6: Heliocles I. Tetradrachm, silver, Cabinet des Médalles, BnF, Paris, O. Bopearachchi, 1991, pl. 24, no. 1.

yoke (around the middle of the 3rd century BCE), a certain Diodotos, then satrap of Bactria, revolted against his overlord and founded an independent kingdom in Bactria. It appears that it was one of his sons, also Diodotos, that succeeded him. The real rebels referred to by Euthydemus were Diodotos and his son. Because of the ambiguity of the ancient texts on this point, historians have long disputed the point. For some, it happened under Antiochos II, around 250 BCE, while for others it took place under Seleukos II, around 239/8 BCE. Numismatic data suggest that the final stage of this rebellion should be placed around 250 BCE.<sup>3</sup>

This is how the Graeco-Bactrian realm was born. These rulers struck coins in their own names early on. The coins called Graeco-Bactrian were struck to the Attic weight standard, have a unilingual Greek legend and were destined, in general, to circulate to the north of the Hindu Kush in the middle Oxus basin, the cradle of Greek power in Central Asia (figs 1-3, 5).

Profiting from the decadence of the Maurya Empire that followed the death of Asoka, the successors of Diodotos enlarged the realm, advancing to the east in territories situated to the south of the Hindu Kush, considered to be the frontier of ancient India. The coins destined for the Indian territories are called Indo-Greek because they bear bilingual legends, in Greek on the obverse and on the reverse in Prakrit written in an Indian alphabet: Kharoshthi or Brahmi. These Indo-Greek coins were struck following a non-Attic standard which is conventionally called Indian (figs 4, 7, 10, 12 and 13).

Thus, we distinguish two series of coins destined to circulate in the two large geographical and cultural zones, one Greek and the other Indian. Afghanistan was the cradle of these two civilisations. During more than half a century certain rulers that reigned over both sides of the Hindu Kush struck unilingual coins of Attic weight destined to circulate in Bactria, and bilingual ones of Indian weight for circulation in India. Under pressure from nomad invaders from the north the Greek rulers gradually lost Bactria, finally being expelled around 130 BCE. Nevertheless, the Greeks managed to resist for a further century and a half in the Indian territories before losing them once and for all to various nomadic tribes.

In the course of the history of these realms a certain number of important reigns stand out: Diodotos, the founder of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom, who struck coins in the Seleukid tradition (fig. 1); Euthydemos I, who introduced Herakles as the principle divinity (fig. 2); Demetrios I, the first Graeco-Bactrian to cross the Hindu-Kush, whose elephant-scalp that decorates all his portraits without exception illustrates his pretension to be considered a conqueror of India (fig. 3); Agathokles, the first king to strike bilingual coins, that remain, from a technical aspect, very close to the Indian coins (fig. 4); Eukratides I, the last king to reign over both the north and the south of the Hindu Kush, whose coinage is characterised by the issue of twenty-staters, the largest

<sup>3</sup> O. Bopearachchi, 1991, pp. 41-5.



FIGURE 7: Menander I. Tetradrachm, silver, Cabinet des Médalles, BnF, Paris, O. Bopearachchi, 1991, pl. 28, no. 54.



FIGURE 8: Lysias. Tetradrachm, silver, Cabinet des Médalles, BnF, Paris, O. Bopearachchi, 1991, pl. 38, no. 3.



FIGURE 9: Antialcidas. Tetradrachm, silver, Cabinet des Médalles, BnF, Paris, O. Bopearachchi, 1991, pl. 39, no. 1.



denomination ever struck in Antiquity (fig. 5); Heliokles I, the last king to reign over the north of the Hindu Kush, until his kingdom fell to the invading nomads (fig. 6); Menander, the volume and diversity of whose coinage was beyond that of any other king, and under whom the Greek empire, although bereft of Bactria, was gathered for the last time under a single ruler and reached its greatest extent (fig. 7); Antialkidas (fig. 8) and Lysias (fig. 9), the most important rulers after Menander; Hermaios (fig. 10), the last Greek prince to reign over the Paropamisades near Kabul, where Alexander had founded his Alexandria of the Caucasus; Archebios (fig. 11), the last Greek king to reign in Taxila before his kingdom was conquered by the Indo-Scythian Maues; Apollodotos II (fig. 12), who expelled Maues from Taxila and regained for a time the unity of the Punjab under the Greeks; Hippostratos (fig. 13) the last Greek ruler to reign in Taxila and Pushkalavati, before the conquest of the Indo-Scythian Azes I; and finally Strato II and his son Strato who ruled jointly with him and who, from Sagala, long held on to the last vestiges of an Empire that had crumbled under the pressure of the nomads and under whom the last bastion of Greek power was extinguished.<sup>4</sup>

Three sources allow us to propose the historical framework of these Greek realms in Central Asia and India: those that are provided by archaeological excavations, some ancient texts, and finally the coins. Since 1992, apart from the excavations in Bactra that were started tentatively in 2004, no digs directly linked to the Greek period have been carried out in Afghanistan. On the other hand, the excavations under way in Uzbekistan carried out by Uzbeks, Russians, French, Japanese and Americans in Samarkand, Kampir Tepe, Dilberdjine, Kok Tepe, and Termez have contributed to the better understanding of the history of the Greeks and their successors in these regions.

Our second source consists of ancient texts. These are a few very brief fragments of classical Greek and Latin authors, of texts of Indian origin and Chinese texts that allude to rulers or events that concern these kingdoms. The ancient texts that provide us with information concerning the history of the Seleukids in Bactria and of the Graeco-Bactrians who snatched power from them are rare. Classical historians were never really interested in the fortunes of their compatriots in these distant lands. If they speak of them or even of the eastern satrapies of the Seleukid Empire, it is in relation to events that have something to do with the Parthians or the Seleukids.

Even though no new literary sources have been discovered lately, a vast epigraphy has come to light. Three Greek documents with a direct relevance to the Greek presence have been published recently. The first is an epigram of Sophytos found in Kandahar, and I will come back to it later.<sup>5</sup> The second is an inscription recently found in Kuliab, capital of one of the five provinces of

<sup>4</sup> For the latest overview of the history of the Greeks in Afghanistan, see O. Bopearachchi, 1998.

<sup>5</sup> P. Bernard, G.-J. Pinault and G. Rougemont, 2004, pp. 229-48.



FIGURE 10: Hermaios. Tetradrachm, silver, Cabinet des Médalles, BnF, Paris, O. Bopearachchi, 1991, pl. 53, no. 12.



FIGURE 11: Archebios. Tetradrachm, silver, Cabinet des Médalles, BnF, Paris, O. Bopearachchi, 1991, pl. 50, no. 1.



FIGURE 12: Apollodotos II. Drachm, silver, Cabinet des Médalles, BnF, Paris, O. Bopearachchi, 1991, pl. 61, no. 2.

Tajikistan. It makes a eulogistic reference to the father and the son, Euthydemos and Demetrios. It is a dedication written in Greek verse that explains that an altar was constructed in a sacred forest of Zeus in honour of the goddess Hestia, by a person named Heliodotos, who had libations and sacrifices made on it. The inscription also says that the aim of the altar and the sacrifices was to ask the goddess to ensure the preservation of King Euthydemos, 'the greatest of all the kings and his son, the glorious victor, the remarkable, Demetrios'.<sup>6</sup> The third document is a fiscal receipt on leather whose date includes three names, that of King Antimachos Theos and two others, Eumenes and Antimachos.<sup>7</sup> An unimaginable number of inscriptions in Prakrit written in Brahmi or in Kharoshthi have surfaced during the last ten years, and one of them has a very particular significance. Its historical interest is discussed in what follows.

We must also point out that the history of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek realms is above all a numismatic history. The texts and inscriptions provide us with the names of eight rulers, while the coins, for their part mention about forty. Stray finds and clandestine excavations that have multiplied in the territories of Afghanistan and Pakistan have thus allowed the discovery of a truly colossal amount of Graeco-Bactrian, Indo-Bactrian, Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and Kushan coins. To my knowledge more than 50 monetary hoards have been found in Afghanistan and Pakistan since 1993.<sup>8</sup> The largest deposit known to numismatic history was found by accident, between 1992 and 1994 at Mir Zakah, on Afghan territory, in a valley of the Paktia province, not far from the Pakistani frontier. My investigation showed that it contained more than 4 tons of struck metal, i.e. almost 550,000 coins, essentially in silver and bronze, as well as 500 kilograms of objects in gold.<sup>9</sup>

There is no doubt that it will be interesting to examine the impact of these new discoveries on the history of the Greek realms in Afghanistan, although it is impossible for me to present a report of this data in an article giving an overview of the history of the Greeks in Afghanistan. For this reason it might be useful to take one or two significant cases from the picture I drew at the beginning of this article concerning the history of the Greeks in Afghanistan and show how the new data forces us to reconsider this historical framework.

Let us take the case of Sophytos, because we have spoken much of him lately. During the last two decades of the 4th century BCE, the satrapies of Parthia, Aria, Bactria and Sogdiana theoretically passed under the domination of the dynasty of the Seleukids, established in Syria and in Mesopotamia. We know that in 321 Philip became satrap of Parthia and Stasanor of Aria and

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., pp. 333-7.

<sup>7</sup> Rea, 1994 and P. Bernard and Cl. Rapin, 1994.

<sup>8</sup> See O. Bopearachchi, 1999C.

<sup>9</sup> See O. Bopearachchi, 1999A and more recently, O. Bopearachchi and Ph. Flandrin, 2005.

Bactria. Unfortunately, from 316 to about 305, during the military campaign of Seleukos I against the lost satrapies of the East, classical sources are silent. It seems, however, that a certain dynast named Sophytos took power during this mysterious period.

It is only recently that we have spoken of Sophytos. A monetary hoard recently found in Aqtcha, not far from Bactra, obliges us to modify the chronology and to regard this person no longer as a simple satrap, but as a real dynast. The hoard was found by minesweepers not far from an archaeological site. It is said to have been composed of 48 pieces. One gold coin and one unpublished tetradrachm are of special interest. These coins have started to appear in sales catalogues.

We are here in the presence of three numismatic series that circulated to the north of the Hindu Kush, namely:

- imitations of Athenian owls: on the obverse, head of Athena to r. wearing an Attic helmet; on the reverse, owl to r. Under a sprig of olive, a minuscule bunch of grapes without stem; Greek legend ΑΘΕ<sup>10</sup> (fig. 14);
- coins with eagle: on the obverse, head of Athena to r. wearing an Attic helmet; on the reverse, eagle to l. turning head r. with a sprig of vine bearing a bunch of grapes and a leaf; without legend<sup>11</sup> (fig. 15);
- coins struck in the name of Sophytos: on the obverse, helmeted head of a dynast named Sophytos in the legend and on the reverse a cockerel to r. and the legend in Greek ΣΩΦΥΤΟΥ<sup>12</sup> (fig. 16).

Some numismatists attribute them to Greek colonists who settled in Central Asia before Alexander, at the time of the Achaemenid Empire.<sup>13</sup> Based on the arguments advanced by P. Bernard,<sup>14</sup> I have shown elsewhere that all these

<sup>10</sup> Cf. M. Mitchiner, 1975-6, series 24 and 25; H. Nicolet-Pierre and M. Amandry, 1994, p. 35, nos. 1-51 and O. Bopearachchi, 1996, p. 31, nos. 5-9. We must also add to this series the silver coins without legend, with an owl with two bodies and an undetermined object, cf. H. Nicolet-Pierre, 1973, p. 36, no. 8, and O. Bopearachchi, 1996, p. 31, no. 10. For the bronze coins without legend, with the helmeted head of Athena and an owl, see P. Bernard, 1985, p. 19, nos. 1-9.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. M. Mitchiner, 1975-6, series 26 and 27; H. Nicolet-Pierre and M. Amandry, 1994, p. 38, nos. 52-64 and O. Bopearachchi, 1996, p. 31, nos. 11 and 12. We must also add to this category the series of coins with the bearded head of Zeus on the obverse and the same eagle on the reverse: cf. M. Mitchiner, 1975-6, series 238; H. Nicolet-Pierre and M. Amandry, 1994, p. 38, no. 65, and O. Bopearachchi, 1996, p. 31, no. 13.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. M. Mitchiner, 1975-6, series 29-30, 32 and O. Bopearachchi, 1996, p. 31, Nos. 1-3. We must also include in this group the series on which the head of the ruler is replaced by a head of Athena wearing a Corinthian helmet: M. Mitchiner, 1975-6, series 31 and O. Bopearachchi, 1996, p. 31, no. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Especially A.K. Narain, 1957, p. 1-5.

<sup>14</sup> P. Bernard, 1985, pp. 20-8.





FIGURE 13: Hippostratos. Tetradrachm, silver, Cabinet des Médalles, BnF, Paris, O. Bopearachchi, 1991, pl. 64, no. 1.



FIGURE 14: Imitation of Athenian owls. Tetradrachm, silver, Cabinet des Médalles, BnF.



FIGURE 15: Eagle type. didrachm, silver, Cabinet des Médalles, BnF.



coins were in fact struck after the conquest of Alexander towards the end of the 4th century BCE, at the moment of the reconquest of the satrapies of Central Asia by Seleukos I (306-305), that is to say just before the introduction of the actual Seleukid coinage in Bactria.<sup>15</sup>

These coins, with only two exceptions, were all found to the north of the Hindu Kush, and more precisely in the valley of the Oxus River. One coin of this series recently found in Samarkand and the hoard found in Aqtcha confirm this. As far as we know, no coin of this series appeared in the two deposits of Mir Zakah. We might have imagined that as Mir Zakah is on the southern slope of the Hindu Kush, far from Bactria, this absence is justified. However, as the two deposits of Mir Zakah are composed of riches pillaged from the palaces and the temples situated to the south and the north of the Hindu Kush, it is not impossible that we will one day discover there some coins of Sophytos and imitations of Athens. Let us not forget that there are still three tons of coins that lie hidden in the free trade zone of Basel.<sup>16</sup>

These coins were struck following two weight standards, the Attic and a light local standard. The coins of these series are in head-to-tail alignment. Furthermore, some of them are linked by the presence of the caduceus or by the monograms composed of the Greek letters MNA.

It is certain that Sophytos was not a Greek. The recent discovery in Kandahar of an inscription in the form of an epigram that alludes to a certain Sophytos led Georges-Jean Pinault and Paul Bernard to write that the origin of the name is Indian.<sup>17</sup> If this is the case, we must accept that the Sophytos who struck the coins was an Indian, or at least not a Greek. Unfortunately it is not so simple. The discovery of a double stater in gold struck in the name of Sophytos in the hoard of Aqtcha obliges us to consider the origin of this enigmatic figure. On the obverse of this gold stater of Attic standard (8.58 g) appears the helmeted head of the ruler called Sophytos in the legend, and on the reverse the caduceus with the Greek legend in the exergue ΣΩΦΥΤΟΥ (fig. 17).

The caduceus, an attribute of Hermes that symbolises peace and commerce, is composed of the magic laurel or olive rod that he received from Apollo, around which two serpents are entwined. The serpents are the symbol of prudence and cunning. The choice of the caduceus invokes Hermes, the divinity that is one of the most important gods of Olympus. He is both the guide of travellers, and the patron of merchants and thieves.

It is true that the cockerel is the symbol of Mercury (Hermes to the Greeks) in Graeco-Roman sculpture, though rarely found in the company of the Greek Hermes. However we must explain its appearance on the silver coinage and the caduceus on the gold coin of Sophytos.

The facial characteristics of the person on these issues are not those of an

<sup>15</sup> O. Bopearachchi, 1996.

<sup>16</sup> O. Bopearachchi and Ph. Flandrin, 2005, pp. 36, 138-9, 146, 197, 247.

<sup>17</sup> P. Bernard G.-J. Pinault and G. Rougemont, 2004, pp. 227-356, especially pp. 249-59.



FIGURE 16: Sophytos. Tetradrachm, silver, Hirayama Collection, Japan.



FIGURE 17: Sophytos. Stater, gold, Private Collection, London.



FIGURE 18: Sophytos. Tetradrachm, silver, Private Collection, London.

Indian but rather those of a Greek. One would say that the engraver wanted to transform this Indian into a Greek. We know that in Antiquity the striking of coins was considered an act of sovereignty and a symbol of freedom. It is difficult to justify this pretence for a ruler so powerful that he issued a considerable number of coins with many denominations following two distinct weight standards. Worse, with a tetradrachm from the same hoard, this Sophytos commits a sacrilege that only Alexander the Great had dared to commit before him.

The coin is exceptional. Following the Attic weight standard, it weighs 15.93 g (fig. 18). At first sight, this unpublished tetradrachm resembles the series of imitations of Athenian owls bearing on the obverse the helmeted head of Athena. However, when we examine it more closely, we quickly realize that it is not the face of Athena, but that of a man with strong features and an Adam's apple (fig. 19). We know that on the so-called Poros decadrachms, Alexander is shown standing, wearing a plumed helmet. Holding in one hand a thunderbolt and in the other a sceptre, he is being crowned by Victory (Nike). This act is not shocking in itself, as he is the son of Zeus.<sup>18</sup> Sophytos, however, did not have the prestige of Alexander. Did he deliberately try to identify himself with Athena, the goddess of wisdom and intelligence, daughter of Zeus, from whose head she was born fully armed?

Some have tried to compare Sophytos' helmet with its cheek-protection to the one worn by Seleukos on his coins from the mint of Susa (307-303 BCE) celebrating the conquest of the upper satrapies of the East.<sup>19</sup> For the numismatists who supported this hypothesis, it was unthinkable that Sophytos might have been the instigator of such an innovation. They thus accepted that his 'reign' must be placed after the date of the issues of Seleukos I, i.e. after 305 BCE.

If Sophytos was a satrap of Seleukos, he would never have taken the initiative to strike gold coins, nor to slip his face under the helmet of Athena. A satrap under Seleukid domination would never have dared commit such a sacrilege. His coinage is not, then, that of a beleaguered satrap, but of an independent and powerful ruler.

The unpublished gold coin of Sophytos shows that his helmet with the cheek guard, decorated with a wing and girded with a crown of laurel little resembles that of Seleukos I. When we examine the coinage of Sophytos carefully, as well as the series close to it, we see that Sophytos went beyond the Seleukid frontiers in his search for a model necessary for his coinage. The

<sup>18</sup> In 331 BCE in Siwah, at the sanctuary of Ammon, the great Heliopolitan god that the Greeks honoured as the equal of Zeus, Alexander closeted himself in the temple with Ammon-Zeus, and the oracle confirmed to him that he really was the son of Zeus and that his empire would be universal.

<sup>19</sup> For example A. Cunningham, 1866, p. 222; P. Gardner, 1866, p. xix; A. von Sallet, 1879, p. 285; B.V. Head, 1906, p. 13 and O. Bopearachchi, 1996.



FIGURE 19: Line drawings the Sophytos coins.

- A. Line drawing of the tetradrachm in the Hirayama Collection, Japan (fig. 16)  
 B. Line drawing of the tetradrachm in the Private Collection in London (fig. 18)

coins with Athena wearing an Attic helmet on the obverse and an owl on the reverse, originally from Athens, were, then, the model for the coins of Sophytos. The rare series of diobols of lighter weight standard in the name of Sophytos representing Athena wearing a Corinthian helmet was inspired by coins issued around 480 BCE in Corinth. The helmet that Sophytos wears on the gold coin, with the exception of the cheek-guard, is surprisingly similar to the coins of Thourioi in southern Italy issued around 443 BCE.<sup>20</sup> Once we have settled that the master engraver of the issues of Sophytos was inspired by the coinage of Attica and of Magna Graecia, we must examine the cockerel that is represented on the reverse. The cockerel is closer to the most beautiful Sicilian issues of Himera that are dated to around 480-470 BCE.<sup>21</sup> If we sever his ties with Seleukos, we can give Sophytos an earlier chronological position. May he not have been one of the rebels who took advantage of the political upheaval following the death of Alexander the Great? The history of the Greeks of Bactria is above all the story of rebels, usurpers and assassins. Diodotos, the founder of the Graeco-Bactrian realm, was a rebel. Euthydemos declared to the Seleukid king that he had murdered those who had rebelled against the Empire. Eukratides, a usurper, was assassinated by his own son, with whom he shared the throne. The latter, far from hiding his crime, proclaimed it loud and clear, asserting that he had killed 'not a parent but a public enemy'. He drove his chariot through the blood of the murdered ruler, ordering that his body be left unburied.

Where and when must we place Sophytos? To answer these questions, we are obliged to go back to an earlier time. We have seen that Alexander, impressed by the personality of Poros, returned his kingdom to him before marching to the south. It seems that before his death, Alexander had recreated the satrapy of Gandhara and entrusted it to Peithon. During the years that followed the death of the Conqueror, in spite of an attempted massive exodus of the Greek colonists, which was repressed in a terrible blood bath, it appears that the Macedonian leaders had managed to keep these territories under their control,

<sup>20</sup> C.M. Kraay, 1976, pl. 42, nos. 728-9.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., pl. 44, nos. 760-3.

with the exception of the valley of the Indus, lost early on. The regent Perdikkas confirmed in his functions the satrap Philip in Bactria-Sogdiana and Silyrtios in Arachosia-Gedrosia. In 321 BCE Philip became satrap of Parthia and Stasanor from Aria to Bactria. In 316 until around 305, at the time of the campaign of Seleukos I to reconquer the lost eastern satrapies, classical sources remain silent on the satrapies of Central Asia. It is thus not impossible that, during this period, Sophytos had seized power in Bactria and struck gold and silver coins bearing his portrait.

Sixty years later, Diodotos, Seleukid satrap of Bactria, followed the example of Sophytos and formed an independent state. He also struck gold coins. For our part, we prefer to consider Sophytos a dynast of Bactria, and to place his reign around 315 BCE. It is possible that the military campaign of Seleukos to reconquer the lost Eastern satrapies (206-305 BCE) was, among other reasons, aimed at ending the reign of the rebel dynast.

Let us return now to the issues of Diodotos, another rebel of Bactria. Beside the normal issues of Antiochos II with the usual types—portrait of the king and Apollo sitting on the omphalos for the gold and silver coins and the name of the king, without an epithet, as a legend—the main mint of Bactria started striking series that, while conserving the name of Antiochos II, substituted the portrait of the Seleukid sovereign and the tutelary Apollo of the Seleukid dynasty with the portrait of the satrap Diodotos himself and his personal type, a thundering Zeus (fig. 1). The last step was taken and the secession confirmed when in the legend the name of Diodotos replaced that of Antiochos. Thus it was during the reign of Antiochos II, around 250 BCE, that the satrapies situated in the eastern extremity of the Seleukid Empire, detached themselves from it and formed, at the initiative of their satrap Diodotos, an independent kingdom.

Until 2000 the gold coins, especially the first series struck by Diodotos, were very rare. I only knew of two. A monetary hoard found fortuitously by the inhabitants of Vaisali in the middle valley of the Ganges not far from Patna in Bihar in India changed our preconceived ideas of the gold issues of the Bactrian kings. By visiting the village where the hoard was found, I learned that these villagers, while digging the bed of a river to find clay to make baked bricks, found a hoard of 1,000 gold staters of Diodotos.<sup>22</sup> Not knowing what to do with such a hoard, they had the local jeweller melt down more than 500 coins. Some of them preferred to keep part of it, happily for us, with the intention of using it as a dowry for their daughters. The news of this discovery spread very quickly. The merchants of New Delhi quickly visited the place and bought the rest of the coins for the price of gold. Since that time all sales catalogues contain a few gold coins, without flooding the market.

What is the role of these coins in the heart of India, where the Graeco-Bactrians did not have the slightest power? As we know, in the middle of the

<sup>22</sup> O. Bopearachchi and K. Grigo, 2001.



3rd century BCE in the reign of Asoka, grandson of Chandragupta, India went through one of the most prosperous periods of its history. Greek power was limited to the territories to the north of the Hindu Kush.

In my opinion, these gold coins were imported as gold ingots for trade with the Indians. In central Bactria, Bactra constituted the hub of a number of great commercial routes. It was one of the important stations on the great Indian route that came from Tamluk-Chandrketugar (Calcutta) in the estuary of the Ganges, passing by Paliputra (Patna), the ancient capital of the Mauryas, Mathura, Taxila, Pushkalavati and Alexandria of the Caucasus (Begram), continuing in the direction of Alexandria of Aria (Herat) and Ecbatana.<sup>23</sup>

It must be pointed out in this regard that most of these coins had test cuts just above the head where the relief was at its greatest height. This phenomenon is also common for Roman gold coins brought to India in the reigns of Claudius and Nero during the first centuries of our time.<sup>24</sup> The Mir Zakah hoard showed that a large part of Graeco-Bactrian gold and silver coins were coated or plated. If the coins of Diodotos were used for their intrinsic value, that is only at the value of their metal as gold ingots, it is obvious that the Indian merchants wanted solid gold for their transactions.

This discovery made us reflect upon a point that few numismatists have paid attention to: the production and monetary circulation of Graeco-Bactrian coins. The importance of Bactra was incontestably that of an international capital. Apart from the commercial route towards the heart of India that I just mentioned, Bactra was linked to the south across the mountains of the Hindu Kush and was related to Alexandria of Archosia (Kandahar), Seistan and the southern route to Persia and Mesopotamia. To the north-west and the north ran the routes that led to Margianna and Sogdiana and then on to Alexandria Eschate (Leninabad) and Chinese Turkestan. To the east it was the starting point of another route which, across Badakhchan and the high plateaux of Pamir, also reached Chinese Turkestan.

The recent discoveries have clearly shown that these Greeks in Bactria certainly did not live in total isolation between the Hindu Kush mountains and the Oxus. It is difficult for me to enumerate all the new data related to these commercial routes. I will thus take two still unpublished objects that come from Ai Khanoum: gold rings. By their iconography, style and execution they are Greek. One is decorated with leaves of the acanthus and the bead and reel that we can observe on the borders of Graeco-Bactrian coins. The second depicts a thunderbolt, recalling among other things the reverse of the coins of Diodotos.<sup>25</sup> What is most striking are the two precious stones: one is a clear sapphire and the other a star ruby. According to the experts these two stones come from Sri Lanka. Personally I would not be surprised to learn that already

<sup>23</sup> O. Bopearachchi, 1999d, p. 20.

<sup>24</sup> P. Turner, 1989, pl. VII.

<sup>25</sup> O. Bopearachchi and Ph. Flandrin, 2005, pl. 6.

in the 3rd century BCE. Sri Lankan merchants traded with the Greeks of Bactria through the intermediary of the Indians. We must point out here that Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Kushan coins have been discovered all over Sri Lanka. At Jetavanarama, at a depth of 14 m at the foot of one of the facades of the stupa, Sri Lankan archaeologists discovered a coin of Menander and lapis lazuli gems.<sup>26</sup> The lapis lazuli discovered in Sri Lanka is of high quality, known as '*raja varta*', characterised by the brilliant flecks of pyrites that pepper its surface. We know that it comes from the mines of Kokcha, in operation since earliest Antiquity and situated in the upper valley of the Kokcha, a tributary of the Oxus, in the Afghan province of Badakshan in the eastern Hindu Kush. One of the ports for the export of this stone was Barbaricum, at the mouth of the Indus, as was clearly indicated in the 1st century CE in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (39).

The archaeological data obtained by my work give us the proof that Ceylon had close commercial ties to India from at least the 4th century BCE. The testimony of the companions of Alexander the Great, such as Nearchos, Onesicritos and Aristoboulos, who never travelled beyond the mouth of the Indus, are based either on speculations or on information provided by the locals.<sup>27</sup> However these testimonies allow us at least to suppose that the Indians had a good knowledge of the island and of its ships that reached Barbaricum.

A Brahmi inscription dated to the 2nd century BCE, found in the Buddhist sanctuary of Situlpuwa in the south of the island, refers to '*Kabojhiya mahapugiyana*' (members of the great brotherhood of the Kabojhiyas). These Kabojhiyas mentioned in four other inscriptions on Sri Lanka should probably be identified with the Kamboja people also mentioned in Pali and Sanskrit literature, and especially in the inscriptions of Asoka. It is an indigenous population of Arachosia that Bongard-Lévine proposes to recognise as the Iranians of Arachosia that came to the island to trade and settled there. The presence of Indo-Greek coins, of Soter Megas, of Kanishka II and many other Kushan coins on Sri Lanka and the discovery of rings set with sapphires and rubies from the island provide us with concordant proof of the trade between Afghanistan and north-west India.<sup>28</sup>

An inscription in Kharoshthi discovered in Bajaur (Pakistan) mentions a 'Greek era' that we can date with great precision to around 185 BCE.<sup>29</sup> The inscription refers to the 27th year of the reign of Vijayamitra which is also the 73rd year of Azes and the year 201 of the era of the Yonas (Greeks). If we accept that the era of Azes is equivalent to the era of Vikrama, we can place

<sup>26</sup> O. Bopearachchi, 1999d, p. 20.

<sup>27</sup> See D.P.M. Weerakkody, 1997, pp. 197-9.

<sup>28</sup> O. Bopearachchi, 1999d, p. 20.

<sup>29</sup> Still unpublished, this inscription was presented at the Congress of Lattes by Richard Salomon.

the Greek era at 186/185 BCE. It is not impossible that Demetrios I was the founder of this 'Greek era' in India, as he is described as 'King of the Indias' and his headgear in the form of an elephant scalp gives him the air of a conqueror in the style of Alexander<sup>30</sup> (fig. 3). But as we shall see, there is another contender for this title. It is Agathokles.

It is certain that Pantaleon and Agathokles reigned over territories that really were Indian, situated in the basin of the Indus. This is shown by the Indo-Greek silver and bronze coinage, made for populations with Indian language and culture. The quadrangular form of the flans roughly cut from bands of metal used for the bronzes of Agathokles<sup>31</sup> are similar to the coins of Taxila that we attributed to Demetrios I.<sup>32</sup> These bronzes of the same form and technique furthermore have a bilingual legend in Greek and Brahmi. They are also struck with Indian motifs: on the reverse a female divinity holding a lotus, draped in ample robes, her hair decorated with complicated ornaments, and on the obverse a lion similar to the types on the reverse of the coins of Taxila.

The richest of these coinages is that of Agathokles, and within it the most notable and most informative series is that of the drachms with new types that were revealed to us by the excavations of Aī Khanoum. The divinities that figure on the two sides, Balarama-Samkarsana et Vasudeva-Kṛṣṇa, who belong to the Vishnuit cult<sup>33</sup> and whose aspect and attributes are totally foreign to Greek concepts, the hieratic style in which they are treated and which betrays the hand of a local engraver, and finally the double legend, where the Greek ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ is translated into Indian language and script (Brahmi) *rajane Agathukleyasa* (fig. 4), everything shows that this ruler, and Pantaleon, whose coinage is largely parallel to his, were the first to impose their power on India proper.<sup>34</sup>

There exists another very important piece of evidence concerning this, which was seen by a Pakistani who visited Mir Zakah in 1993. According to him, it is a gold double stater struck by Agathokles in memory of Alexander the Great. It appears that on the obverse of this coin the portrait of Alexander is represented wearing a lion skin and, on the reverse,<sup>35</sup> Zeus standing facing, holding in his left hand a long sceptre, and in his outstretched right a statuette of Herakles, itself holding a torch in each hand; it is the reverse type *par excellence* of Agathokles.<sup>36</sup> We are dealing here with numismatic evidence of extreme importance. Agathokles, by issuing these coins, presents himself as the uncontested successor of Alexander in the Indian territories, and thus the

<sup>30</sup> This is the opinion of Paul Bernard, see in P. Bernard, G.-J. Pinault and G. Rougelont, 2004, pp. 338-56.

<sup>31</sup> O. Bopearachchi, 1991, pl. 7, series 10.

<sup>32</sup> O. Bopearachchi and A. ur Rahman, 1995, pp. 27-8.

<sup>33</sup> For the identification of the types see J. Filliozat, 1973.

<sup>34</sup> R. Audouin and P. Bernard, 1974.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. O. Bopearachchi, 1991, pl. 8, nos. 21 and 22.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 1991, pl. 6 and 7, nos. 1-4; pl. 8, A and B.



creator of a new Greek era in India. But let us remain cautious until this coin appears.

It is essentially by using numismatic criteria, i.e. the monograms, metrology, style, find-spots and overstrikes, that we have been able to make hypotheses about the chronology of the various rulers and the identification of the regions over which they reigned. An unimaginable number of overstrikes have appeared during the last ten years. I have published a certain amount of these.<sup>37</sup> There remain about twenty of them yet unpublished.

In general an overstrike is a coin that has been re-struck using different dies on a coin that had already been issued, instead of using a new flan. The reasons for this procedure are varied. It may be the sign of the conquest by a rival king who wishes to eliminate the memory of his predecessor or that of the recuperation of older coinages at a time of metal shortage. The second reason is mostly applicable to precious metals, such as gold and silver. Whatever the reasons, overstruck coins are an excellent way of determining the chronological position of two rulers, the one who overstrikes being either the contemporary of the one whose coins are overstruck or later than him. The contribution of overstrikes is of prime importance in refining or improving the chronology of the Greek rulers who reigned in Central Asia after the conquest of Alexander the Great. It is true that some of them oblige us to rethink and correct the chronological order attributed to certain sovereigns. What is important is to know that the contribution of the overstrikes alone is insufficient for fixing an absolute chronology. It is necessary to test each hypothesis by confronting it with other numismatic, literary and above all archaeological data.

We must accept that in the case of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek rulers, without precise texts and without material data, coins cannot offer us more than the chronological framework of the history of the Greeks in Central Asia and in North-West India, the large movements of their conquests, the tendencies of their monetary policies and a very general idea of the desire for Hellenism shown by the state.

The archaeological and historical reality is such that to propose a simple chronological framework for the Greeks in Afghanistan seems to me to be an accomplishment, modest though it is. Concerning the edifice that remains to be built and whose materials can now only come from archaeology, the excavations under way and those that will be started in coming years in Afghanistan will one day allow us to better understand the political, economic and cultural history of the Greeks in Afghanistan.

The national museum of Kabul, pillaged under the regime of the Mujahideen and the Taliban, has today risen from the ruins of the civil war that ravaged the country for almost 23 years. The hall in which the wooden statues of Nuristan are exhibited, cut into pieces by the axes of the Taliban, is today open to the public. This beautiful hall symbolises the pride of a nation that looks to

<sup>37</sup> O. Bopearachchi, 1989, 2001 and 2002.

its future with hope. It is our duty to hold out our hand to the Afghan people and take a step forward with them along the road of hope. Let us never again allow the forces of evil to destroy the human dignity of this people. Let us not allow the sovereignty of the Afghan state to be trampled by political and economic issues. It is the future of the heritage of the whole of humanity that is in question, not that of a far away, forgotten and abandoned land.

#### POSTSCRIPT

This article is based on a paper presented in 2005 at the colloquium entitled 'L'art d'Afghanistan de la préhistoire à nos jours. Nouvelles données', (UNESCO, Paris) on 11 March 2005. My position on Sophytos discussed here has not changed, however new epigraphic documents have surfaced since then, for a recent summary of these new discoveries and their impact on the Indo-Greek history, see O. Bopearachchi, 'The Emergence of the Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek Kingdoms', in *Coins from Asia Minor and the East, Selections from the Colin E. Pitchfork Collection*, ed. N.L. Wright, Numismatic Association of Australia, Adelaide, 2011, pp. 47-50, 167-79 (chapter 27 in this volume).

#### ABBREVIATIONS

<i>CRAI</i>	: Comptes Rendus, Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres, Paris.
<i>MDAFA</i>	: Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan.
<i>NC</i>	: Numismatic Chronicle.
<i>RN</i>	: Revue Numismatique

#### REFERENCES

- Audouin, R. and P. Bernard, 1974, 'Trésor de monnaies indiennes et indo-grecques d'Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan)', *RN*, XVI, pp. 7-41.
- Bernard, P., 1982, 'Diodore XVII, 83, 1: Alexandrie du Caucase ou Alexandrie de l'Oxus', *Journal des Savants*, pp. 217-42.
- , 1985, *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum IV. Les monnaies hors trésors. Questions d'histoire gréco-bactrienne (MDAFA XXVIII)*, Paris.
- Bernard, P., G.-J. Pinault and G. Rougemont, 2004, 'Deux inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Centrale', *Journal des Savants*, p. 227-356.
- Bernard, P. and Cl. Rapin, 1994, 'Un parchemin gréco-bactrien d'une collection privée', *CRAI*, pp. 261-94.
- Bopearachchi, O., 1989, 'Monnaies indo-grecques surfrappées', *RN*, 1989, pp. 49-79.
- , 1991, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- , 1996, 'Sophytes, the enigmatic ruler of Central Asia', *Nomismatika Khronika*, 15, pp. 19-32.
- , 1998, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek Coins. The Collection of the American Numismatic Society*, Part 9, New York.
- , 1999a, 'Le dépôt de Mir Zakah. Le plus grand trésor du monde, son destin et son intérêt', *Dossiers d'Archéologie*, 248, Novembre 1999, pp. 36-43.

- , 1999 B, 'Les monnaies séleucides de l'Asie Centrale et l'atelier de Bactres', in *Travaux de numismatique grecque offerts à Georges Le Rider*, ed. M; Amandry and S. Hurter, London, pp. 78-93.
- , 1999 C, 'La circulation et la production monétaires en Asie Centrale et dans l'Inde du Nord-Ouest (avant et après la conquête d'Alexandre)', *Indologica Taurinensia, Official Organ of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies*, Turin, XXV, pp. 15-119.
- , 1999 D, 'Sites portuaires et emporia de l'ancien Sri Lanka: nouvelles données archéologiques', *Arts Asiatiques*, 54, pp. 5-22.
- , 2001, 'Some interesting coins from the Pandayale hoard', *News Letter, Oriental Numismatic Society*, no. 169, pp. 19-21.
- , 2002, 'Diomedes overstruck by Agathocleia', *News Letter, Oriental Numismatic Society*, 172, pp. 13-14.
- Bopearachchi, O. and Ph. Flandrin, 2005, *Le Portrait d'Alexandre. Histoire d'une découverte pour l'humanité*, Édition du Rocher, Monaco.
- Bopearachchi, O. and A. ur Rahman, 1995, *Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan*, Karachi.
- Bopearachchi, O. and K. Grigo, 2001, 'Thundering Zeus revisited', *News Letter, Oriental Numismatic Society*, No 169, Autumn 2001, pp. 22-4.
- Cunningham, A., 1866, 'Coin of the Indian prince Sophytes, a contemporary of Alexander the Great', *NC*, pp. 220-31.
- Filliozat, J., 1973, 'Représentations de Vasudeva et Samkarsana au IIe siècle avant J.C.', *Arts Asiatiques*, 26, pp. 113-21.
- Gardner, P., 1886, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India. The British Museum*, London (reprint 1968).
- Head, B.V., 1906, 'The earliest Graeco-Bactrian and Graeco-Indian Coins', *NC*, pp. 1-16.
- Kraay, C.M., 1976, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*, London.
- Mitchiner, M., 1975-6, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, 9 vols., London.
- Narain, A.K., 1957, *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford.
- Nicolet-Pierre, H., 1973, 'Monnaies grecques trouvées en Afghanistan', *RN*, XV, pp. 35-42.
- Rea, J.R., 1994, 'A Tax Receipt from Hellenistic Bactria', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 104, pp. 261-7.
- Sallet, A von, 1879, 'Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Baktrien und Indien. II. Die Münzen', *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 6, pp. 271-411.
- Turner, P., 1989, *Roman Coins from India*, London.
- Weerakkody, D.P.M., 1997, *Taprobanê. Ancient Sri Lanka as known to Greeks and Romans*, Turhout.

## The First Local Monetary Issues of North-West India: New Data\*

### SUMMARY

The chronology of the first monetary issues of north-west India has been the cause of controversy. The discovery of a coin hoard at Shaikhan Dehri in Pakistan in 2007 composed of bent bars and coins which D. Schlumberger named 'A New Kind' as well as virgin flans and ingots obliges us to change the view that we had of the circulation of the first coins issued in India. This discovery shows that Indians were aware of the technique of exploiting silver mines, smelting the raw material and purifying silver as early as the 5th century BCE.

\* \* \*

Rika Gyselen, whom we are honouring today for her scientific work, is above all a colleague with whom I shared a common interest in the study of the numismatics of Iran and Central Asia. It is for me an agreeable duty to offer her this contribution, modest though it may be, as a testimony of my esteem for her work which has considerably enriched our disciplines.

The question of the chronology of the first monetary issues in north-west India has caused much ink to flow. Since the discovery of a coin hoard in 1924 on the ancient site of Bhira Mound in Taxila, composed of 1.167 curved bars that the English have agreed to call 'Bent Bars', numismatists consider this variety of coins to be the first issues of the region.<sup>1</sup> John Allan<sup>2</sup> and H.C. Walsh<sup>3</sup> dated the burial of the hoard of Bhira Mound to the 5th or 4th century BCE, basing their arguments on three foreign coins that were part of the hoard. The presence of two coins of Alexander the Great and of one coin of Philip (III) Arrhidaios assassinated in 317 BCE, all three rated fleur de coin, as well as a very worn Persian siglos, allowed them to justify this dating.

The discovery in 2007 of a new monetary hoard composed of Bent Bars and of the coins that D. Schlumberger<sup>4</sup> called 'a new kind', as well as virgin flans and silver ingots can be said to have changed our ideas concerning the

\*Reprinted from *Trésors d'Orient. Mélanges offerts à Rika Gyselen*, ed. Ph. Gignoux, Ch. Jullien and F. Jullien, Paris, 2009, pp. 39-50.

<sup>1</sup> On this discovery see Marshall 1951, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Allan 1936, p. XVI.

<sup>3</sup> Walsh 1951, p. 843.

<sup>4</sup> See Schlumberger 1953, pl. III, nos. 15-20. See also Bopearachchi, 1999-2000, p. 72, pls. I-III, nos. 1-2.

monetary circulation and the origin of the first coins issued in India. According to the information that I was able to obtain from a Pakistani collector, this hoard, weighing 14 kg, was found by an inhabitant of the village of Shaikhan Dehri (in the ancient city of Pushkalavati) digging in his garden to gather earth to make bricks. Without claiming to resolve all the problems concerning these issues, we will attempt to introduce some new evidence that will allow us to reflect on this issue from a different point of view.

The composition of this hoard recalls the one exhumed by chance in 1933 at the site called Tchaman-i Hazouri, in the eastern part of Kabul.<sup>5</sup> Fifteen years later D. Schlumberger published a number of these coins that were kept in the Kabul Museum. This part of the hoard included 30 coins of various Greek cities, a lot of 34 coins of Athens, of which one was a barbarian imitation, 8 royal Achaemenid silver coins (sigloi), 14 curved ingots with a single punch-mark and 29 coins of a new kind.<sup>6</sup> It was these 29 coins that demonstrated the process of the evolution of minting, from the first ones struck with two different dies up to those made using multiple independent punches. We have elsewhere proposed a classification for this coinage.<sup>7</sup>

Unfortunately we did not obtain access to all the coins that were originally found in the new hoard of 2007. We publish the ones that we were able to examine personally. The new hoard contained a tetradrachm of Attic weight commonly called an 'Athenian owl', that we can date, thanks to its stylistic characteristics, to approximately 520 BCE (fig. 1). Although the coin is very worn, the weight of 17.21 g corresponds to the theoretical weight of Attic tetradrachms. We know that the first series of Athens, called 'Wapenmünzen', essentially consisting of didrachms and drachms struck with various types, such as the amphora, the triskeles, the scarab, the bull's head etc., were replaced well before the end of the 6th century BCE by the 'owls', bearing on the obverse a helmeted head of Athena, and on the reverse an owl, symbol of the tutelary divinity. On this coin (fig. 1) the usual Greek legend 'ΑΘΕ' is off-flan. Although unanimity of opinion has not yet been achieved concerning the appearance of these first 'owls', the majority of numismatists believe that they should be dated to the time of the Peisistratos.<sup>8</sup> If we had been sure that this coin was

<sup>5</sup> This is a hoard that was accidentally unearthed in 1933 on the site called Tchaman-i Hazouri, in the eastern part of Kabul. It was discovered by a team of workers digging the foundations of a house. It contained coins and fragments of jewellery. In a passage from a letter of Joseph Hackin, at the time director of the *Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*, addressed to Henri Seyrig, this hoard seems to have contained about one thousand silver pieces. Fifteen years later D. Schlumberger (1953, pp. 3-49) published a number of these coins that were kept in the Kabul Museum. Others entered the collections of the British Museum and the Museums of Calcutta and Lahore. We must add another eight coins that came from the same hoard and which entered the *Cabinet des Médailles* through the intermediary of Marc Le Berre, architect for the D.A.F.A., and which we have catalogued elsewhere: see Bopearachchi 1999-2000, pp. 21-4, pl. III-VI.

<sup>6</sup> Schlumberger 1953, p. 31-40.

<sup>7</sup> Bopearachchi 1999-2000, p. 21-24, pl. III-VI.

<sup>8</sup> Concerning this see Nicolet-Pierre 2002, pp. 140-2.

the only one in the hoard that came from the Greek world, we could have proposed a *terminus post quem* for the burial of the hoard around the 5th century BCE. However it is probable that the hoard contained other issues foreign to India, to which we have not had access and this obliges us to exercise a certain amount of caution before proposing a precise burial date. It is, however, not impossible that the hoard of Shaikhan Dehri is older than that of Kabul, which was dated by Schlumberger to about 380 BCE thanks to an Athenian imitation that it contained.<sup>9</sup>

The hoard of Shaikhan Dehri also included curved and punch-marked bars with the weight of Achaemenid sigloi, or 5.50 g, and of the double, or 11 g. However we only know of a single bar weighing 10.44 g that we have illustrated here (fig. 2). The others will leave the hiding place in which the finders have placed them one day. The piece published here is a short bar that we attribute to the region of the Paropamisadae, because this type of coin was contained in the Tchaman-i Hazouri hoard.<sup>10</sup> Its length of 24 mm conforms to the length of 25 to 30 mm of the series attributed to the Paropamisadae. On the contrary, the curved bars found in the Taxila region are longer: between 35 and 55 mm.<sup>11</sup> On this piece in the hoard of Shaikhan Dehri (fig. 2), the convex face bears some traces of the surface (probably a wooden plank) on which the flan was placed before being punch-marked. On the concave face two similar punch-marks have been stamped on each extremity of the slightly curved bar, but because of a lack of space, the two punch-marks partially overlap. The motif is formed of a network of radial lines disposed around a central ring.

The third piece that we illustrate (fig. 3) weighs 10.13 g (21 × 15 mm). The concave face bears within an incuse circle the same symbol in the form of a network of radial lines disposed around a central ring. The convex face is characterised by a motif of indistinct lines.

The fourth piece weighs 10.11 g (19 × 18 mm, fig. 4). On the concave face within an incuse square a symbol is struck having the form of a network of radial criss-crossed lines around a central ring divided by four triangles. The convex face bears a geometric motif composed of a triangle divided by a line down the middle.<sup>12</sup>

The fifth piece weighs 9.74 g (19 × 18 mm, fig. 5). The concave face bears

<sup>9</sup> 'Without the presence in the hoard of coin, no. 64, we would have placed the burial around 400. But the said piece, which is a copy with a blundered legend of an Athenian tetradrachm, obliges us to lower this estimate somewhat: the style, the eye in profile of the goddess, indicate a model later than 394-393 and if we take into account the time that was needed for this model to spread and be imitated, and for our specimen to reach far away Afghanistan, we will agree that a date earlier than 380 is not at all plausible' (Schlumberger 1953, p. 4).

<sup>10</sup> Schlumberger 1953, pl. III, nos. 1-12. Cf. Bopearachchi 1999-2000, p. 72, pl. III, nos. 14-16.

<sup>11</sup> Bopearachchi 1999-2000, pp. 21-3, pls. III-VI, nos. 14-38.

<sup>12</sup> A similar motif is also visible on a coin from the Tchaman-i Hazouri hoard, Schlumberger 1953, pl. IV, no. 26 and the same in Bopearachchi 1999-2000, pl. II, no. 7.

within an incuse circle a symbol formed of a network of radial lines some of whose extremities end in semi-circles. The central ring is without any motif. The convex face is without any distinct motif. The symbol of the concave face of this piece is closely related to that of the following piece.

The sixth piece weighs 2.83 g (12 mm, fig. 6). The convex face is without a distinct motif. The concave face, which is perfectly round, bears a motif within an incuse square formed of a radiate network of eight lines disposed around a central ring in the middle of which is a dot. Three rays of the eight end in a small incomplete circle. This piece is like the ones we have classed below, which are round and frequently scyphate. The floral motif is almost the same as that of the punch-marked Bent Bars.

There follows a group of six other coins which weigh respectively 3.01 g, 2.98 g, 2.97 g, 2.90 g, 2.88 g and 1.87 g: figs. 7A, B, C, D, E, F. As on the previous piece, the slightly convex side is without any distinctive motif. The convex side bears a motif that is very close to the previous piece. Three of these pieces (7B, C and E) are circular while the other three have an irregular form.

Another group includes six pieces that weigh respectively 1.42 g, 1.39 g, 1.38 g, 1.37 g, 1.36 g and 1.35 g: figs. 8A, B, C, D, E, F. The motif on the convex face of these coins closely resembles that on the six previous coins, but their average weight represents the half of these. Their form is irregular. Three of them (8A, C and E) resemble the form of a concave bar.

The Shaikhan Dehri hoard also contained virgin flans and we illustrate here as examples six of them that respectively weigh 3.02 g, 2.99 g, 2.98 g, 2.89 g, and 2.88 g: figs. 9A, B, C, D, E, F. These flans were made using two different techniques. The first is called 'the droplet', and consists of melting a silver ingot in a melting-pot and then pouring the molten metal in the form of a droplet (see fig. 9E). The second technique is to prepare quadrangular flans that can be cut from metal bands and whose weight is adjusted by clipping their corners (see figs. 9A, B, C, D, F).

But, for us, the most important element of the Shaikhan Dehri hoard is the presence of four ingots each weighing about 400 g (see figs. 10A, B, C, D). We show here the photographs taken from above and from the side of the ingot (fig. 10B). It weighs 298 g and measures 8.5 mm in height and 6 mm in length. The weight of the ingots approximately corresponds to 72 Achaemenid sigloi. They bear a punch-mark that guarantees the weight and purity of the silver. The ingots of this type were destined to be melted down and then struck as coins. Until now neither in India nor in Greece were such ingots known for this period. The excavations carried out in Emona (Laibach, modern Ljubljana) led to the discovery in 1910 of two silver ingots of the Aquileia mint. Both bear the effigy of Magnentius struck using the obverse die of a *maiorina*. The first ingot weighs 640 g and the second 319 g. The weight of these two ingots respectively corresponds, with an approximation of a few grams, to two and one pounds.<sup>13</sup> The ingots found in the Shaikhan Dehri hoard have the same

<sup>13</sup> Bastien 1983, pp. 92-7.



characteristics, but are eight centuries older than the ingots of Magnentius whose reign dates to between 350 and 353 CE. We are also certain that these ingots were to be melted down to create virgin flans.

What have we learned from this hoard? These diverse coins are the very first local issues of North-West India and were struck when the territories were under the protection of the Persian Great King. We must therefore re-evaluate their dating and place them towards the 5th century BCE.

The coins that we publish here are part of the issues that circulated to the south of the Hindu Kush in Indian territories. Numerous fractions of these bars have been discovered, that can be considered to have been siglos (5.50 g), double sigloi (11 g), half siglos (2.75-2.80 g), quarters of a siglos (1.40 g), sixths of a siglos (0.90 g), eighths of a siglos (0.70 g), twentieths of a siglos (0.27 g) and even fortieths of a siglos (0.13 g).<sup>14</sup> The Shaikhan Dehri hoard has, for the time being, only revealed three of these fractions, double sigloi (figs. 2-5), half sigloi (figs. 7A-F) and the quarter sigloi (figs. 8A-F), as well as the virgin flans (figs. 9A-F). It is very probable that among the coins that we have not been able to examine there are other denominations. The number of these fractions of the punch-marked bars in circulation was certainly large, because in the first deposit of Mir Zakah alone there were 560 specimens.<sup>15</sup> Hundreds of these have been discovered all over the Pakistani territory.<sup>16</sup> The inevitable conclusion is that even before the arrival of Alexander the Great, in the regions to the south of the Hindu Kush there was an abundant and systematic production of coins.

Everyone knows that Central Asia and North-West India were part of the Achaemenid empire before the arrival of Alexander. The Achaemenid settlement at Bhir Mound in Taxila clearly shows the expansion of the great Persian Empire beyond the Indus.<sup>17</sup> Herodotus (III, 90-4) gives a list of financial circumscriptions, indicating with precision which people were grouped together as well as the amount of the tribute that was demanded of each. Among the people of Bactria and ... (?) pay 360 talents and the Indians 360 talents as a tribute to the Great King. We have shown elsewhere that that these coins are the same as those used by Taxiles, the prince of Taxila, to pay a tribute to Alexander the Great so that he would not destroy his kingdom.<sup>18</sup> Quintus Curtius tells that in the Spring of 327, while Alexander was moving towards Taxila, Taxiles, king of Taxila, let the conqueror know, through the intermediary of a messenger, that he was prepared to offer him his kingdom. Alexander, satisfied with the attitude of the Indian king, confirmed him in his rights, titles and functions (VIII, 12, 4-14). We learn that later Taxiles offered Alexander

<sup>14</sup> Bopearachchi 1999-2000, p. 73.

<sup>15</sup> Curiel 1953, p. 73.

<sup>16</sup> In the Bhir Mound hoard, discovered in 1924, these coins, described by Walsh as 'minute coins', are represented by 79 specimens: cf. Marshall 1951, pp. 843-52.

<sup>17</sup> Marshall 1951.

<sup>18</sup> Bopearachchi 1999-2000, pp. 69-73.

eighty talents of coined silver '*signati argenti LXXX talenta*'.<sup>19</sup> The *argentum signatum* to which Quintus Curtius alludes must certainly have consisted of bent and punch-marked bars of the type that are today known as 'Bent Bars'. The local coins of the Achaemenid period or the coins called 'of a new kind' were the predecessors of the curved and punch-marked bars.

We now have the proof that India already possessed the techniques of smelting and purifying silver in the 5th century, which is confirmed by Kautilya (this name is probably the moniker of Chanakya, counsellor of the emperor Candragupta, founder of the Mauryan dynasty) when he describes in detail in his Arthashastra (chapter VI) the mining activities of the Indians. It would be interesting to carry out analyses using protonic activation on the ingots and the virgin flans so as to discover the origin of this silver, since this metal is known from the deposits of Badhakshan and Rajasthan. These might reveal whether it is the same metal that was used to strike the medallions called 'of Poros' that we believe were struck during the lifetime of Alexander and were issued in the valley of Jhelum after his victory over the Indian king.<sup>20</sup>

The presence of virgin flans and of silver ingots in this hoard is proof that these coins were struck on the spot, i.e. in the ancient town of Pushkalavati (Shaikhan Dehri), one of the great towns that, throughout history, have owed their importance to their position at the crossroads of commercial routes.

#### POSTSCRIPT

The metrological analyses done by Maryse Blet-Lemarquand at the laboratory of the CNRS-Orleans by LA-ICP-MS (Laser Ablation Inductively Coupled Plasma Mass Spectrometry) on the punched coins, virgin flans and silver ingots from the same Shaikhan Dehri hoard clearly show that, apart from two exceptions, all the coins and flans have the same composition and trace elements as the silver ingots (see Maryse Blet-Lemarquand '*Premières frappes locales de l'Inde du Nord-Ouest: l'apport des analyses élémentaires*', in *Trésors d'Orient. Mélanges offerts à Rika Gyselen*, edited by Ph. Gignoux, Ch. Jullien and F. Jullien, Paris, 2009, pp. 27-38). It is well-known that the purity of the first issues of Persian sigloi was 97-8 per cent. On the contrary, the purity of the silver ingot and majority of the coins from the Shaikhan Dehri hoard varies from 92 to 90 per cent. The presence of 5 to 8 per cent copper and 1.5 to 1.7 per cent lead clearly differentiates these coins from the Persian royal issues.

<sup>19</sup> 'After this, having offered the king the honours of hospitality during three days, on the fourth he showed him how much wheat he had provided the troops brought by Hephestion with and gave him and all his courtiers golden crowns, and, apart from this, eighty talents of coined silver: but Alexander, extremely satisfied by the generosity of the prince, left him everything that he had received, and he added one thousand talents of loot that he had brought with him, with many gold vases, and others of silver . . .' (Quintus Curtius, VIII, 12, 15-16, for the French translation see N. Beauzée, 1810).

<sup>20</sup> Bopearachchi 2005, pp. 176-93.

As we emphasized in the present article, we did not obtain access to all the coins that were originally found in the hoard of 2007. We then correctly assumed that part of the hoard, hidden by the finders, would one day appear on the market and, indeed, one year later a group of coins from the same hoard was published by Alexander Fishman but giving the wrong provenance. A. Fishman ('Previously unknown Gandharan Punchmarks from a recent hoard', *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, 202, 2010, pp. 26-8) gives vicinity of ancient Taxila as the provenance of this hoard. Five years after its discovery some of these coins have reached the London antiquity market. The dealer did not allow us to examine them. Seen from outside, they all bear a motif within an incuse formed by a network of eight radiating lines disposed around a central ring in the middle of which is a dot. Three of the eight rays end in a small incomplete circle. The dealer has also added to the lot some Imperial punch-marked coins from a different provenance (see fig. 11).

## REFERENCES

- Allan, J., 1936, *Coins of Ancient India*, Oxford, 1936.
- Bastien, P., 1983, *Le monnayage de Magnence* (350-3), Wetteren, 1983.
- Beauzée, N., 1810, *Histoire d'Alexandre le Grand par Quinte-Curce*, Lyon, 1810.
- Bopearachchi, O., 1999-2000, 'La circulation et la production monétaires en Asie Central et dans l'Inde du Nord-Ouest (avant et après la conquête d'Alexandre)', *Indologica Taurinensia, Official Organ of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies*, XXV, Turin, 1999-2000, pp. 115-19.
- Bopearachchi, O. and Ph. Flandrin (eds.), 2005, *Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan* [MDAFA XIV], Paris, 1953, pp. 65-92.
- Marshall, J., 1951, *Taxila: An Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations Carried out at Taxila under the Orders of the Government of India between the Years 1913 and 1934*, Cambridge, 1951.
- Nicolet-Pierre, H., 2002, *Numismatique grecque*, Paris, 2002.
- Schlumberger, D., 1953, 'L'argent grec dans l'empire achéménide', R. Curiel and D. Schlumberger (eds.), *Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan* [MDAFA XIV], Paris, 1953, pp. 3-49.
- Walsh, E.H.C., 1951, 'Two Hoards of silver Punch-Marked Coins found in the Bhir Mound at Taxila', J. Marshall (ed.), *Taxila: An Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations Carried out at Taxila under the Orders of the Government of India between the Years 1913 and 1934*, vol. II, chapter 40, Cambridge, 1951, pp. 843-52.



FIGURE 1A-B



FIGURE 2A-B



FIGURE 3A-B



FIGURE 4A-B



FIGURE 5A-B



FIGURE 6A-B



FIGURE 7A-F: Obverse and Reverse



FIGURE 8A-F: Obverse and Reverse





FIGURE 9A-F: Obverse and Reverse



FIGURE 10A-B



FIGURE 10B



FIGURE 10C-D



FIGURE 11



---

## Bactrian and Indo-Greek Numismatics

---



## Overstruck Indo-Greek Coins\*

### SUMMARY

This article aims to regroup all the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek overstrikes that have already been published, after having verified the reading; to present new overstrikes on unpublished coins or ones which had not been recognized as overstrikes; and finally to examine the contribution of the overstrikes for the reconstruction of the history of the Greek kingdoms of the Hellenistic period in Bactria and north-west India, by comparing them with other numismatic data.<sup>1</sup>

\* Reprinted from O. Bopearachchi, 'Monnaies indo-grecques surfrappées', *Revue Numismatique*, 1989, pp. 49-79, pls. V-VI.

<sup>1</sup> This study would have been impossible to complete without the aid and the permission generously granted to me by the keepers of the museums involved, to whom I express my sincere gratitude: Cecile Morrisson, H. Nicolet-Pierre and Dominique Gerin of the Cabinet des Médailles de Paris; Joe Cribb of the British Museum, D.M. Metcalf of the Ashmolean Museum; Nancy Waggoner of the American Numismatic Society, New York; H.D. Schiltz of the Münzkabinett des Staatliche Museen, Berlin; Tahira Beg, keeper in the Museum of Lahore. I owe special thanks to Guy Lecuyot, architect, CNRS, who agreed to make drawings of the overstrikes, allowing us to illustrate the details. I also warmly thank Paul Bernard, K.W. Dobbins, J. Cribb and R. Curiel who helped me with their advice and their encouragement.

The following abbreviations were used:

*Acta Antiqua* = *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*

P. Bernard, *Les monnaies hors trésors* = P. Bernard, *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum IV. Les monnaies hors trésors. Questions d'histoire gréco-bactrienne* (MDAFA 27), Paris, 1985.

*BMC* = *A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum. The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, by P. Gardner, London, 1888, rpt. 1968.

*CASE* = A. Cunningham, *Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East* (collection of articles that appeared in *NC* from 1868 to 1872 and reprinted in one volume in London in 1884, rpt. (in Chicago, 1969).

*CHI* = *The Cambridge Ancient History of India I, Ancient India* (E.J. Rapson, ed., 1922, repr. 1970).

*JNSI* = *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*.

*MDAFA* = *Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan*.

Mitchiner = M. Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, 9 vols., London, 1975-6. We cite this work by volume number.

A.K. Narain, *IG* = A.K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford, 1957.

*NNM*, *NSI* = *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, Numismatic Society of India.

*PMC* = R.B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore. I. Indo-Greek Coins*, Oxford, 1914.

Whatever the reasons, overstrikes are a crucial factor in determining the chronological position of two sovereigns in relation to each other, the one that carried out the overstrike being either contemporary with the one whose coins are overstruck, or earlier than him.<sup>3</sup>

Tarn, *GBI* = W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and in India* (2nd edn.), Cambridge, 1951.

<sup>3</sup> On the importance of overstrikes see C.H.V. Sutherland, 'Overstrikes and Hoards: The movement of Greek Coinage down to 400 BC', *NC* 1942, pp. 1-18, and especially the remarkable article of G. Le Rider, 'Contremarques et surfrappes dans l'Antiquité grecque', in *Numismatique antique. Problèmes et méthodes. Annales de l'Est, publiées par l'Université de Nancy II*, Mémoire no. 44, 1975, pp. 27-55. We must pay homage to the English numismatists who showed special interest in overstrikes; it suffices to name A. Cunningham, R.B. Whitehead and above all, in recent years, G.K. Jenkins. Their works will constantly be referred to in the present article. The importance of overstrikes in reconstructing the history of the successors of the Greeks in India was equally underlined by R. Curiel, *Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan*, MDAFA, XIV, Paris, 1953, pp. 88-9; Fr. Widemann, 'Une surfrappe de Gondophare sur Hermaios et une autre de Kuzoulo Kadphises sur Gondophare...', *BSFN*, 1972, pp. 147-51.

<sup>5</sup> Neither Tarn nor Narain mentions it.

<sup>7</sup> Mitchiner I, pp. 65-7.

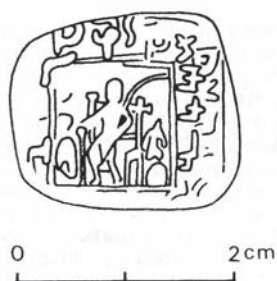
by the unequal thickness of the flan and by the fact that part of the inscription is off-flan. What von Sallet read as *alki* is simply the upper part of the beginning of the name of Eucratides in Kharoṣṭhī lettering, placed horizontally below the Dioscuri with the lower half off-flan: the first three *akṣara* of the name 𑀕𑀲𑀭𑀸 *Evukra(tidasa)* can easily be recognized, even though their lower part is missing. The reading of von Sallet is in any case impossible as, following the disposition of the legends on the bronze coins of Antialcidas the *akṣara* of the supposed name of this king would have to be read rotated 180°.

\* \* \*

The examination of our overstrikes starts with a bronze coin in the name of Eucratides overstruck on a coin of Apollodotos, which poses problems of historical interpretation.

#### I. 'EUCRATIDES' OVER APOLLODOTOS

1. British Museum. Acc. No. 1888.12.8.158, A. Cunningham Coll. Monogram 𑀭𑀸𑀓𑀺. AE. Pl. V, 1. Drawing.



Cunningham reported long ago this overstrike of Eucratides I, with the types 'helmeted bust of Eucratides/tutelary divinity of Kavisi-Begram' (Mitchiner 1, 194), on a bronze of Apollodotos with the types 'Standing Apollo/Tripod' (Mitchiner 2, 210).<sup>8</sup>

We were able to examine this coin, struck obverse on obverse, and to verify the accuracy of the observation made by Cunningham. As he does, we also clearly read on the reverse traces of the legend in Kharoṣṭhī of the original flan.






(a) Legend of Eucratides 𑀕𑀲𑀭𑀸 *Kavisiye/nagara/devata*.

(b) Legend of Apollodotos 𑀭𑀸𑀓𑀺 *Maharajasa/Apaladatasa/tra[tarasa]*.

[For the rest of the text, (a) will designate as here, the die of the sovereign who made the overstrike and (b) the flan which received the overstrike. The disposition of the legend is indicated by the arrows.]

If the reading of this coin as an overstrike has never been contested, it has

<sup>8</sup> A. Cunningham, *NC* 1869, pp. 225-6 = *CASE*, pp. 169-70.

been, from a historical viewpoint, interpreted in various ways. W.W. Tarn saw here an overstrike of the first Eucratides on the first Apollodotos.<sup>9</sup> A.K. Narain challenged this interpretation. For him this overstrike was a considerable problem, since he felt that there had been only one Apollodotos (115-95 BC) and that he was quite a bit later than Eucratides I. Consequently he minimized the value of this coin on the pretext that it is unique, and attributed it, without any justification, to a hypothetical Eucratides III.<sup>10</sup> The solution came from K.W. Dobbins who convincingly proposed adding these bronzes in the name of Eucratides, bearing on the reverse the tutelary divinity of Kavisi-Begram, to a group of posthumous issues that also included issues in the name of Apollodotos and Hermaios.<sup>11</sup> All these posthumous issues must have been struck in the second half of the first century BC in Begram and in the Paropamisadae by the nomadic princes who had just expelled the Greeks from that region. Dobbins proposed two main criteria for differentiating the posthumous coins from those struck during the lifetime of the kings already mentioned: 1. the clearly barbaric style of the types; 2. the monograms , , , ,  that only appear on these barbaric series. We will return in a future study to this group of posthumous issues and the reasons which validate Dobbins' hypothesis.<sup>12</sup>

## II. HELIOCLES I

Authentically the oldest overstrike of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek series belongs to the coinage of Heliocles I, the successor of Eucratides I in the territories to the north of the Hindu Kush (145-130 BC).

<sup>9</sup> *GBI*, pp. 212-13. Neither Cunningham, *NC* 1870, pp. 76-86 = *CASE*, 228-38, nor R.B. Whitehead, *NC* 1940, pp. 57-9, distinguishes between two Apollodotoi.

<sup>10</sup> A.K. Narain, *IG*, pp. 64-5. We will not enter into the details that show up to which point the refusal to accept two Apollodotoi—the first being the founder of the light standard called the Indian standard, the predecessor of Eucratides I and of Menander in the Indian territories, and the second the successor of the Indo-Scythian Maues, who conquered Taxila between 90 and 80 BC—caused grave consequences to the chronology proposed by A.K. Narain. The list of convincing arguments advanced in favour of the existence of two Apollodotoi can be found in G.K. Jenkins, 'The Apollodotus Question: Another view', *JNSI*, 1959, pp. 20-33; J.-P. Guépin, 'Apollodotus et Eucratides', *JMP*, 1956, pp. 1-19; D.W. Mac Dowall and N.G. Wilson, 'Apollodoti reges Indorum', *NC* 1960, pp. 221-8, and recently P. Bernard, *CRAI* 1974, pp. 306-7; *Les monnaies hors trésors*, pp. 66-7. An unpublished tetradrachm of Attic weight with the portrait of Apollodotos I found in Aī Khanoum (Cl. Petitot-Biehler, *RN* 1975, pp. 37-9) is necessarily earlier than 145 BC, the date at which the city was abandoned by the Greek colonists (see no. 18).

<sup>11</sup> 'The Question of the Imitation Hermaios Coinage', *East and West*, XX, 1970, pp. 307-25.

<sup>12</sup> P. Gardner, *BMC*, note on p. 19, had already expressed doubts concerning this series with the legend *Kavisiye nagara devala*: 'it seems, however, not improbable that they may have been issued after the death of Eucratides'.



## A. HELIOCLES I OVER DEMETRIOS II

2. Staatliche Museen of Berlin, Acc. No. 1875, Prokesch-Osten Coll. AR.  
Pl. V, 2. Drawing.



This coin is a silver unilingual drachm (2.92 g) of Heliocles I with the types 'diademed bust/standing Zeus holding thunderbolt' (Mitchiner 2, 285), published by A. von Sallet in 1879,<sup>13</sup> and which, curiously, went totally unnoticed after this.<sup>14</sup> Von Sallet believed he saw an overstrike of Heliocles on a drachm of Eucratides with the types 'bust of sovereign/twin busts of Heliocles and Laodiceia', the parents of the king: 'Man sieht auf der vorderseite etwa  $\text{KAI}^\circ \text{AA}^\circ \text{AI}$ , also höchst wahrscheinlich  $\text{KAI} \text{AAOAIKH}\Sigma$ , auch scheinen Spuren der beider Köpfe erkennbar'.<sup>15</sup> This coin is without a doubt an overstrike, because on the obverse we can distinguish, to the left of the portrait of the sovereign and vertically the remains of a Greek legend. Having been able to examine the coin myself, I was immediately convinced that the reading of von Sallet was impossible, but was unable to propose an alternative. A possible solution was proposed by J. Cribb, keeper of Oriental coins in the British Museum, to whom I showed a photograph and who suggested  $\text{ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦ[OY]}$ .

Of the eight letters  $\text{ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦ[OY]}$  whose traces have been preserved, we can easily recognize 4 triangular letters of which 3 are open at the bottom (nos. 3, 4, 7), the fourth (no. 5) clearly being a  $\Delta$ . In the second position the I leans slightly to the left.<sup>16</sup> The first and the last of the preserved letters, although deformed, could well be  $\Phi$ s. The only letter that really poses a problem is the 6th which, in its present state, looks more like an I than an E. But the number and distribution of the triangular letters, of which the  $\Delta$  is sure, are compatible with

<sup>13</sup> *ZfN* 1879, p. 302.

<sup>14</sup> Even K.W. Dobbins, who gives a special chapter to the overstrikes that were known in his monograph *A Schema of Indo-Bactrian Coinage* (NNM, NSI, no. 18, 1980, pp. 68-71), does not seem to know about this overstrike.

<sup>15</sup> *ZfN* 1879, p. 302.

<sup>16</sup> We could believe that the lower part of this vertical bar is connected to a second oblique bar (an inversed  $\Lambda$  or Y). But it could very well be a flaw in the surface of the flan.

the reading ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦ[ΟΥ], which reinforces the probability of this being the correct reading. Of all the Seleucid, Parthian or other coin series, on which the epithet ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ appears, the only ones that are comparable, given the dimensions of the flan, the disposition of the legend and the approximate period, are the drachms of the first reign (145-139 BC) of the Seleucid king Demetrios II, with the double epithet ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ.<sup>17</sup>

This identification can be inserted with no difficulty into the timeline of the reign of Heliocles I, which we now know, thanks to a document from Aï Khanoum, must have begun around 145 BC.<sup>18</sup> The campaign carried out by Demetrios II against Mithridates I in Media<sup>19</sup> may have favoured the dissemination to the east of the silver coins of the Seleucid king.<sup>20</sup>

All the other overstrikes are found on bilingual coins and concern the Indo-Greek successors of Menander (150-135 BC). They are extremely valuable for confirming or reconstructing the order of succession of the kings that reigned to the south of the Hindu Kush from about 135 BC.

### III. HELIOCLES II

The simultaneity of the reign of Heliocles II with those of Strato I and Antialcidas is revealed by many series of overstrikes.

<sup>17</sup> A. Houghton, *Coins of the Seleucid Empire from the Collection of Arthur Houghton*, New York, 1983, nos. 1009, 1011-12 ('Seleucis on the Tigris'), 576 ('Cilicia, unknown mint, 874-875' ('Phoenicia-Palestine, unknown mint')). On these series, as on our coin, the epithet ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ is not crossed by the arrow that the seated Apollo holds (on coins 1011-12, Apollo is replaced by a seated Zeus). If we accept our identification for the original coin, we must accept that the epithet ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ that follows ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ was erased during the overstriking; this really appears to have been the case, as the rectilinear relief that is adjacent to ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ cannot in any case correspond to the circular bead and reel border of the die of Heliocles I.

<sup>18</sup> This date is attested by a fiscal inscription on a vase from the treasury of Aï Khanoum, dated to the 24th year of the era of Eucratides: P. Bernard, *Les monnaies hors trésors*, pp. 97-105.

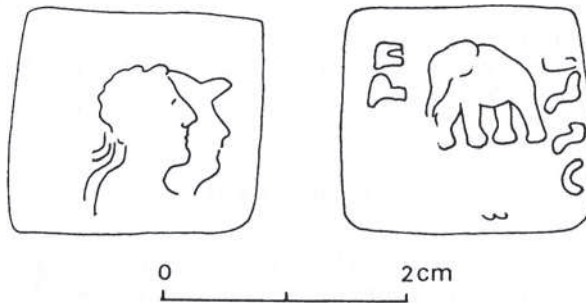
<sup>19</sup> On the campaign of Demetrios II against Mithridates I in the upper satrapies (Spring 140-Summer 139) that ended in the defeat and capture of the Seleukid king, see G. Le Rider, *Suse*, pp. 361-72, especially pp. 361-2 (sources), 368-71.

<sup>20</sup> According to Justin XXXVI, 1, 4, in his wars against the Parthians Demetrios II received the aid of Persian, Elamite and Bactrian troops: 'Itaque cum et Persarum et Elymaeorum Bactrianorumque auxiliis iuvaretur multis proeliis Parthos suffudit'. For Tam, *GBI*, pp. 199, 273, these were Bactrian contingents sent by Heliocles I to reinforce the Seleukid king. But it is hard to see how his contingents could have joined the Seleukid army through territories already occupied by the Parthians, which separated Bactria from Mesopotamia. The idea of a joint attack from both Mesopotamia and Bactria so as to cut off the Parthians in a pincer movement is even more improbable. Should we not rather see these Bactrians, these Elamites and these Persians of whom Justin speaks as mercenaries in the service of the Seleukids? For a summary of the various hypotheses see G. Le Rider, *Suse*, p. 370, no. 3.

A. (Nos. 3-7). HELIOCLES II OVER STRATO AND AGATHOCLEIA<sup>21</sup>

This first series includes bronze coins of Heliocles II with the types 'bust of the sovereign/elephant' (Mitchiner 2, 294) overstruck on coins of Strato and Agathocleia with the types 'bust of Athena/Herakles sitting on a rock' (Mitchiner 2, 307).<sup>22</sup>

3. British Museum. Inv. No. 1888.12.8.268, A. Cunningham Coll.  
Monogr. №. AE.  
Pl. V, 3. Drawing.



A. Cunningham believed that this coin was an overstrike of Strato over Heliocles.<sup>23</sup> When the coin entered the British Museum collection, E.J. Rapson was able to establish the correct interpretation.<sup>24</sup> On this coin, overstruck obverse on obverse, we can see on the obverse the profile of Heliocles II emerging from the helmet and the head of Athena, of Strato and Agathocleia. The reverse retains the more or less distinguishable traces of two legends:

(a) ↑↑ *Maharaja[sa/dhramikasa/Heliyakreyasa]*

<sup>21</sup> R.B. Whitehead, *NC* 1950, p. 210, records an overstrike, without giving any details, of a bronze coin of Strato and Agathocleia in the Lahore Museum (*PMC*, pl. V, 230). Thanks to the kindness of the museum authorities, we were able to obtain the photographs of this coin reproduced here, pl. V. B. Having carefully examined them, we do not believe we can distinguish any traces of an overstrike. J. Cribb, to whom I also showed the photographs, is of the same opinion.

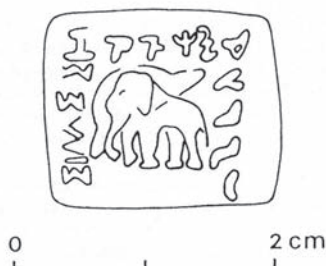
<sup>22</sup> A. Cunningham, *NC* 1870, pp. 218-19 = *CASE*, pp. 256-7, considered Agathocleia to have been the wife of Strato. A. von Sallet, *ZfN*, 1879, pp. 128-9, was the first to see that she could have been his mother, an opinion unanimously accepted today: E.J. Rapson, *Coins of the Graeco-Indian Sovereigns Agathocleia, Strato I Sôter; and Strato II Philopator*, in *Corolla Numismatica, Numismatical Essays In Honour of Barclay V. Head*, London, 1906, pp. 254-5; *ibid.* in *CHI*, p. 552; V.A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum of Calcutta*, vol. 1, Calcutta, 1906, p. 21; W.W. Tarn, *GBI*, p. 249; A.K. Narain, *IG*, p. 110.

<sup>23</sup> *NC*, 1870, p. 214 = *CASE*, p. 252. Cunningham only recognized a single Heliocles, *NC* 1869, pp. 239-46 = *CASE*, pp. 183-90.

<sup>24</sup> E.J. Rapson, in *Corolla Numismatica*, pl. XII, 2.

(b) ⚡ [Maharajasa trata/rasa dhra/mi]kasa [Stratasa].<sup>25</sup>

4. Ashmolean Museum. Oman Coll. (1947). Monogr. ⚡. AE.  
Pl. V, 4. Drawing.

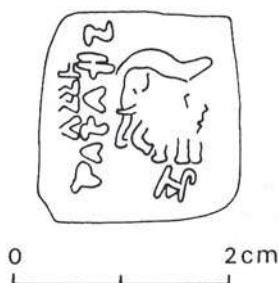


This coin is overstruck obverse on reverse. On the reverse of the coin of Heliocles II the head of the elephant is visible on the helmet of Athena, of Strato and Agathocleia. On the reverse we can read the following traces of the legends:<sup>26</sup>

(a) ⚡ *Maharajasa/dhramikasa [Heliyakreyasa]*

(b) ⚡ [B]ΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ/ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ/ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ.

5. Cabinet des Médailles of Paris. Acc. No. D 2216 (1856).  
Monogr. ⚡. Unpublished.<sup>27</sup> AE.  
Pl. V, 5. Drawing.



This coin is overstruck obverse on reverse. On the reverse of the coin of Heliocles II, the head of Athena of the coin of Strato and Agathocleia with her

<sup>25</sup> E.J. Rapson, *ibid.*, pp. 246-7, read the legends as follows:

Obv. a. [... ΟΠΟ. ...]

b. [-A]ΣΙΑΕ[ΩΣ. ... A. ...].

Rev. a. [...]dhra[mi]kasa [Strata]sa.

b. Maharaja [...sa. ...].

<sup>26</sup> This coin was published for the first time by M. Mitchiner, 2, 294, 4th photograph from the top, who does not report that it is overstruck. I was able to examine it in person and make these observations.

<sup>27</sup> This overstrike had already been noticed by R. Curiel during the classification of the Indo-Greek coins of the Cabinet des Médailles which he had carried out.

helmet and the upper profile of the face is more visible than the elephant which was struck over it, and of which we can only distinguish the head and the feet. On the reverse we also read the traces of the legend of the coin of Strato and Agathocleia.

Obv. of Heliocles II:

(a)  $\uparrow\downarrow$  [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΔΙ]ΚΑΙΟΥ/ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

(b)  $\uparrow\downarrow$  [*Maharajasa trata/rasa dhra/mi*]kasa Stra[tasa].

Rev. of Heliocles II:

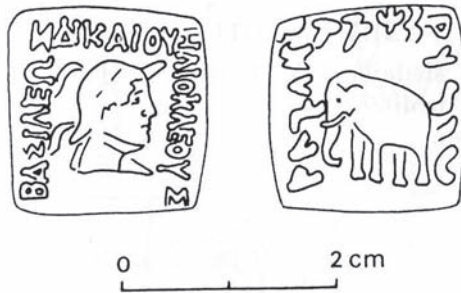
(a)  $\uparrow\downarrow$  [*Maharajasa/dhramikasa*]/*Heliyakreyasa*.

(b)  $\uparrow\downarrow$  [ΒΑΣΙ]ΛΙΣΣΗ[Σ/ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ/ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ].

6. Cabinet des Médailles of Paris. Acc. No. L. 3058 (1892) Feuardent.<sup>28</sup> AE.

Monogr.  $\mathbb{R}$ . – Unpublished.

Pl. V, 6. Drawing.



This coin is overstruck obverse on obverse. No trace of the legend of the original type is visible, but we can distinguish on the obverse, covering the hair of the sovereign, traces of the helmet of Athena of the obverse of the coin of Strato and Agathocleia.

7. British Museum. Acc. No. 1860.12.20.16. Monogr.  $\mathbb{N}$ . AE.

Pl. V, 7. /Drawing.



On the coin of Heliocles II, overstruck obverse on obverse, we can distinguish traces of the head of Athena, of Strato and of Agathocleia, her helmet and the

<sup>28</sup> 6.91 g, 20 × 21 mm.

upper profile of her face, as well as remains of the original legend:<sup>29</sup>

(a)  $\uparrow\downarrow$  [B]AΣ[IAEΩΣ/ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ]/ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

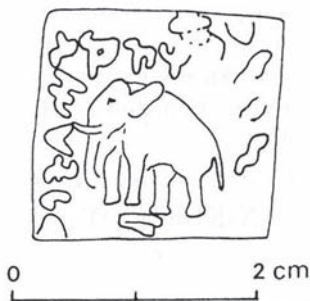
(b)  $\uparrow\downarrow$  ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗ[Σ/ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ/Α]ΓΑ[ΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ].

B. (NO. 8). HELIOCLES II OVER STRATO I

This second series is represented by a bronze coin of Heliocles II with the types 'bust of sovereign/elephant' (Mitchiner 2, 294), overstruck on a coin of Strato I with the types 'bust of Heracles/Nike walking r.' (Mitchiner, 2, 333).

8. British Museum. Inv. No. BMC 28. Monogr. Σ. AE.

Pl. V, 8. Drawing.



This coin is overstruck obverse on obverse. On the reverse we can distinguish, above the horizontal line of the Kharoṣṭhī legend of Heliocles II, the remains of the legend of Strato I.<sup>30</sup>

(a)  $\uparrow\downarrow$  [Ma]hara[jasa]/[dhra]mikasa/Heliyakreyasa.

(b)  $\uparrow\downarrow$  [Maharajasa/trata]rasa/Stra[tasa].

C. (NO. 9). HELIOCLES II OVER ANTIALCIDAS.

The third series is represented by a bronze coin of Heliocles II with the types 'bust of the sovereign/elephant' (Mitchiner 2, 294) overstruck on a coin of Antialcidas with the types 'bust of Zeus/bonnets and palm branches of the Dioscuri' (Mitchiner 2, 280).

<sup>29</sup> This coin was published for the first time by Mitchiner, 2, 295, who did not realize it was an overstrike. He interpreted it based on the helmet of Athena and described the type as a 'helmeted bust of king'; he thus made this coin a new issue of Heliocles.

<sup>30</sup> It was A. Cunningham who first reported this overstrike: *NC* 1869, 227-8, pl. VI, 11 = *CASE*, pp. 171-2. It is mentioned by most scholars, especially P. Gardner, *BMC*, 'Heliocles', 28; E.J. Rapson, in *Corolla Numismatica*, pl. XII, 1, and *CHI*, p. 553; A.K. Narain, *IG*, p. 113; Mitchiner, 2, 294, d; K.W. Dobbins, *NNM*, *NSI*, no. 18, 1980, p. 69.

9. C. Kirkpatrick, *Ncirc*, March 1979, p. 98. AE.  
Drawing.



This overstrike of Heliocles II on a bronze coin of Antialcidas, known from an example seen on the market and published by C. Kirkpatrick, is overstruck obverse on reverse. On the reverse of the coin of Heliocles we can read, under the elephant, the epithet ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ from the obverse of the coin of Antialcidas.<sup>31</sup>

- (a) ↑↓ [*Maharajasa*]/*dhramikasa/Heliyakreysa*.  
(b) ↑↓ [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ]/ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ/[ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ].

#### D. HELIOCLES II ON PHILOXENOS (?)

10. A. Cunningham, *NC* 1869, p. 245. AE.

We were not able to find this overstrike of Heliocles II on any of the bronze coins of Philoxenos, although we examined all the coins of the A. Cunningham collection that have entered the collections of British museums (British Museum, Ashmolean Museum and Fitzwilliam Museum). As the English numismatist only mentions this overstrike, giving no details and no illustration, we wonder whether it really existed or whether it is an erroneous reading, which would explain why we were unable to find it.<sup>32</sup>

In favour of such an overstrike we must emphasize that the overstrikes of Heliocles II are the most numerous that we know of in the Indo-Greek coinage,

<sup>31</sup> We tried in vain to obtain information about the current whereabouts of this coin. Our drawing was based on the photograph published by C. Kirkpatrick, *Ncirc*, March 1979, p. 98. Kirkpatrick reports that he distinguished on the reverse of this bronze coin of Heliocles II traces of the bust of Zeus, and on the obverse faint traces of the bonnets of the Dioscuri of the coin of Antialcidas. The photograph that was published alone, is not sufficient to distinguish these details. The traces of the legend of Antialcidas are sufficient to confirm the existence of the overstrike.

<sup>32</sup> K.W. Dobbins, *NNM*, *NSI*, no. 18, 1980, p. 69, believes that Cunningham may have mixed this overstrike with one of Heliocles II on Strato and Agathocleia. The fact that a large part of the Cunningham collection, especially of the bronze coins, was lost in a shipwreck off the coast of Ceylon in 1885 (R.B. Whitehead, *NC* 1950, p. 211) does not allow us to exclude the possibility that this coins existed.



that their relatively high number gives us the right to think that there existed many more, and that it is possible that other types were used, apart from the ones that we have described.<sup>33</sup> From a chronological point of view an overstrike of Heliocles II over Philoxenos poses no problems.
















The general study of the monograms that we carried out in our thesis, soon to be published,<sup>34</sup> revealed that the principal mints of Strato I, represented by the monograms: , , , , , continued to mint coins for Heliocles II (see the table below).<sup>35</sup> On the other hand, the overstrike of Heliocles II over Antialcidas (no. 9) is an indication, among others, that the reigns of these two sovereigns overlapped. We also know that Antialcidas managed to gain for his own use the mint  of Heliocles II (see the table below). These observations allow us to propose the following order of succession for these kings: Strato I (125-110 BC)—Heliocles II (110-100 BC)—Antialcidas (119-95 BC).

TABLE OF DISTRIBUTION OF THE PRINCIPAL MONOGRAMS OF THE COINAGES OF STRATO I, LYSIAS, HELIOCLES II AND ANTIALCIDAS

Monograms									
Strato I				X	X	X	X	X	X
Lysias	X	X	X	X					
Heliocles II				X					
Antialcidas	X	X	X	X					

The overstrikes that we have just examined also allow us to distinguish with certainty two homonymous sovereigns, Heliocles I and II. The first was co-ruler during the lifetime of Eucratides I, without doubt around 150, toward the end of the reign of the latter, and succeeded him (145-130 BC). The second reigned much later, after the reign of Strato I and at the same time as Antialcidas, whose reign dates to the years around 100 BC.<sup>36</sup>

The distinction between the two Heliocles could already have been foreseen because of the difference between the portraits. We are well aware of the fact

<sup>33</sup> A. Cunningham made the remark that numerous bronze coins of Heliocles seemed to him to have been overstruck, although it was impossible for him to identify the original coins: *NC* 1869, p. 245 = *CASE*, p. 189.

<sup>34</sup> Doctoral Thesis presented at the University of Paris I: *Étude d'histoire et de numismatique indo-grecques*, vols. I-IV, 1987.

<sup>35</sup> This table was taken from our thesis.

<sup>36</sup> This dating is founded on the inscription engraved on the column that stands in Vidisa, the capital of Bhagabadra. According to the specialists, it must have been written around 100 BC. Published for the first time by J. Marshall, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1909, p. 1055, it has been studied many times, especially by J. Ph. Vogel, *Archaeological Survey of India*, 1908-9, p. 126; H. Lüders, 'A List of Brahmi Inscriptions', *Appendix to Epigraphia Indica* X, Calcutta, 1912, no. 669; H. Raychaudhuri, *Materials for the study of the Early History of the Vashnava Sect*, Calcutta, 1920, pp. 58-61; E. J. Rapson, in *CHI*, pp. 558, 625; W. W. Tarn, *GBI*, pp. 313, 380, 406; A. K. Narain, *IG*, pp. 118-19; cf. also P. Bernard, *RN* 1974, pp. 14-16.

that the argument of facial resemblance, when deciding about the existence of homonymous kings, must be handled with extreme caution, as subjectivity plays a great part in this type of appraisal, and it is wise, before voicing an opinion, not to base oneself on this criterion alone. If, however, there is a case where this argument is worth considering, it is for the portraits of Heliocles I and II. The beautiful tetradrachm of the Cabinet de Médailles (pl. V, C), which offers us one of the best effigies of Heliocles II, allows an instructive comparison for the distinction between these two sovereigns of the same name. The man with the face that is almost emaciated, his flesh taut over protruding bones, with an angular jaw, a mouth with thin, protruding lips, a clear-cut profile and an air of hard concentration,<sup>37</sup> can hardly be the same as the one that appears on the coins of Heliocles I, with a face that is clearly older, much more fleshy, sometimes even plump, the brow furrowed, two wrinkles descending from the sides of a large nose, a protruding chin and the air of a cunning peasant.

The overstrikes corroborate the distinction between these two kings, father and son (?), with the name Heliocles. The sovereign of an advanced age (Heliocles I), whose reign in Bactria ended around 130 BC,<sup>38</sup> cannot, in view of the extreme facial differences, have rejuvenated to the point of being the one (Heliocles II) who overstruck the issues of Strato I, and even less, some years later, around 100 BC, an issue of Antialcidas.<sup>39</sup> So here we have an example where facial differences should not leave us in any doubt. Other coin portraits of Heliocles II, even more emaciated and with more marked traits, show the evolution of the face towards a type more aged than the one shown on the coin in Paris. The distinction between two Heliocles, father and son (?), would seem to us to be solidly established.

#### IV. ANTIALCIDAS AND LYSIAS

The relationship between Antialcidas and Lysias has been supported by most scholars using three principal arguments:

<sup>37</sup> The coin with the royal bust seen from behind (Mitchiner 2, 291) comes from the same mint  $\Sigma\Phi$ , and was probably made by the same engraver.

<sup>38</sup> When, in 129-128 the Chinese envoy Chan k'ien stayed in these regions, the nomads had completed the conquest of the whole province, including southern Bactria which, however, they occupied temporarily, but over which they imposed their suzerainty. The report of Chan k'ien was preserved by the historian Se-Ma Ts'ien, whose work dates to 99 BC: see B. Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China translated from Shih chi of Ssu-ma chien*, II, London, 1961, p. 268, ch. 123, p. 269, ch. 123.

<sup>39</sup> P. Gardner, *BMC*, p. 23, and R.B. Whitehead, *NC* 1950, p. 212, justify the distinction they make between the two Heliocles by the difference in their portraits and the fact that the one strikes exclusively unilingual coins and the other bilingual ones. A.K. Narain, *IG*, pp. 74, 109, shares their opinion for the same reasons. C. Kirkpatrick, *Ncirc*, March 1973, p. 98, reinforces this hypothesis with the argument of the overstrike of Heliocles II over Antialcidas. E.J. Rapson, in *CHI*, p. 553, W.W. Tarn, *GBI*, p. 273, G. Fussman, *Trésor de Qunduz*, p. 78, and M. Mitchiner, 2, pp. 106-8, are among those who support the hypothesis of the existence of only one Heliocles.

1. The functioning of the same mints for the two sovereigns, meaning:  $\text{Α}$   $\Sigma$ ,  $\text{Ρ}$ ,  $\text{Π}$ ,  $\text{Κ}$ . The use by these two kings of the combined monogram  $\text{ΑΣ}$  that only appears on their coins, underlines the closeness of the links between the two coinages.

Three coins also testify, although in a more ambiguous manner, to the connection between these two kings.

2. Two of these are examples of a bronze coinage with composite types of Antialcidas and Lysias. Up till now we only knew of one, in the Ashmolean Museum, bearing on the obverse the obverse type (bust of Herakles) and the name of Lysias in Greek, and on the reverse the reverse type (bonnets and palm-branches of the Dioscuri) and the name of Antialcidas in Kharoṣṭhī.<sup>40</sup> I am able to announce the existence of a second, unpublished, example, in the collection of the American Numismatic Society of New York, with the inversed types: on the obverse the type (bust of Zeus) and the legend of Antialcidas in Greek and on the reverse the reverse type (elephant) and the legend in Kharoṣṭhī of Lysias (pl. V, D).<sup>41</sup> Various explanations have been put forward concerning the first known example, published by Cunningham. For Tarn, in making this conjoint issue Lysias and Antialcidas wanted to seal a reconciliation between the two rival royal families.<sup>42</sup> R.B. Whitehead considered that it was a fortuitous hybrid ('mule'),<sup>43</sup> an opinion shared by A.K. Narain<sup>44</sup> and K.W. Dobbins.<sup>45</sup> The complicated story constructed by Tarn on a series of suppositions must be rejected without hesitation. Concerning the theory of an erroneous hybrid, this is now weakened by the appearance of a second specimen, the absolute antithesis of the first, the two coins having in all likelihood been produced in the same mint that possessed the double set of dies.<sup>46</sup> What we can say with certainty is that this is a marginal striking. And we can in any case assert, considering the whole coinage of these two kings, that their reigns either immediately succeeded one another in an order that we have yet to fix, or that they partially overlapped.

3. The third coin mentioned is a bilingual drachm considered to be an over-strike of Antialcidas over Lysias (no. 11). Its demonstrative value concerning

<sup>40</sup> This coin was published for the first time by A. Cunningham, *NC* 1869, p. 300, pl. IX, 4 = *CASE*, p. 198, is listed in the catalogue of P. Gardner, *BMC*, pl. XXXI, 2, and in Mitchiner 2, 268.

<sup>41</sup> Inv. no. 660, ex E.T. Newell coll. We read on the obverse part of the legend of Antialcidas [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ]Σ/ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ/[ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ]; and on the reverse in Kharoṣṭhī [*maharajasa*] *apadihatasa* [*Lisiasa*].

<sup>42</sup> *GBI*, pp. 314-15.

<sup>43</sup> *NC* 1947, p. 32.

<sup>44</sup> *IG*, p. 116.

<sup>45</sup> *NNM*, *NSI*, no. 18, 1980, p. 68.

<sup>46</sup> For this likelihood to become a certainty, we would have to have the monograms of the two coins. Unfortunately we can read only the specimen published by Cunningham:  $\text{ΑΣ}$ .

the relationship between the two kings is even more doubtful than that of the two previous coins.

11. PMC No. 172 = Mitchiner 2, 278. AR.  
Pl. V, 11.

This bilingual drachm of the Lahore Museum bears on the obverse the bust of Antialcidas wearing a *causia* and on the reverse a seated Zeus holding a Nike (close to the series Mitchiner 2, 277). R.B. Whitehead<sup>47</sup> had already noticed that this was an overstrike of Antialcidas over Lysias with the types 'bust of sovereign wearing the skin of an elephant/standing facing Herakles' (Mitchiner 2, 262). We can recognize, with no possible doubt, on the upper edge of the *causia* of Antialcidas the double bulge of the skin of the elephant of the coin of Lysias that was overstruck. But instead of the epithet ANIKHTOY of the overstruck Lysias that Whitehead read, we decipher, as does K.W. Dobbins, the epithet of Antialcidas ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ.<sup>48</sup> The cursive form of the writing (a lunate sigma and a cursive omega, to which we can add the peculiar form of the K and the Φ with a long vertical bar) and the fact that the monogram Α is unique not only for the issues of Antialcidas but also for the whole Indo-Greek coinage, caused Dobbins to consider this coin to be either posthumous or 'provincial'.<sup>49</sup> It is true that these are unique characters for the series of issues of Antialcidas, and we are equally tempted to consider this coin as having been struck in a provincial mint. To support this interpretation the coin seems to be plated. In fact, a recent photograph of the original, obtained thanks to the helpfulness of Mrs Tahira Beg, keeper in the Lahore Museum, shows on the brow of the royal portrait a blackish stain which could indicate the bronze core of the coin.<sup>50</sup>

#### V. EPANDER

Overstrikes are especially useful for the chronology of such an ephemeral king as Epander, whose very existence is only known thanks to a very small number (about twenty) of coins struck in his name.

<sup>47</sup> NC 1950, p. 210.

<sup>48</sup> The first letter after ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ can only be an N and not an A; we read ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡ[ΟΥ], as does Dobbins, *NNM*, *NSI*, no. 18, 1980, p. 68.

<sup>49</sup> K.W. Dobbins, *ibid.*, p. 68, 'The lower case *omega* and the lunate *sigmas* in ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩC and the unusual monogram mark this coin as a provincial striking or a late imitation of an Antialcidas drachm'. R.B. Whitehead, *NC* 1950, pp. 210-11, brings this type of writing close to the legends of sovereigns such as Zoilos (for Whitehead there was only one sovereign of this name). Let us note that certain series of Nikias, a close successor of Antialcidas, have cursive sigmas and omegas.

<sup>50</sup> The photograph published by Whitehead was probably taken from a cast and not from the original coin itself.

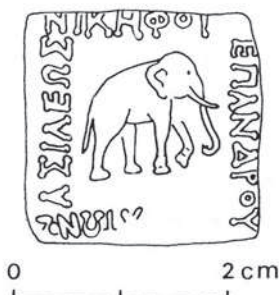
## A. (No. 12). EPANDER OVER PHILOXENOS

12. N. Singhi collection, A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, Calcutta, 1965, p. 119. AE.

This overstrike of Epander over Philoxenos was recorded by A.N. Lahiri, who did not, however, give any details about the original flan, nor did he produce a photograph.<sup>51</sup> The possibility that this overstrike exists is reinforced by the existence of another overstrike of Epander.

## B. (No 13). EPANDER OVER STRATO I

13. The American Numismatic Society. New York. Inv. No. 790. ex E.T. Newell coll.<sup>52</sup> AE. Pl. V, 13. Drawing.



Obv. of Epander:

- (a) ↑↓ [Β]ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ/ΕΠΑΝΔΡΟΥ.  
 (b) ↑↓ [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑ/ΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ/ΟΣ ΣΤΡ]ΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

Along with an unpublished overstrike, this bilingual bronze coin, overstruck obverse on obverse, makes known a new series of Epander bearing the types 'elephant to r. / Nike walking r, holding out a crown'. Given the arrangement of the legend of the overstruck coin, we attribute the original flan to the series of Strato I with the types 'Standing Apollo/tripod' (Mitchiner 2, 336). Because of the position of the readable letters of the coin in the A.N.S.: [ΣΤΡ]ΑΤΩΝΟΣ, the name of the king was preceded on the same obverse side by two other letters: this is exactly what we can observe in the series of Strato I, where the Greek legend is disposed thus: ↑↓ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑ/ΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ/ΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ (Mitchiner 2, 336).

These two bilingual overstrikes, which were not yet known when Narain

<sup>51</sup> We learned from P.L. Gupta that N. Singhi, to whom this coin belonged, has died, and that there is no information about the fate of his collection.

<sup>52</sup> Mitchiner published this coin in his book *The Ancient and the Classical World, 600 BC-AD 650*, London, 1978, p. 284, no. 1918. He did not notice that it was an overstrike; he did not point out that it was an unpublished type for Epander; and he presented this coin as belonging to the private collection of François Widemann, while it actually belonged to the American Numismatic Society of New York. F. Widemann had sent him a photograph that he had received from the A.N.S.

published his book on the Indo-Greeks, oblige us to reconsider the chronology proposed for Epander (approximately 130 BC) by the Indian numismatist<sup>53</sup> who suggested that this king was a contemporary of Menander (155-130 BC), being one of his viceroys.<sup>54</sup> The date attributed to Philoxenos by Narain in his chronological outline (125-115 BC)<sup>55</sup> is in fact a bit too late for him to have been overstruck by Epander. On the other hand the internal chronology of the coinage of Strato I shows that Epander could not have been a contemporary of Menander. For Narain Strato I, who he is certain was the son of Menander, comes between 130 and 90. The overstrike of Epander was made on a coin of the last series of Strato I's bronzes. His coinage is in fact ordered in three phases of development, according to the epithets of the legend, phases whose succession is confirmed by the relative aging of the royal portrait: 1. 'Soter' = *tratarā*, that corresponds to an effigy that is very young; 2. 'Soter Dikaïos' = *tratarā dhramika*, that corresponds to a bearded portrait; 3. 'Epiphanes Soter' = *pracachasa tratarā* that corresponds to the bearded portrait of a mature man.<sup>56</sup> It is to this last phase that the original flan of our overstrike corresponds. Thus in no case can Epander, who overstruck Strato I, be considered a contemporary of Menander. He belongs, no doubt, to the group of ephemeral sovereigns such as Artemidoros, Polyxenos and Nikias, who appear to have reigned between Philoxenos and Archebios over various territories.

## VI. ARCHEBIOS

The overstrikes of Archebios also constitute a well-represented group. Archebios is now considered to have been the last Greek sovereign to rule in Taxila before the invasion of the Indo-Scythian Maues. The hypothesis was advanced for the first time by E.J. Rapson,<sup>57</sup> but for the wrong reasons. Linking the bonnets of the Dioscuri on the bronzes of Archebios (Mitchiner 3, 365) to a similar type on an obol on which A. Cunningham read the name of *Liako Kozoulo*,<sup>58</sup> a person that is linked to *Liaka Kusulaka*, a satrap of Maues, known from the inscription called 'scroll of Taxila', Rapson concluded that the issue of the Indo-Greek king served as a model for the Indo-Scythian mint of Maues. In fact the issue in the supposed name of *Liako Kozoulo* belonged to a series of imitations of the obols of Eucratides I that were only valid in the valley of the Oxus.<sup>59</sup> This excludes any direct link between these issues and the bronze coins of Archebios and even, quite probably, also with the *Liako Kusulaka* of

<sup>53</sup> *IG*, pp. 96, 97 and 181.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 74-100 and 181.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 114 and 181.

<sup>56</sup> Mitchiner 2, 308-36.

<sup>57</sup> *CHI*, p. 559.

<sup>58</sup> This coin, along with two others from the same dies, are in the British Museum: A. Cunningham, *NC* 1888, pp. 245-6, no. 9, pl. XIII, no. 9 = *Coins of the Sakas*, I, pp. 91-2, no. 9, pl. 9; M. Mitchiner, *The Early Coinage of Central Asia*, London, 1973, no. 75.

<sup>59</sup> On these imitations of the obols of Eucratides I see most recently E.V. Zejmal, *Drevnie Monety Tadžikistana*, Dušanbe, 1983, pp. 93-103.

the scroll of Taxila, because it is far from sure that the name *Liaka Kozoulo* can really be read on the obol-imitation of Eucratides. It is for other, much more justified, reasons that J. Marshall<sup>60</sup> and J. Allan<sup>61</sup> rejected the hypothesis of Rapson. They assert, in effect, that the *Liako Kozoulo* issue may have found the model for its Dioscuri bonnets not with Archebios, but on the obols of Eucratides, which implicitly upset the direct chronological link between Archebios and the *Liaka Kusulaka* of Maues. A.K. Narain,<sup>62</sup> taking advantage of this theoretical possibility, pushed up the date of Archebios to around 130 BC, making him a successor of Eucratides II and attributing Arachosia to him. W.W. Tarn,<sup>63</sup> for his part, accepts Rapson's theory without discussion. The conclusion to which he came concerning the late character of Archebios proves to be still exact today, but for very different reasons from the ones he suggested.

A decisive step was taken the day G.K. Jenkins<sup>64</sup> showed that Maues used Taxila as his capital. This was the conclusion drawn from 105 bronze coins in the name of Maues, of which almost half bore the monogram  $\mathfrak{N}$ , that were collected in Sirkap by J. Marshall during the excavation of the site<sup>65</sup>. This monogram was obviously that of the local mint. Based on this, some light could be shed on the problem of the dating of Archebios. Of the 30 known bronze coins of Archebios whose monogram is identifiable, 23 were struck with the mark  $\mathfrak{N}$  of Taxila, which is present on 5 of the 6 specimens found in the excavations of Sirkap.<sup>66</sup> It thus became clear that Archebios had also possessed the mint of Taxila. K.W. Dobbins<sup>67</sup> and A.D.H. Bivar<sup>68</sup> rightly considered Archebios to have been the immediate predecessor of Maues in Taxila. To this main argument, as they have said, the evidence of the overstrikes can be added.

We know in fact three series of overstrikes of Archebios: the first over Strato I, the second over Zoilos I (?), the third over Peukolaos.

#### A. (No. 14). ARCHEBIOS OVER STRATO I

##### 14. *Taxila*, III, pl. 237, No. 174. Monogr. $\mathfrak{N}$ . AE.

This is a square bronze coin of Archebios with the types 'bust of Zeus/bonnets of the Dioscuri' (Mitchiner 3, 365), overstruck obverse on reverse on a round coin

<sup>60</sup> *Taxila*, Cambridge, 1951, p. 39.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 858.

<sup>62</sup> *IG*, pp. 108-9.

<sup>63</sup> *GBI*, p. 315.

<sup>64</sup> *JNSI* 1955, pp. 1-26, especially pp. 13-14.

<sup>65</sup> This data was taken from an unpublished manuscript of K.W. Dobbins, *Indo-Hellenistic Coins from Taxila*, p. 11, that he generously allowed us to use.

<sup>66</sup> 'Indo-Bactrian Problems', *NC* 1965, pp. 69-108, especially p. 84.

<sup>67</sup> *NNM*, *NSI*, no. 18, 1980, pp. 70-1.

<sup>68</sup> 'Indo-Bactrian Problems', *NC* 1965, pp. 69-108, especially p. 84.



of Strato I 'bust of Apollo/quiver with shoulder harness' (Mitchiner 2, 335).

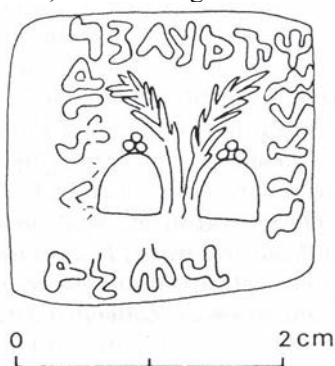
On this coin found in the excavations of Taxila and published by B.B. Whitehead,<sup>69</sup> we can distinguish on both sides some traces of the two series of types. Furthermore, on the obverse of the overstrike of Archebios some traces of the legend of this king remain, as do some of those of Strato I:

(a) ↑↓ [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΝΙΚΗΦ]ΟΡΟΥ/ΑΡΞ[ΕΒΙΟΥ]

(b) ☉ *Maharaja[s]a pra[cachasa tratarasa/Stratasa]*

B. (No. 15). ARCHEBIOS OVER ZOILLOS I (?)

15. PMC No. 230. AE. Pl. V, 15. Drawing



This is a square bronze of Archebios with the same types as the previous one, 'bust of Zeus/bonnets of the Dioscuri' (Mitchiner 3, 365), overstruck obverse on obverse apparently on a coin of Zoilos I, 'bust of Herakles/club and bow in a crown of leaves' (Mitchiner 2, 258).

R.B. Whitehead, without being certain of his reading, considered that this coin of Archebios was 'probably' overstruck on a bronze of Heliocles concerning which he offers no details.<sup>70</sup> On a photograph that was generously provided by the direction of the Museum of Lahore, we were able to decipher the remains of the legend of the original coin. On the reverse of the coin of Archebios we read:

(a) ↑↓ with small characters: [*Ma*]harajasa dhra/mikasa jayadhara sa Arkhebi[yasa].

(b) ↗↖ with large characters: [*Maharaja*]sa/dhramika[s]/Jhoilasa].

On the obverse we suspect the presence of an overstrike without being able

<sup>69</sup> *Taxila*, vol. II, p. 801. We are not able to illustrate this coin, as we were unable to obtain photographs. K.W. Dobbins informed me that he was not able to find it in the reserves of the museum of Taxila during the two years that he dedicated to the study of the coins of this site.

<sup>70</sup> According to Whitehead, *PMC*, p. 39: 'Monogram in ex. illegible owing to the fact that the piece has been restruck, probably on a coin of Heliocles'.

to distinguish anything clearly. The epithet *dhramika[sa]* visible on the reverse, inversed, under the bonnets of the Dioscuri, is the only indication that points to the original type. In fact, we know of a number of sovereigns who used the epithet *dhramika* on their bronze coinage and in these cases the legend is always arranged in a *pi* on three sides. But the layout of the legend on the coin of Lahore with the final *sa* of *[maharaja]sa* immediately adjacent to *dhramika[sa]* indicates very clearly that there is no room to insert a second epithet between *[maharaja]sa* and *dhramika[sa]*. We must thus exclude the bronze series, such as those of Strato I and Agathocleia (Mitchiner 2, 307), Strato I (Mitchiner 2, 334) and Peukolaos (Mitchiner 3, 370), on which the epithet *dhramikasa* is preceded or followed by another, modifying the layout of the legend, which is presented thus:  $\uparrow\downarrow$  *Maharajasa/tratarasa dhrami/kasa Stratasa* for Strato and Agathocleia and Strato I; and  $\uparrow\downarrow$  *Maharajasa dhra/mikasa tratarasa/Piukulasa* for Peukolaos. Having excluded these issues with three epithets, our choice is limited to the series of four sovereigns: Zoilos I (Mitchiner 2, 258), Heliocles II (Mitchiner 2, 294-7), Menander Dikaios (Mitchiner 2, 252-4) and Theophilos (Mitchiner 3, 375-6), that only have the epithet *dhramika*. Compared to the other three series, that of Zoilos I is differentiated by the Kharoṣṭhī characters, which are larger. It appears that the Kharoṣṭhī *akṣara* on the Lahore bronze belongs to this last category. Without wanting to accord an absolute value to this criterion, we do, however, believe that the overstruck coin belongs to Zoilos I. Whatever the case, even if the original flan was that of a coin of one of the other three kings, Heliocles II, Theophilos or Menander Dikaios, this would not change the date that we assign to Archebios, approximately between 90 and 80, because in the chronological timeline that we have established in our general study of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coinages, Archebios comes after these three kings.

#### C. (Nos. 16 AND 17) ARCHEBIOS OVER PEUKOLAOS

This series includes, firstly, a bilingual tetradrachm of Archebios with the types 'bust of helmeted sovereign/thundering Zeus' (Mitchiner 3, 358), overstruck obverse on obverse on a bilingual coin of Peukolaos 'bust of diademed sovereign/standing Zeus turned l., holding a sceptre' (Mitchiner 3, 369).<sup>71</sup> There also exists a bilingual tetradrachm of Archebios, this time with the types 'bust of helmeted sovereign seen from behind/thundering Zeus' (Mitchiner 3, 362), overstruck obverse on reverse on the same series of Peukolaos. We owe our knowledge of the existence of these two overstrikes to G.K. Jenkins.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>71</sup> This series is for the moment known from two tetradrachms: R.B. Whitehead, *NC* 1923, pl. XV, 4 = British Museum, Acc. no. 1922.4.24.130, and *Glendining Catalogue*, 18, 1970, pl. II, 47; a third specimen is to be found in the Cabinet des Médailles of Paris: pl. VI, no. E = Monn. & Méd. Bâle, Sale 64, 30-1-84, no. 216.

<sup>72</sup> 'Some Indo-Greek Tetradrachms', *JNSI*, 1973, pp. 78-81.

16. British Museum. Acc. No. 1972.10.7.2. Monogr. .<sup>73</sup> AR. Pl. VI, 16. Drawing.




On the obverse of this coin of Archebios the remains of the legend of Peukolaos can be read:


(a)  ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ/ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ.

(b)  [ΒΑΣΙΛΕ]ΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ Κ[ΑΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ/ΠΕΥΚΟΛΑΟΥ].

On the reverse of the coin of Archebios we can distinguish part of the face of Zeus, turned to the left of the reverse of Peukolaos. It is the orientation to the left of the face of Zeus, that we can discern very clearly and which is only represented in this fashion on the coins of Peukolaos, that allows us to identify the original coin (Mitchiner 3, 360).<sup>74</sup>

17. British Museum. Acc. No. 1972.10.7.3. Monogr. .<sup>75</sup> AR. Pl. VI, 17. Drawing.



The monogram  of the overstruck coin can be read on the aegis and the left shoulder of the bust of Archebios seen from behind. On the reverse of

<sup>73</sup> Mitchiner 3, 358, 7th illustration from top.

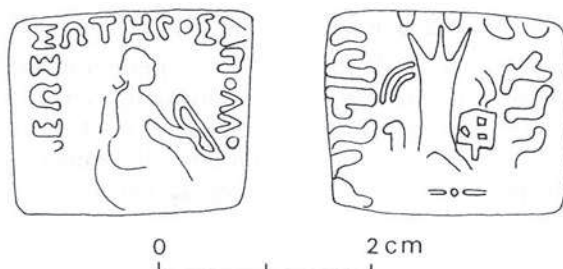
<sup>74</sup> Mitchiner 3, p. 208, believes that this is an overstrike of Archebios on one of his own coins. Leaving aside the strangeness of a king overstriking his own coins, Mitchiner forgets that on the reverse of the coins of Archebios Zeus is always facing.

<sup>75</sup> Mitchiner 3, 362, 2nd illustration from top.

the tetradrachm of Archebios it is possible that a fold seen obliquely under the left arm of Zeus, belongs to the cloak draped around the shoulders of Peukolaos.

## VII. APOLLODOTOS OVER MAUES

18. Ashmolean Museum. Inv. No. D. 149, H. De Shortt coll.<sup>76</sup> AE.  
Pl. VI, 18. Drawing.



As early as 1955 G.K. Jenkins reported this overstrike of Apollodotos II on a bronze coin of the Indo-Scythian Maues, who took Taxila from Archebios during the first years of the first century BC.<sup>77</sup> He rightly concluded that we should place the second Apollodotos between Maues and Azes I.

It is a bronze coin of Apollodotos II with the types 'seated Apollo/tripod' (Mitchiner 2, 204), overstruck obverse on obverse on a bronze of Maues with the types 'elephant r./king seated facing in oriental style' (Mitchiner 5, 734). Jenkins noted on the obverse traces of the elephant of Maues that cover the legs of the seated Apollo of Apollodotos II, and on the reverse, behind the tripod, the remains of the seated facing king and the large bead and reel border of the coin of Maues.

This generally accepted identification was recently contested by Mitchiner,<sup>78</sup> who sees an overstrike of Apollodotos I on a coin of the same king, but of the series with the types 'standing Apollo/tripod' (Mitchiner 2, 209). This identification of the sovereign who carried out the overstrike cannot be defended. In reality on all the series of Apollodotos II the legend is composed and arranged as follows:  $\uparrow\downarrow$  ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ/ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ while on the coins of Apollodotos I we have  $\uparrow\downarrow$  ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ/ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. We were able to examine this coin in the Ashmolean Museum and to obtain photographs from which the above drawing was made. We can distinguish no trace of the legend of Maues; but the attribution proposed by Jenkins for the original type to Maues is assured by the fact that no other series of bronze coins belonging to an Indo-Greek or Indo-Scythian king that reigned at the

<sup>76</sup> Mitchiner 2, 204, 2nd illustration.

<sup>77</sup> 'Indo-Scythic Maues', *JNSI* 1955, p. 14.

<sup>78</sup> Mitchiner 2, p. 115.

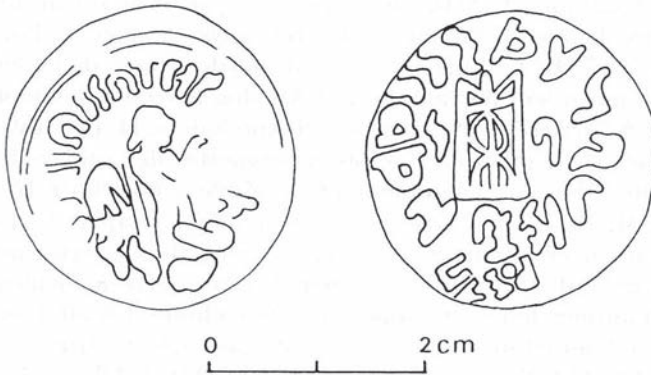
time of Apollodotos II bears the two elements that we can observe on this coin, i.e. the elephant and the large bead and reel border.

#### VIII. ZOILUS II OVER APOLLODOTOS II

After having established the posteriority of Apollodotos II compared to Maues, we can, based on many series of overstrikes, fix the place of this king in a well-defined chronological sequence. For this we have at our disposal three overstruck round bronze coins of Zoilos II: one, in the Cabinet des Médailles of Paris, is unpublished, the other two, in the British Museum, were published by Mitchiner, who did not recognize the overstrikes.<sup>79</sup> Three coins of Apollodotos II with the types 'Apollo archer/tripod' with the legend disposed  $\uparrow\downarrow$  for the Greek and  $\downarrow\uparrow$  for the Kharoṣṭhī (Mitchiner 3, 431), are overstruck by dies of Zoilos II with the same types but with a different arrangement of the legend: for the Greek  $\odot$  and for the Kharoṣṭhī  $\odot$  (Mitchiner 3, 462).

#### 19. Cabinet des Médailles of Paris, Seymour de Ricci coll. AE.

Pl. VI, 19. Drawing.



This overstrike was carried out obverse on reverse, and we read on each side the remains of the two bilingual legends.

Obverse of Zoilos II:

(a)  $\odot$  [ΒΑΣΙΛΕ]ΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ[ΟΣ/ΖωΙΛΟΥ].

(b)  $\uparrow\downarrow$  [Maharajasa/tra]tarasa/Apa[ladatasa].

Reverse of Zoilos II:

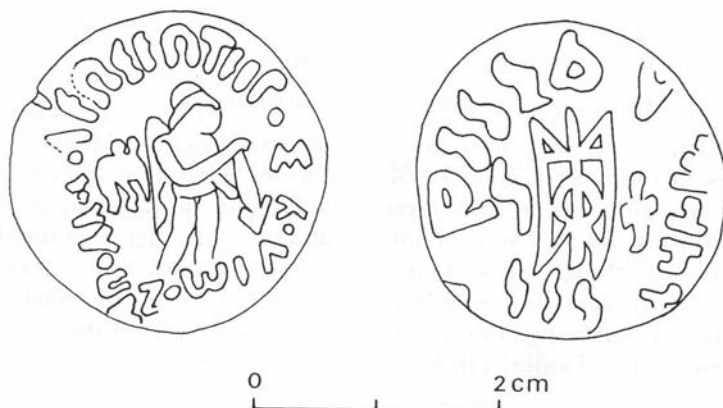
(a)  $\odot$  Maharajasa tratarasa/Jhoilasa

(b)  $\uparrow\downarrow$  [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΣΩΤΗ]ΡΟΣ/ΑΠ[ΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ].

The two overstrikes of the British Museum are analogous to that of the Cabinet des Médailles of Paris, with the difference that they are obverse on obverse, meaning that we find the remains of the two Greek legends on the same side and on the other the remains of the two Kharoṣṭhī legends.

<sup>79</sup> Mitchiner 3, 462, 1st and 3rd illustration from the top.

20. British Museum. Acc. No. 1922.4.24.2915, ex R.B. Whitehead coll.<sup>80</sup>  
AE. Pl. VI, 20. Drawing.



Obverse of Zoilos II:

(a) ⌚ [ΒΑΣΙ]ΛΕΩΣ/ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΖΩΙΛΟΥ

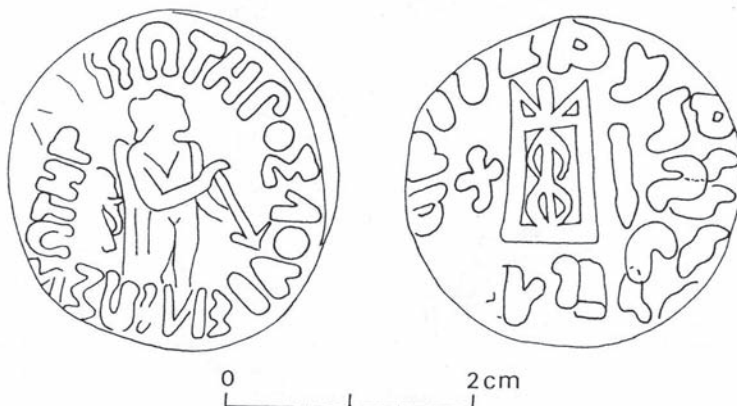
(b) ⬆⬆ [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ] ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔ[ΟΤΟΥ].

Reverse of Zoilos II:

(a) ⌚ [Mahara]jasa tratarasa/[Jhoilasa].

(b) ⬆⬆ [Maharajasa]/tratarasa/Apalada[tasa].

21. British Museum. Acc. No. 1956.7.10.40, ex H.L. Haughton coll.<sup>81</sup> AE.  
Pl. VI, 21. Drawing.



<sup>80</sup> R.B. Whitehead reports a coin overstruck by Zoilos II on Apollodotos II, without giving any other details, except that it came from the Sialkot hoard: *NC* 1923, pp. 308-9. It is certainly the coin that we are examining here and which belonged to Whitehead before entering the collections of the British Museum. It is reproduced by Mitchiner 3, 462, 3rd illustration, without him recognising it as an overstrike.

<sup>81</sup> Mitchiner, 3, 462, 1st illustration.



Obverse of Zoilos II:

(a) ☉ [ΒΑΣΙΛΕ]ΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ/[Ζω]ΙΛΟΥ.

(b) ⚡ [ΒΑ]ΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΣΩΤΗΡΟ[Σ/ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ]

Reverse of Zoilos II:

(a) ☉ *Mahara]jasa tratarasa/Jhoilasa.*

(b) ⚡ [Mahara]jasa/tratarasa/A[*paladatas*].

Apollodotos II, the successor in Taxila of the Indo-Scythian Maues, was succeeded by the Indo-Greek Zoilos II. But only the territories of the East, that is the region that lies between the Ravi and the Sutlej with Sagala as its capital, passed under the domination of the latter. The most important territories that lay to the West, Taxila and Pushkalavati, fell to Azes I who arrived from Seistan. Azes I overstruck coins of Apollodotos II and of his successor in Taxila, the Indo-Greek Hippostratos.

#### IX. AZES I

A. (No. 22) AZES I OVER APOLLODOTOS II

22. Lahore Museum. *PMC*, No. 244. Monogr. ⚡. AE.

Pl. VI, 22. Drawing.



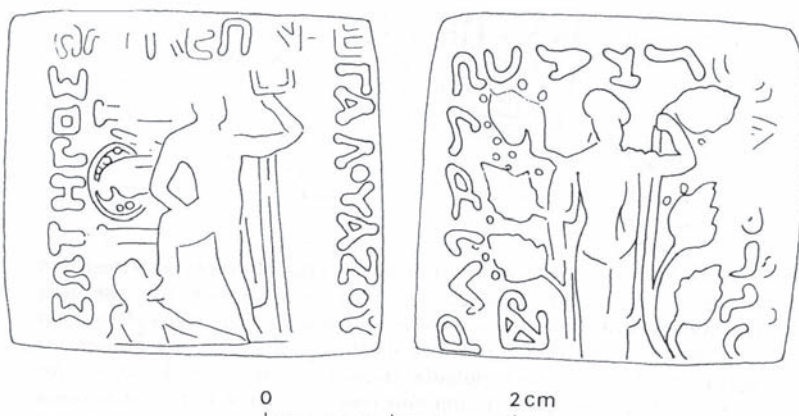
This is a bronze coin of Azes I with the types 'Poseidon facing, holding a trident/female divinity surrounded by plant shoots' (Mitchiner 6, 740) overstruck on an Apollodotos with the types 'Apollo/tripod' (Mitchiner 3, 433).<sup>82</sup> Crossing the hip of Poseidon perpendicularly, we can distinguish the head and the body of Apollo down to the knees as well as his right hand holding an arrow. On Indo-Greek coinage the type of Apollo seen completely facing is only found on the coins of Apollodotos II.

<sup>82</sup> *PMC*, 1914, p. 123, no. 244. According to Whitehead 'this coin has been restruck on a large coin of Apollodotus of type Cunningham, *Coins of Alexander's Successors*, pl. IX, 11, and *B.M.Cat.* pl. X, 6'. This coin is illustrated here for the first time.



B. (NOS. 23 AND 24) AZES I OVER HIPPOSTRATOS

**23.** British Musuem. *BMC*, No. 184. Monogr.  AE.  
Pl. VI, 23. Drawing.



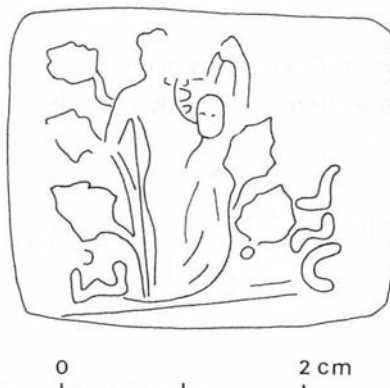
This overstrike was described by P. Gardner in his catalogue of the British Museum. It is a bronze of Azes with the types 'Poseidon facing, holding a trident, one foot on a river god/female divinity surrounded by plant shoots' (Mitchiner 6, 740), overstruck obverse on obverse on a coin of Hippostratos with the types 'enthroned radiate Zeus/horse to l.' (Mitchiner 3, 449). Apart from the radiate facing head of the enthroned Zeus of Hippostratos that we can distinguish by the right elbow of Poseidon of Azes I, we can see traces of the legends of the two sovereigns.

Obverse of Azes I:

(a)  [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑ/ΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕ/ΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ.]

(b)  [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ] ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ/ΙΠΠ[Ο]ΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ.]

**24.** Lohore Museum, *PMC*, No. 246. Monogr.  AE.  
Pl. VI, 24. Drawing.



R.B. Whitehead described this coin of Azes I with the types 'Poseidon facing holding a trident, one foot on a river god/female divinity surrounded by plant shoots' (Mitchiner 6, 740), overstruck on a bronze coin of Hippostratos with the types 'facing marine monster/tutelary divinity standing' (Mitchiner 3, 446).<sup>83</sup> On the reverse of the coin of Azes I we can see very clearly the head and the body of the serpentine marine monster. Hippostratos was the only Indo-Greek sovereign to use the marine monster type.

What conclusions can be drawn from this last group of overstrikes (Apollodotos II/Maues, Zoilos II/Apollodotos II, Azes I/Apollodotos II and Azes I/Hippostratos)? Even if we restricted ourselves to the overstrikes, they would be enough to challenge the thesis of A.K. Narain, who sees Hermaios as the last Indo-Greek king, with whose reign, according to him, ended the history of the Greek kingdoms of Central Asia and north-west India<sup>84</sup> around 55 BC in the region of Begram. In an article written in 1955, G.K. Jenkins,<sup>85</sup> using overstrikes and monograms, shows, contrary to what was written two years later by Narain, that Apollodotos II and Hippostratos were later, much later, than Maues; he reserved for a later study, that unfortunately was never to be, the case of Dionysios, Zoilos II, Apollophanes and Strato II and III, who he believed also reigned long after Maues, in the Sagala region. A.D.H. Bivar,<sup>86</sup> G. Le Rider<sup>87</sup> and G. Fussman<sup>88</sup> approve of G.K. Jenkins' dates for Apollodotos II and Hippostratos, but not the case of the successors of Apollodotos II at Sagala. The studies by D.W. Mac Dowall centred on monetary alloys led this scholar not only to confirm the chronological succession proposed by Jenkins, but also to set the chronological position of Strato II and III on a solid basis, as the last Indo-Greek kings, and to date their reigns to about AD 10, thanks to the relationship that he detects between their coinage and that of the Indo-Scythian sovereigns Azes II and Rujuvula.<sup>89</sup> In his turn, J. Cribb, publishing the hoard of coins of Rujuvula and the Indo-Parthian kings, also suggests that close connections must have existed between the coinages of Strato II and III

<sup>83</sup> *PMC*, 1914, p. 123. Whitehead writes: 'This coin has been restruck on a large coin of Hippostratos of type *B.M. Cat.* pl. XIV, 6'. As with the previous, this coin is here illustrated for the first time.

<sup>84</sup> *IG*, pp. 163-4. Narain never modified his timeline and history: see recently: 'Iconographic Origins of Ganesa and the Evidence of the Indo-Greek Coinage', *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata*, Rome, 1988, 44, pp. 1007-19, especially p. 1018.

<sup>85</sup> *JNSI* 1955, pp. 1-26.

<sup>86</sup> *NC* 1965, pp. 69-108, Id., Maues at Taxila. 'Problems of his Arrival Route and Political Allegiance', *Journal of Central Asia* 7, 1984, pp. 5-14.

<sup>87</sup> 'Monnaies de Taxila d'Arachosie: une nouvelle reine de Taxila', *REG*, 80, 1967, pp. 331-342.

<sup>88</sup> 'Nouvelles inscriptions Saka: ère d'Eucratide, ère d'Azès, ère Vikrama, ère de Kanishka', *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, 1980, pp. 1-43, especially pp. 33-6.

<sup>89</sup> 'The Context of Rujuvula the Satrap', *Acta Antiqua*, 1977, pp. 187-95, especially pp. 193-4.

and those of Rajuvula, the Indo-Scythian satrap of Mathura.<sup>90</sup> The chronology of these last Indo-Greeks as proposed by G.K. Jenkins, D.W. Mac Dowall and J. Cribb, seems to us to be the only one acceptable. It alone is compatible with the last overstrikes examined above. To reinforce this chronology we will publish in a forthcoming article other arguments founded on the monograms, the style of the coins as well as on the data furnished by the coin hoards and the finds made during excavations.

#### POSTSCRIPT

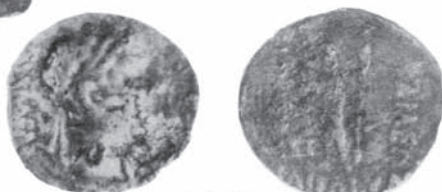
This article was written before the publication of my first book: *Monnaies Gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques: Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1991. This publication and the articles announced in the present article were published since then. More overstrikes were discovered since 1989 and I wrote a second article regrouping all the overstrikes: 'L'apport des surfrappes à la reconstruction de l'histoire des Indo-Grecs', *Revue numismatique*, pp. 245-68 which is also published in this volume under: 'The evidence of the overstrikes for the reconstruction of the history of the Indo-Greeks', chapter 8.

<sup>90</sup> 'New Evidence of Indo-Parthian Political History', *CH* 7, 1985, pp. 282-305, especially pp. 288-9.



1

A(X2)



2(X2)



3

4



5

6

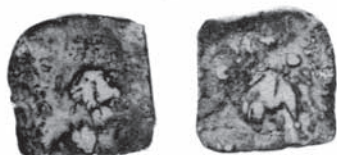
7



8



C



D



11



13



15



16



17



E



18



19



20



21



22



23



24



## The Evidence of the Overstrikes for the Reconstruction of the History of the Indo-Greeks<sup>\*</sup>

Drawings by François Ory<sup>†</sup>

### SUMMARY

The aim of this article is to present new Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek overstrikes, and then to sum up the ones already published by the present author since the publication of the article on the same subject in the *Revue numismatique*, 1989, along with the others published by various numismatists. All the known and new overstrikes will then be grouped in chronological and geographical sequence so as to draw historical conclusions.

The history of the Greek kings who succeeded Alexander the Great in Central Asia and in the Indian territories situated to the south of the Hindu Kush still remains obscure because of the rarity of ancient texts and the limited number of chronological benchmarks. This is the reason why numismatic evidence constitutes the principal source of information when attempting to reconstitute this part of history. It may be useful to recall that it is thanks to coins that today we know of the existence of more than forty names of Indo-Greek kings, while the sources themselves only mention seven. It is essentially from numismatic criteria, especially monograms, metrology, style, find spots and overstrikes, that hypotheses have been put forward concerning the chronology of the different sovereigns and the identification of the regions over which they reigned.

As a general rule an ‘overstrike’ is a coin re-struck using different dies on a coin already issued instead of using a new flan. There are various reasons for this procedure. It could be the sign of a rival king wanting to eliminate the memory of his predecessor, or the recuperation of older coins at a time of metal shortage.<sup>1</sup> The second reason mostly applies to precious metal, such as

<sup>\*</sup> Reprinted from ‘L’apport des surfrappes à la reconstruction de l’histoire des Indo-Grecs’, *Revue numismatique*, 2008, pp. 245-68.

<sup>†</sup> Assistant engineer, CNRS, UMR 8546, ENS 45 rue d’Ulm, 75005 Paris

<sup>1</sup> On the importance of overstrikes see C.H.V. Sutherland, ‘Overstrikes and Hoards: The Movement of Greek Coinage Down to 400 BC’, *NC* 1942, pp. 1-18 and G. Le Rider, ‘Contremarques et surfrappes dans l’Antiquité grecque’, in *Numismatique antique. Problèmes et méthodes. Annales de l’est, publiées par l’Université de Nancy II*, Mémoire no. 44, 1975, pp. 27-55.

gold and silver. Whatever the reasons, overstrikes are a major factor in determining the chronological position of two sovereigns, given that the one that carried out the overstrike was either a contemporary of the one whose coins were overstruck, or later than him.


This study aims at presenting the overstrikes still unpublished as well as those that I have published since my article in 1989 that served the same purpose.<sup>2</sup> All the Indo-Greeks will be put into groups according to a chronological and geographical distribution so as to come to the inevitable historical conclusions.

#### 1. EUTHYDEMOS I OVER DIODOTOS I (UNPUBLISHED)

Gold stater. 8.20 g; 17.5 mm. Private collection. See drawing no. 1.

Obverse of Euthydemos I: Diademed head of the sovereign to r. The proximal fanon falls straight down, while the other rises undulating, and a beaded circle.<sup>3</sup>

Obverse of Diodotos: traces of the diademed head of the sovereign, especially the hair and the fanon which rises undulating, and of the beaded border.<sup>4</sup>

Reverse of Euthydemos I: Heracles seated to left on the rocks on which he leans with his left hand. In his right hand he holds a club which lies obliquely across the rocks piled in front of him; beaded border. Greek legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ. The monogram above to right is unpublished for this series: .

Reverse of Diodotos: traces of the feet and body of a naked Zeus, advancing left, of the aegis hanging from his outstretched left arm, and of the beaded border. Of the Greek legend we read: [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ] ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ. Monogram above to left: N.

#### 2. AGATHOCLEIA OVER MENANDER I (UNPUBLISHED)

AE. 8.40 g; 20 × 17 mm. Pandayle hoard.<sup>5</sup> See drawing no. 2.

Obverse of Agathocleia: helmeted bust of Athena to the right, and legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> O. Bopearachchi, 'Monnaies indo-grecques surfrappées', *RN* 1989, pp. 49-79, pls. V-VI: this article regroups all Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek overstrikes already published, after verifying the reading and with the addition of new overstrikes of unpublished coins.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. O. Bopearachchi, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques, Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1991 (henceforth: BN), pl. 2, series 1. Another stater of Euthydemos probably overstruck on a coin of Diodotos is known: see O. Bopearachchi and W. Pieper, Overstruck and double-struck, *News Letter, Oriental Numismatic Society* (henceforth: *ONS. NL*), 178, 2004, p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 1, series 1.


<sup>5</sup> This monetary hoard was found by chance in 2000 in Pandayale, a village in the tribal zone of Mohmand Agency to the south Bajaur (Pakistan); for other details see O. Bopearachchi, 'Some Interesting Coins from the Pandayale Hoard', *ONS. NL*, 169, 2001, pp. 19-21.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 34, series 3.



Obverse of Menander I: under the helmeted bust of Athena, head of boar to right.<sup>7</sup>

Reverse of Agathocleia: Herakless seated on rocks on which he leans with his left hand. In his right hand he holds a club which lies on his right thigh; complete legend: *maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Agathukriae*.

Monogram to left: .

Reverses of Menander I: some traces of crushing of the Kharoṣṭhī letters.

### 3. AGATHOCLEIA OVER DIOMEDES<sup>8</sup>

AE. 8.63 g; 22 × 19 mm. Pandayale hoard. See drawing no. 3.

Obverse of Agathocleia: Helmeted bust of Athena to right and a large part of the legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛ[ΕΙΑΣ].<sup>9</sup>

Reverse of Diomedes: When the coin is rotated 90° to the right, we can discern the rear of a bull and part of the name of Diomedes in Kharoṣṭhī: [Di] *yumitasa*.<sup>10</sup>

Reverse of Agathocleia: Heracles seated on a rock on which he leans with his left hand. In his right hand he holds a club which lies on his right thigh and part of the legend: *maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Stra[tasa]*.


To the left, the upper part of the monogram: .

Obverse of Diomedes: When the coin is rotated 90° to the left, we can discern traces of the Dioscuri standing facing, each leaning on a spear, and part of the legend in Greek: [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙ]ΟΜΗΔΟΥ.

### 4. STRATO I OVER DIOMEDES (UNPUBLISHED)<sup>11</sup>

AE 8.15 g; 20 × 17 mm. Private collection. See drawing no. 4.

Obverse of Strato I: Bust of Heracles to right, his club on his left shoulder, and a large part of the legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ [Σ]ΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.<sup>12</sup>

Reverse of Diomedes: When the coin is rotated 90° to the left, we can discern part of the Kharoṣṭhī legend, and especially the two last letters of the name of Diomedes: *maharajasa [tratarasa Diyumi]tasa* and the monogram *par excellence* of Diomedes: .

<sup>7</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 33, series 36.

<sup>8</sup> O. Bopearachchi, 'Diomedes Overstruck by Agathocleia', *ONS, NL*, 172, 2002, pp. 13-14.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 34, series 3.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 45, series 10.

<sup>11</sup> This coin was wrongly described in the sales catalogue CNG, sale 60, 22 May 2002, no. 118, as an overstrike of Strato I on Menander I; I was able to examine this coin thanks to the collector who bought it. It is clearly an overstrike of Strato I over Diomedes.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 37, series 30.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 45, series 10.

Reverse of Strato I: Nike standing three-quarters to right, holding a crown in her raised right hand, a palm branch in her left hand and part of the legend: [maharajasa tra]tarasa dhramikasa Stratasa.

Obverse of Diomedes: When the coin is rotated 90° to the right, we can discern traces of the Dioscuri standing facing, each leaning on a spear.

#### 5. HELIOCLES II OVER EUCRATIDES I<sup>14</sup>

AE. 8.46 g; 23 × 23 mm. Private collection. See drawing no. 5.

Obverse of Heliocles II: Bearded and diademed bust of Zeus right and part of the legend: [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Δ]ΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕ[ΟΥΣ].<sup>15</sup>

Reverse of Eucratides I: When the coin is rotated 90° to the right, we can discern the traces of the reverse of the original coin of Eucratides I: the legend in Kharoṣṭhī: *maharajasa Evukratidasa*, as well as a part of the Dioscuri on horses prancing right.<sup>16</sup>

Reverse of Heliocles II: An elephant passing right, and part of the legend of Heliocles II: [maharaja]sa dhramikasa Heliyakreyasa.


Obverse of Eucratides I: When the coin is rotated 90° to the left, we can discern the traces of the obverse of the original coin of Eucratides I: the helmeted head of Eucratides I, as well as the remains of the original legend: [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ] ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ [ΕΥΚΡ]ΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

#### 6. HELIOCLES II OVER AGATHOCLEIA (UNPUBLISHED)

AE. 8.59; 23 × 21 mm. Pandayale hoard. See drawing no. 6.

Obverse of Heliocles II: Bearded and diademed bust of Zeus to right, and the entire legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.<sup>17</sup>

Obverse of Agathocleia: When the coin is rotated 90° to the right, we can discern some traces of the helmet of Athena (or of Agathocleia), and the legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣ[ΣΗ]Σ [ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ].<sup>18</sup>

Reverse of Heliocles II: An elephant walking left, and the entire legend: *maharajasa dhramikasa Heliyakreyasa*. Monogram in the exergue: .

Reverse of Agathocleia: When the coin is rotated 90° to the right, we can discern part of the legend: *Maharajasa tra[tarasa dhramkasa Agathukriae]*.

<sup>14</sup> O. Bopearachchi, 'Hélioclès II. (Surfrappe d'Hélioclès II sur Eucratide I)', in *Catalogue de l'Exposition: De l'Indus à l'Oxus. Archéologie de l'Asie Centrale*, ed. O. Bopearachchi, C. Landes and C. Sachs, Association IMAGO – Musée de Lattes, Lattes, 2003, no. 102, p. 135.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 42, series 7.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 20, series 19.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 42, series 7.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 34, series 3.

## 7. HELIOCLES II OVER AGATHOCLEIA (UNPUBLISHED)

AE. 8.60 g; 23 × 20 mm. Pandayale hoard. See drawing no. 7.

Obverse of Heliocles II: Bearded and diademed bust of Zeus to right and the legend: [ΒΑΣΙΛ]ΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.<sup>19</sup>

Obverse of Agathocleia: When the coin is rotated 90° to the right, we can discern very clearly the helmeted bust of Athena (or of Agathocleia) as well as the remains of the original legend: [ΒΑΣΙ]ΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟ[ΠΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ].<sup>20</sup>

Reverse of Heliocles II: An elephant walking left, and the legend: [maha]rajasa [dhra]mikasa Heliyakre[yasa].

Reverse of Agathocleia: No discernible traces.

## 8. HELIOCLES II OVER AGATHOCLEIA (UNPUBLISHED)

AE. 8.70 g. 23 × 22 mm. Private collection of W. Pieper. See drawing no. 8.

Obverse of Heliocles II: Bearded and diademed bust of Zeus to right and the legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ [ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ].<sup>21</sup>

Obverse of Agathocleia: When the coin is rotated 90° to the left, we can discern very clearly the helmeted bust of Athena (or of Agathocleia) as well as the remains of the original legend: [ΒΑΣΙΛ]ΙΣΣΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕ[ΙΑΣ].<sup>22</sup>

Reverse of Heliocles II: An elephant walking left, and the entire legend: maharajasa dhrami[kasa Heliyakreyasa].

Reverse of Agathocleia: When the coin is rotated 90° to the right, we can discern the legend: [Maharajasa tra]tarasa dhramkasa [Agathukriae].

## 9. HELIOCLES II OVER STRATO I

AE. 8.25 g. 21 × 21 mm. Private collection.<sup>23</sup> See drawing no. 9.

Obverse of Heliocles II: Bearded and diademed bust of Zeus to right and part of the legend: [ΒΑΣΙΛ]ΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥ[Σ].<sup>24</sup>

Obverse of Strato I: Some traces of the extremities of the diadem of Heracles and of the Greek legend: [ΒΑ]ΣΙΛΕΩ[Σ ΣΩ]ΤΗΡ[ΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ].<sup>25</sup>

Reverse of Heliocles II: An elephant walking left, and the entire legend: maharajasa dhramikasa Heliyakreyasa. Monogram in the exergue: Σ.

Reverse of Strato I: Head of standing Nike to right.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 42, series 7.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 34, series 3.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 42, series 7.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 34, series 3.

<sup>23</sup> O. Bopearachchi and A. ur Rahman, *Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan*, Karachi, 1995, no. 470.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 42, series 7.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 37, series 29.

10. HELIOCLES II OVER STRATO I  
(UNPUBLISHED AS AN OVERSTRIKE)

AE. 6.95 g; 22 × 21 mm. Private collection.<sup>26</sup>

Obverse of Heliocles II: Bearded and diademed bust of Zeus to right and the legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙ[ΟΥ ΗΛΙΟ]ΚΛΕΟΥΣ.<sup>27</sup>

Obverse of Strato I: When the coin is rotated 90° to the left, we can discern traces of a distorted head and part of the Greek legend, which reads: Σ] ΩΤΗΡ[ΟΣ].

Given the position of the three Greek letters in relation to the head, we can cautiously conclude that the original coin was of Strato I.<sup>28</sup>

Reverse of Heliocles II: An elephant walking left, and the entire legend: *maharajasa dhramikasa Heliyakreyasa*. Monogram in the exergue: Ⲛϣ.

11. HELIOCLES OVER STRATO I (UNPUBLISHED)

AE. 7.42 g; 22 × 20 mm. Pandayle hoard. See drawing no. 11.

Obverse of Heliocles II: Bearded and helmeted bust of the sovereign to right and the legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥ[Σ].<sup>29</sup>

Obverse of Strato I: When the coin is rotated 90° to the right, we can discern some traces of the extremities of the diadem and the club of Heracles and part of the Greek legend: [Β]ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ [ΣΩ]ΤΗΡΟΣ [ΣΤ]ΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.<sup>30</sup>

Reverse of Heliocles II: An elephant walking left, and the entire legend: *maharajasa dhramikasa Heliyakreyasa*. Monogram in the exergue: Ⲛϣ.

<sup>26</sup> This is a bronze coin of Heliocles II that appeared in a sale (see CNG, 60, 22 May 2002, no. 1124). The coin was not described as an overstrike. I was able to examine it thanks to the collector who bought it.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 42, series 7.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 37, series 29.

<sup>29</sup> M. Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, London, 1975, 295, without realizing that it was an overstrike, first published a bronze coin of the British Museum (Inv. No. 1860.12.20 Hay Collection), and interpreted it as a 'helmeted bust of king'; he rightly interpreted this coin as a new issue of Heliocles II. There is no doubt that it was overstruck on a bronze of Agathocleia: see O. Bopearachchi, *RN* 1989, p. 58, pl. V, no. 7. Apart from the traces of the original legend, we can see the helmet and the upper profile of the face of Athena of the original coin of Agathocleia. Nevertheless I was wrong not to admit that the head engraved on the obverse wears a helmet. The coin published here (no. 11) constitutes irrefutable proof of the existence of this new type with the helmeted head of the king/elephant on a square bronze coin. We must also consider that a coin of Heliocles II in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BN, p. 284, no. 12; pl. 42, no. 12) belongs to this series. The beardless figure on the obverse of this series of Heliocles II really represents the sovereign himself, but wearing a helmet.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 37, series 29.

12. HELIOCLES II OVER HERMAIOS<sup>31</sup>

AE. 7.80 g; 21.5 × 19 mm. Pandayale hoard. See drawing no. 12.

Obverse of Heliocles II: Diademed bust of Zeus to right and the legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.<sup>32</sup>

Obverse of Hermaios: When the coin is rotated 180°, we read the name of Hermaios in Greek: ΗΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ.<sup>33</sup>

Reverse of Heliocles II: An elephant walking left, and part of the legend of Heliocles II: [maharajasa] dhramikasa Heliyakreyasa.

Reverse of Hermaios: When the coin is rotated 180°, we read the name of Hermaios in Kharoṣṭhī: Heramayasa.


## 13. HELIOCLES II OVER HERMAIOS (UNPUBLISHED)

AE. 8.20 g; 22 × 20 mm. Private collection. Pandayale hoard. See drawing no. 13.

Obverse of Heliocles II: Diademed bust of Zeus to right and the legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ [ΔΙ]ΚΑΙΟΥ [ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ].<sup>34</sup>

Reverse of Hermaios: Standing horse raising foreleg right.

Legend: Ma[hara]jasa tratara[sa] Heramayasa.<sup>35</sup>

Reverse of Heliocles II: An elephant walking left, and part of the legend of Heliocles II: mahara[jasa dhra]mikasa Heliyakresasa. Monogram in the exergue: .<sup>36</sup>

Obverse of Hermaios: The upper part of the Phrygian cap of Zeus-Mithra, and part of the Greek legend: [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ] ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ[Υ].

14. TELEPHOS OVER ARCHEBIOS<sup>37</sup>

AE. 8.80 g; 23 × 22 mm. Private collection. Provenance: Pushkalavati. See drawing no. 14.

Obverse of Telephos: Enthroned Zeus three-quarters to left, holding a sceptre in his left hand, and making a gesture of benediction with his right hand, and the legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΤΗΛΕΦΟΥ.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>31</sup> O. Bopearachchi, *ONS. NL*, 169, 2001, pp. 19-20.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 54, series 9.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 42, series 7.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 42, series 7.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 54, series 9.

<sup>36</sup> It must be noted that on the coins of Heliocles II that bear this monogram, the name of the sovereign is written: *Heliyakreyasa*, see BN, *Hélioclès II*, series 7. B.

<sup>37</sup> O. Bopearachchi, 'Indian Brahman on a coin of Indo-Greek Telephus', *ONS. NL*, 145, 1995, p. 8; 'Découvertes récentes de trésors indo-grecs: nouvelles données historiques', *CRAI*, 1995, pp. 626-7; O. Bopearachchi and W. Pieper, *Ancient Indian Coins*, Brepols, Turnhout, 1998, pp. 211-12.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 60, series 2.

Reverse of Telephos: Bearded naked man, crouching in profile to right on rocks, facing a lighted fire, a branch leaning on his left shoulder. From his outstretched hands, the palms open and placed together, a serpent seems to issue forth. His long hair is tied in a knot on the top of his head. Legend: *maharajasa kalanakramasa Teliphasa*. Monogram to left:  $\hat{\Lambda}$ .

Reverse of Archebios: We can easily read part of the legend of Archebios: [*maharajasa dhramikasa jayadha*] *rasa Arkhebiyasa*.<sup>39</sup>

15. ZOILOS II OVER APOLLODOTOS II (UNPUBLISHED AS AN OVERSTRIKE)<sup>40</sup>

16.58 g; 30 × 28 mm. Unknown provenance. Lucknow museum. See drawing no. 15.

Obverse of Zoilos II: Apollo standing three-quarters to right, a cloak on his back, holding an arrow with both hands; in the field a small elephant to left, and part of the circular legend: [BAΣIAE]ΩΣ [ΣΩTHPOΣ] ΖΩΙ[ΛΟΥ].<sup>41</sup>

Obverse of Apollodotos II: When the coin is rotated 180°, we can discern part of the legend: BAΣIAEΩΣ [ΣΩTHP]ΩΣ [ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ].<sup>42</sup>

Reverse of Zoilos II: Tripod where the flattening of the arches reduces the legs to a horizontal line, and part of the circular legend: *mahara[jasa tratara] sa Jhoilasa*.

Reverse of Apollodotos II: When the coin is rotated 180°, we can discern traces of the flattened legs of the tripod, and part of the legend: *mahara[jasa tratarasa Apaladatas]*.

16. AZES I OVER APOLLODOTOS II (UNPUBLISHED)

AE. 12.20 g; 28 × 27 mm. National Museum of Copenhagen.<sup>43</sup> See drawing no. 16.

Obverse of Azes I: Poseidon standing facing, holding a trident in his left hand and placing his right foot on a river god: BAΣIAEΩΣ [BA]ΣΙΑEΩN MEΓAΛΟΥ AZO[Y].<sup>44</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 52, series 13.


<sup>40</sup> This coin is cited without an illustration in the catalogue of the Lucknow Museum by A.K. Srivastava (*Indo-Greek Coins in the State Museum Lucknow*, Lucknow, 1969, p. 29, no. 19), who did not realize that it was an overstrike. During my visit to the museum of Lucknow, thanks to the kindness of its chief keeper, I was able to examine all the pre-Kushana coins of this collection. The inventory number of our coin 25929 recorded in the archives unfortunately does not correspond to the coin illustrated in pl. VI, 25929. The coin as it is described corresponds to no. 192 with Inv. no. 2530.


<sup>41</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 68, nos. 14 and 15.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 62, nos. 27-33.

<sup>43</sup> I would like to thank M.J. Steen Jensen, head keeper of the Coin Cabinet of the National Museum of Copenhagen, who authorized me to publish this hitherto unpublished coin. According to a handwritten tag, an unknown numismatist had recognized it as an overstrike.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. R.C. Senior, *Indo-Scythian Coins and History*, 3 vols., London, 2001, vol. II, pp. 31-2, no. 77.

Reverse of Apollodotos II: When the coin is rotated 90° to the left, we can discern traces of the tripod with the legs forming a double arch, the triple upper projection, part of a legend: [*Apalada*]*tasa* and the monogram to left: .<sup>45</sup>


Reverse of Azes I: Yakshi standing facing, holding vine leaves with both hands, part of the legend: [*Maharajasa rajara*]*jasa mahatasa Ayasa* and the monogram to left .


Obverse of Apollodotos II: When the coin is rotated 90° to the right, we can discern the point of the arrow held by Apollo and the legend: ΒΑΣΙ[Λ] Ε[ΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ] ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

#### 17. AZES I OVER APOLLODOTOS II (UNPUBLISHED)

AE. 12.40 g; 28 × 27 mm. Pushkalavati. Private collection. See drawing no. 17.

Obverse of Azes I: Poseidon standing facing, holding a trident in his left hand and placing his right foot on a river god: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ[N ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ].<sup>46</sup>

Reverse of Apollodotos II: When the coin is rotated 90° to the right, we can discern the traces of the tripod with the legs forming a double arch, the triple upper projection, and part of a legend: *Maharaja*[*sa tratarasa Apaladata*]*sa* and the monogram to right .

Reverse of Azes I: Yakshi standing facing, holding vine leaves with both hands, part of the legend: *Maharaja*[*sa rajara*]*jasa mahatasa*] *Ayasa* and the monogram to left .

Obverse of Apollodotos II: When the coin is rotated 90° to the left, we can discern the point of the arrow held by Apollo and the legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ [ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΠΟ]ΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

\* \* \*

All the overstrikes previously known or newly described here can be classed into six groups.

#### GROUP 1

(Graeco-Bactrians)

Euthydemos I over Diodotos I (see above no. 1)<sup>48</sup>

Heliocles I over Demetrios II<sup>49</sup>

As we would expect, Euthydemos I, who took power by eliminating the descendants of the founding dynasty, that is the son of Diodotos, rejects the thundering Zeus from his coins and introduces a new type, Heracles resting.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 63, series 12.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. R.C. Senior, op. cit. no. 45, vol. II, pp. 31-2, no. 77.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 63, series 12.

<sup>48</sup> Another overstrike of Euthydemos I, probably over Diodotos I, see O. Bopearachchi and W. Pieper, 'Over-struck and Double-struck', *News Letter, Oriental Numismatic Society*, no. 178, 2004, p. 20.

<sup>49</sup> O. Bopearachchi, *RN* 1989, p. 53, no. 2.



This overstrike reconfirms the validity of the historical narrative of Polybios (XI, 39, 2).<sup>50</sup>

The second overstrike, Heliocles I over Demetrios II, can be inserted without difficulty into the timeline of the reign of Heliocles I (145-130 BC),<sup>51</sup> who we now know was one of the successors of Eucratides I and one of the last Greek kings to have reigned over Bactria, or more precisely over southern Bactria, to the South of the Oxus. From the end of the reign of Eucratides I, the nomads took the territories on the right bank of the Oxus and even the eastern extremity of southern Bactria along with the town of Ai Khanoum.<sup>52</sup> We also know that the death of Eucratides I coincided with the destruction of the treasury and of other edifices of the town of Ai Khanoum, accompanied by the disappearance of the Greek population. This abandonment was dated to about 145 BC, thanks to a series of financial inscriptions on the vases of the treasury of Ai Khanoum. One of them was dated to a year 24, which French archaeologists have proposed to refer either to a year of the reign of Eucratides I or to an era that he founded.<sup>53</sup>

#### GROUP 2

(The first Indo-Greeks)

Agathocleia over Menander I (see above, no. 2)

Menander over Zoilos I (2)<sup>54</sup>

Agathocleia over Diomedes (see above no. 3)<sup>55</sup>

Strato I over Diomedes (see above no. 4)

Strato I over Lysias<sup>56</sup>

Antialcidas over Lysias<sup>57</sup>

Epander over Strato I<sup>58</sup>

Epander over Philoxenos<sup>59</sup>

<sup>50</sup> On the succession of Euthydemus I to the throne of Bactria, see most recently P. Bernard in P. Bernard, G.-J. Pinault and G. Rougemont, 'Deux nouvelles inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Centrale', *Journal des Savants*, 2004, pp. 227-356, and especially, pp. 74-6.

<sup>51</sup> BN, pp. 74-6.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> P. Bernard, *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum IV. Les monnaies hors trésors. Questions d'histoire gréco-bactrienne (MDAFA XXVIII)*, 1985, Paris, pp. 97-105 and Cl. Rapin, *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum, VIII. La trésorerie du palais hellénistique d'Ai Khanoum. L'apogée et la chute du royaume grec de Bactriane, MDAFA, XXXIII*, Paris, 1992, pp. 96, 114, 281-94.

<sup>54</sup> CNG, sale 37, March, 1996, London, no. 825 and R.C. Senior, 'Menander versus Zoilos – another overstrike', *ONS. NL*, 150, 1996, p. 12.

<sup>55</sup> O. Bopearachchi, *ONS. NL*, 172, 2002, pp. 13-14.

<sup>56</sup> R.C. Senior, 'An Indo-Greek Overstrike', *ONS. NL*, 151, 1997, p. 10. For the same overstrike see O. Bopearachchi and W. Pierper, op. cit., no. 38, pp. 204-5.

<sup>57</sup> R.B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. 1, *Indo-Greek Coins*, Oxford, 1914, p. 172. For a different interpretation of the same overstrike, see O. Bopearachchi, *RN* 1989, p. 64.

<sup>58</sup> O. Bopearachchi, *RN* 1989, pp. 65-66, no. 13.

<sup>59</sup> This overstrike of Epander on Philoxenos was reported by A.N. Lahiri (*Corpus of*

Based on a series of overstrikes made on bronzes of Agathocleia and Strato I by Heliocles II, Epander and Archebios, I have elsewhere justified, the chronological order that gives Agathocleia as the immediate successor of Menander.<sup>60</sup> The overstrike of Agathocleia over Menander I (no. 2) published here for the first time gives us incontestable proof for this. Upon the death of Strato I, since his son, designated to be his successor, was probably still a minor, Agathocleia assumed the regency?<sup>61</sup>

The overstrikes supposedly of Menander over Zoilos I pose some problems. The first is a drachm of Menander I bearing on the obverse the helmeted bust of the king,<sup>62</sup> and was recorded as such in the sales catalogue of the Classical Numismatic Group.<sup>63</sup> Unfortunately I was not able to examine this coin and the photographs of the catalogue do not allow us to distinguish the traces mentioned. If the detail described in the sales catalogue is really a crown, it might be the attribute held by the victorious Heracles, shown on the coins of Zoilos I.<sup>64</sup>

The second overstrike concerns a tetradrachm of Indian weight of Menander I with a diademed bust,<sup>65</sup> overstruck, according to R.C. Senior,<sup>66</sup> on a coin of Zoilos I.<sup>67</sup> Once again, I must admit that I was not able to examine this coin personally. However, I see no reason to contest Senior's description. It should be emphasized that judging by the obverse types and the disposition of the legends the two overstrikes of Menander I belong to the second group of his coinage and thus correspond to the issues of the second period of his reign. I have shown elsewhere, starting with the arguments set forward by A.D.H. Bivar,<sup>68</sup> that the first series of Menander I with continuous legends were followed by many series with discontinuous legends both for the Greek and the Kharoṣṭhī, in an arrangement that would become the rule both for him and on the silver issues of his successors.<sup>69</sup>

The change that appears between the two distinct groups of Menander I (continuous legend and discontinuous legends) cannot be due to chance and must be considered, in my view, part of a chronological order. Following the

---

*Indo-Greek Coins*, Calcutta, 1965, p. 119), but without details concerning the flan of the original or photographs (see O. Bopearachchi, *RN* 1989, p. 65). The possibility of such an overstrike cannot be excluded.

<sup>60</sup> O. Bopearachchi, *RN* 1989, pp. 55-61.

<sup>61</sup> See O. Bopearachchi in O. Bopearachchi and W. Pieper, op. cit., no. 38, pp. 201-4.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 29, series 16.

<sup>63</sup> CNG, sale 37, March 1996, London, no. 825.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 34, series 3-5.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 28, series 12.











<sup>66</sup> R.C. Senior, 'Menander versus Zoilos – Another Overstrike', *ONS. NL*, 150, 1996, p. 12.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 34, series 2.

<sup>68</sup> A.D.H. Bivar, 'The Sequence of Menander's Drachmae', *Journal of the royal Asiatic Society*, 1970, pp. 123-6.

<sup>69</sup> On this, see O. Bopearachchi, 'Ménander Sôter, un roi indo-grec. Observations chronologiques et géographiques', *Studia Iranica*, 19, pp. 39-85.

data given by the two overstrikes of Menander I over Zoilos I, the inevitable conclusion is that the second was contemporary to the first, but only for a few years before his death.<sup>70</sup>

The two overstrikes on bronze coins of Diomedes, one by Agathikleia and the other by Strato I, challenge the chronological order (95-90 BC) that I have proposed for Diomedes as one of the successors of Philoxenos.<sup>71</sup> My reasoning was founded on two numismatic observations. The first is based on stylistic resemblances of the portrait of Diomedes with that of Heliocles II, Philoxenos, Amyntas and Archebios. The second concerns the fact that this king shares the five principle monograms of Philoxenos: , , , , and . It is now impossible not to take into account the existence of these two overstrikes that oblige us to accept Diomedes as one of the successors of Menander I, and the contemporary of Agathocleia and Strato I. We must thus accept that it is to Diomedes that we must attribute the inauguration of the monograms:  and , which were re-used by a certain number of his successors.<sup>72</sup> Concerning the stylistic resemblances of the portrait, it was such successors as Philoxenos, Amyntas, Archebios and Heliocles II who followed the model of Diomedes, because these sovereigns all have at least one of his monograms in common.<sup>73</sup> Apart from the overstrikes, two arguments can be made to justify the new chronology. Diomedes is known to us by many coin series, all with the unique reverse type of the Dioscuri, either on horseback or on foot.<sup>74</sup> This systematic use of the *par excellence* type of Eucratides I, including both its forms, should be pointed out. We are tempted to conclude from this that Diomedes shows with these types a certain desire to attach himself to a prestigious reign as an immediate successor. Let us also point out that Diomedes retrieved the most important monograms of Eucratides I, i.e. , , and . We can thus conclude that Zoilos I was a partial contemporary of Menander I, and that he shared the succession to him with Diomedes and Agathocleia.

The only new element among the other overstrikes of the second group is the coin of Strato I overstruck on a bronze of Lysias. The arguments of an exclusively numismatic nature, which concern both the evolution of the legend and the fact that the new monograms appear on the issues of the last group (VI), are all also indications of a long reign.<sup>75</sup> The die of Strato I that was used to overstrike the bronze of Lysias belongs to Group VI,<sup>76</sup> that is the series of coins that were struck towards the end of his reign. It is thus possible that Lysias came to power some years before the death of Strato I. The other

<sup>70</sup> For a more recent development on this point, see O. Bopearachchi in O. Bopearachchi and W. Pieper, op. cit., no. 38, pp. 201-4.

<sup>71</sup> BN, pp. 101-2 and 453.

<sup>72</sup> See the table of monograms BN, p. 100.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> BN, pl. 45.

<sup>75</sup> O. Bopearachchi and W. Pieper, op. cit., 38, pp. 201-4.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. BN, pl. 37, series 31.

overstrikes of this group do not change the chronological order that I proposed for the sovereigns we are discussing.<sup>77</sup>

### GROUP 3

(Indo-Greeks before the Indo-Scythian Maues)

Archebios over Epander<sup>78</sup>

Archebios over Strato I<sup>79</sup>

Archebios over Zoilos I?<sup>80</sup>

Archebios over Peukolaos<sup>81</sup>

Amyntas over Epander<sup>82</sup>

Archebios is today considered the last Greek sovereign to have reigned in Taxila before the Indo-Scythian Maues seized the power.<sup>83</sup> It must be recalled here that these overstrikes, already known, establish a relatively late date for this king. We know, in fact, three series of overstrikes of Archebios: the first over Strato I, the second over Zoilos I (?), the third over Peukolaos. Another has just been added to this series. It is a bronze coin of Archebios overstruck over Epander, recently published by R.C. Senior.<sup>84</sup> The existence of another overstrike of this same Epander over Strato I<sup>85</sup> places him after the latter. Thanks to these overstrikes Epander finds a well-defined chronological position between Strato I and Archebios.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. BN, p. 453.

<sup>78</sup> R.C. Senior, 'More unpublished Indo-Greek coins', *ONS. NL*, 175, 2003, pp. 9-11.

<sup>79</sup> R.B. Whitehead, in J. Marshall, *Taxila*, Cambridge, 1951, p. 801: see also O. Bopearachchi, *RN* 1989, pp. 68-9, no. 14.

<sup>80</sup> O. Bopearachchi, *RN* 1989, pp. 69-70, no. 15.

<sup>81</sup> J.K. Jenkins, 'Some Indo-Greek Tetradrachms', *JNSI*, XVII, 1973, pp. 78-81: see also O. Bopearachchi, *RN* 1989, pp. 71-72, nos. 16 and 17.

<sup>82</sup> This overstrike was published in the sales catalogue, CNG, 64, 24 September 2004, no. 551. According to the description: 'The undertypes are not clear, but enough of the peripheral legends remain—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗ[ΦΟΡΟΥ ΕΠΑΝΔΡΟΥ] and *Maharajasa jaya[dharasa Epandrasa]*—to identify the coin as an issue of Amyntas' contemporary, Epander'. It is true that when the coin is rotated 90° we can read part of the Greek and Karoshthi legends as they are described in the catalogue. Epander is not the only sovereign to have used the epithet ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ and *jayadhara* on his bronze coins. Thus we see that the disposition of the legends is the same on the coins of Antimachos II (cf. BN, pl. 15, series 2) and Antialcidas (cf. BN, pl. 41, series 17). The only argument that allows us to suppose that the original coin in this overstrike was one of Epander, is the size of the flan. We find that the dimensions of this coin (23 × 21 mm) correspond well to the bronze coins of Epander, those of Antimachos II and Antialcidas being smaller. The dies of Amyntas used to overstrike the coin of Epander are not so big.

<sup>83</sup> BN, pp. 110-12.

<sup>84</sup> R.C. Senior, 'More Unpublished Indo-Greek Coins', *ONS. NL*, 175, 2003, pp. 9-11. I was able to examine this coin, now in the collection of A. Hollis, and confirmed that the observations made by Senior are correct.

<sup>85</sup> O. Bopearachchi, *RN* 1989, pp. 65-6, no. 13.

## GROUP 4

(Indo-Greeks before the Yue-Zhi)

Heliocles II over Eucratides (see no. 5)<sup>86</sup>Heliocles II over Agathocleia (see nos. 6-8)<sup>87</sup>Heliocles II over Strato I (see nos. 9-11)<sup>88</sup>Heliocles II over Antialcidas<sup>89</sup>Heliocles II over Philoxenos?<sup>90</sup>Heliocles II over Hermaios (see nos. 12-13)<sup>91</sup>Amyntas over Heliokes II<sup>92</sup>

The majority of the bronze coins of Heliocles were struck on coins of certain of his predecessors or contemporaries, such as Agathocleia, Strato I and Antialcidas. The contemporaneity of the rule of Heliocles II and that of Hermaios is demonstrated by two overstrikes. The chronological order of Heliocles II compared to Amyntas, himself a contemporary of Hermaios, is suggested by an overstrike of Amyntas over Heliocles II. The overstrikes that we have just examined, oblige us, furthermore, to distinguish two homonymous sovereigns, Heliocles I and II. The first, successor to Eucratides I, started striking his own issues around 145 BC. The second, author of these overstrikes, reigned much later, around 95-85 BC.

<sup>86</sup> O. Bopearachchi, *Catalogue de l'Exposition: De l'Indus à l'Oxus*, op. cit., nos. 15 and 102, p. 135.

<sup>87</sup> E.J. Rapson, 'Coins of the Graeco-Indian Sovereigns Agathocleia, Strato I, and Strato II Philopator', in *Corolla Numismatica, Numismatical Essays in Honour of Barclay V. Head*, London, 1906, pp. 254-5, pl. XII, 2; see also O. Bopearachchi, *RN* 1989, no. 3. For the other overstrikes, see O. Bopearachchi, *RN* 1989, nos. 4, 5, 6, 7; the last in this series was published by D. MacDonald, 'A Problematic Indo-Greek Overstrike', *ONS. NL*, 150, 1996, p. 11. It had been published for the first time in the sales catalogue, CNG, 38, sale 6-7 June 1996, no. 528, as an overstrike of Heliocles II over Polyxenos. D. MacDonald has shown in a very convincing manner that the overstrike was a coin of Agathocleia.

<sup>88</sup> The first overstrike was published by A. Cunningham, *Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East* (collection of articles published in *NC* 1868, 1870, 1872, 1873 reprinted in a single volume) London, 1884; Chicago, 1969; Delhi and Varanasi, 1970, pp. 171-2; for the history of this coin, see O. Bopearachchi, *RN* 1989, p. 59, no. 30. For the other three overstrikes, see above nos. 9-11.

<sup>89</sup> C. Kirkpatrick, 'Heliocles II, Fact or Fiction', *Spink's N Circ*, March 1975, p. 98.

<sup>90</sup> A. Cunningham, op. cit., no. 89, p. 189. As Cunningham only mentions this overstrike, without giving either a description or an illustration, we may wonder whether it really exists or whether it is an erroneous reading, which would explain why we have not managed to find it in any museum in the U.K. (British Museum, Ashmolean Museum and Fitzwilliam Museum); on this see O. Bopearachchi, *RN* 1989, pp. 60-1.

<sup>91</sup> The first overstrike was reported by D. MacDonald in R.C. Senior and D. MacDonald, *The Decline of the Indo-Greeks: A re-appraisal of the Chronology from the Time of Menander to that of Azes*, *Monograph of the Hellenic Numismatic Society*, 2, Athens, 1998, pp. 9-11. For the other two see above, os. 12-13.

<sup>92</sup> R.C. Senior, S. Mirza, 'An Indo-Greek Overstrike', *ONS. NL*, 149, 1996, p. 5.

## GROUP 5

(Indo-Scythians and Yue-Zhi)

Eucratides (posthumous) over Apollodotos I<sup>93</sup>Eucratides (posthumous) over Spalirises and Spaladagames<sup>94</sup>Spalirises with Azes over posthumous Hermaios<sup>95</sup>Vonones with Spalahores over Strato I<sup>96</sup>

The nomadic tribes, when they occupied the territories to the south of the Hindu Kush after the death of Hermaios, issued, as was their habit, imitations of the types of Eucratides and Hermaios. This striking of posthumous coins started in the 70s BC. The coin of Strato I overstruck by Vonones with Spalahores<sup>97</sup> confirms the posteriority of the two Indo-Scythian sovereigns compared to the Greek king. Its contribution is of limited importance given that the order of succession of these sovereigns has never been in doubt? The overstrike of Eucratides (posthumous) struck 85 years after the death of the Graeco-Bactrian king, around 145 BC, on a bronze of Spalirises and Spaladagames that we date to about 60 BC, on the one hand, and the coin of Spalirises and Azes overstruck on a tetradrachm of posthumous Hermaios, on the other, permit us to resolve the problem of the posthumous coins struck in the name of Eucratides and Hermaios<sup>98</sup> once and for all.

## GROUP 6

(First Indo-Scythians and last Indo-Greeks)

Artemidoros over Hermaios and Calliope<sup>99</sup>Apollodotos II over Maues<sup>100</sup>

<sup>93</sup> A. Cunningham, op. cit., n. 89, pp. 169-70. For the same coin see O. Bopearachchi, *RN*, 1989, pp. 51-2.

<sup>94</sup> O. Bopearachchi, *Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian Coins in the Smithsonian Institution*, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., 1993, no. 45, pp. 53-54.

<sup>95</sup> R.C. Senior, 'Vonones, Maues and the Early Indo-Scythic Succession', *Oriental Numismatic Studies*, 1996, pp. 11-44, especially p. 14.

<sup>96</sup> R.C. Senior, *ONS. NL*, 171, 2002, pp. 13-14, no. 41.

<sup>97</sup> R.C. Senior, *ibid.* This overstrike recently published by R.C. Senior does not pose any problems concerning the reading of the original coin.

<sup>98</sup> O. Bopearachchi, *RN* 1989, p. 212.

<sup>99</sup> This overstrike was described for the first time in a sales list, *Senior Consultants, list*, February, 1996, no. 51; the importance of this coin was discussed by O. Bopearachchi, 'Recent Discoveries: Hoards and Finds of Ancient Coins from Afghanistan and Pakistan', *Yavanika, Journal of the Indian Society for Greek and Roman Studies*, 4, 1994, pp. 3-30, especially, p. 14, pl. 1, no. 4 and by D. MacDonald, in R.C. Senior and D. MacDonald, op. cit., no. 92, p. 14.

<sup>100</sup> J.K. Jenkins, 'Indo-Scythic Mints', *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XVII, 1955, pp. 1-26, especially, p. 14; O. Bopearachchi, *RN* 1989, p. 72, no. 18, and above no. 14.

Telephos over Archebios (see no. 14)<sup>101</sup>  
 Azes over Apollodotos II (see nos. 16-17)<sup>102</sup>  
 Azes over Hippostratos<sup>103</sup>  
 Zoilos II over Apollodotos II (see no. 15)<sup>104</sup>

Thanks to the studies of G.K. Jenkins<sup>105</sup> we know that Apollodotos II was able temporarily to re-establish Greek power in the region of Taxila-Pushkalavati where he had put an end to the reign of the Indo-Parthian Maues, who had himself previously seized power from Archebios.<sup>106</sup> Starting from the hypothesis of Jenkins and based on the iconography and the monograms on the coins of another Indo-Greek sovereign, Telephos, I proposed considering this last as a contemporary of Apollodotos II.<sup>107</sup> The coin of Telephos overstruck on a bronze coin of Archebios, recently found in a terracotta reliquary in Pushkalavati, supports this dating.<sup>108</sup>

As far as the western Punjab is concerned, different overstrikes have confirmed this late date for a group of kings that reigned in the region of Taxila after the Indo-Scythian, Maues: Apollodotos II who overstruck a bronze of Maues; the Indo-Scythian Azes I, who ascended to the throne around 57 BC and overstruck bronzes of Apollodotos II and of his successor Hippostratos. These series of overstrikes thus give the following sequence for these sovereigns of the region of Taxila: Maues—Apollodotos II—Hippostratos—Azes I.

We thus see that the contribution of the overstrikes is crucial for defining or improving the chronology of the Greek monarchs who reigned over Central Asia after the conquest of Alexander the Great. It is true that some of them oblige us to reconsider and correct the chronological order previously attributed to certain kings. What is important is to know that the contribution of the overstrikes is insufficient by itself for proposing an absolute dating. It is necessary to test each hypothesis by confronting it with other numismatic, literary and above all archaeological data. We must accept that in the case of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings, with no precise texts and no material data, the coins can only offer us a chronological framework of the history of

<sup>101</sup> O. Bopearachchi, *ONS. NL*, 145, 1995, p. 8 and *CRAI*, 1995, pp. 626-7, and above no. 14.

<sup>102</sup> R.B. Whitehead, op. cit., no. 58, no. 244 and O. Bopearachchi, *RN* 1989, pp. 76-7, no. 22 and above nos. 16-17.

<sup>103</sup> For a first overstrike see P. Gardner, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum: Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, London, 1886, no. 184 and O. Bopearachchi, *RN* 1989, p. 77, no. 23. For a second one see R.B. Whitehead, op. cit., nos. 58, 246 and O. Bopearachchi, *RN* 1989, p. 78, no. 24.

<sup>104</sup> O. Bopearachchi, *RN* 1989, pp. 74-6, nos. 19-21 and also above, no. 15.

<sup>105</sup> G.K. Jenkins, *JNSI*, 1955, pp. 1-26.

<sup>106</sup> BN, pp. 126-41.

<sup>107</sup> BN, pp. 133-5.

<sup>108</sup> O. Bopearachchi, *ONS. NL*, 145, 1995, p. 8 and *CRAI*, 1995, pp. 626-7.



the Greeks in Central Asia and north-west India, the general direction of their conquests, the tendencies of their monetary policies: a very general idea of the spirit of Hellenism illustrated by the state.

The archaeological and historical reality is such that to propose a simple chronological framework for the Greeks of Central Asia and India seems to me to be an accomplishment, however modest it may be.



FIGURE 1: Euthydemos I over Diodotos I.

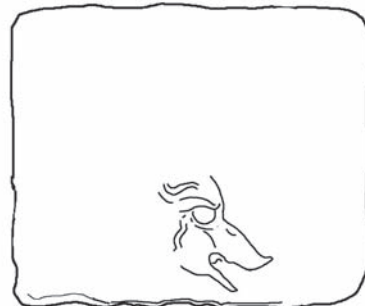


FIGURE 2: Agathocleia over Menander I.



FIGURE 3: Agathocleia over Diomedes.



FIGURE 4: Strato I over Diomedes.





FIGURE 5: Heliocles II over Eucratides I.



FIGURE 6: Heliocles II over Agathocleia.



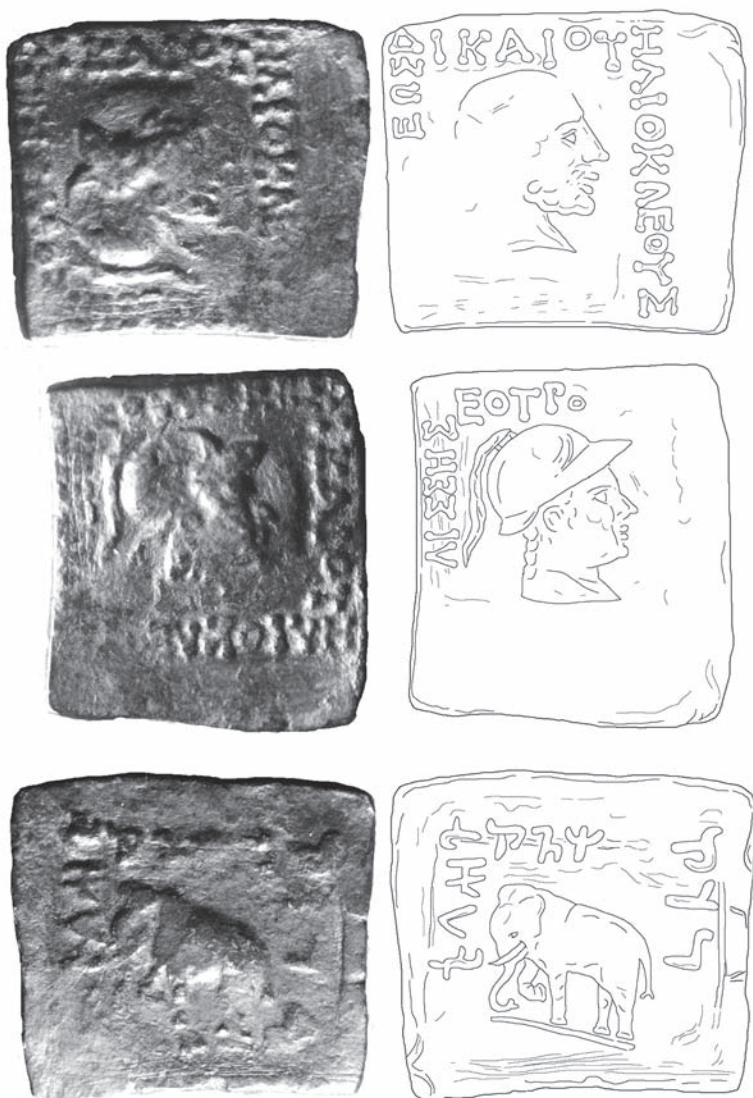


FIGURE 7: Heliocles II over Agathocleia.



FIGURE 8: Heliocles II over Agathocleia.



FIGURE 9: Heliocles II over Strato I.



FIGURE 10: Heliocles II over Strato I.



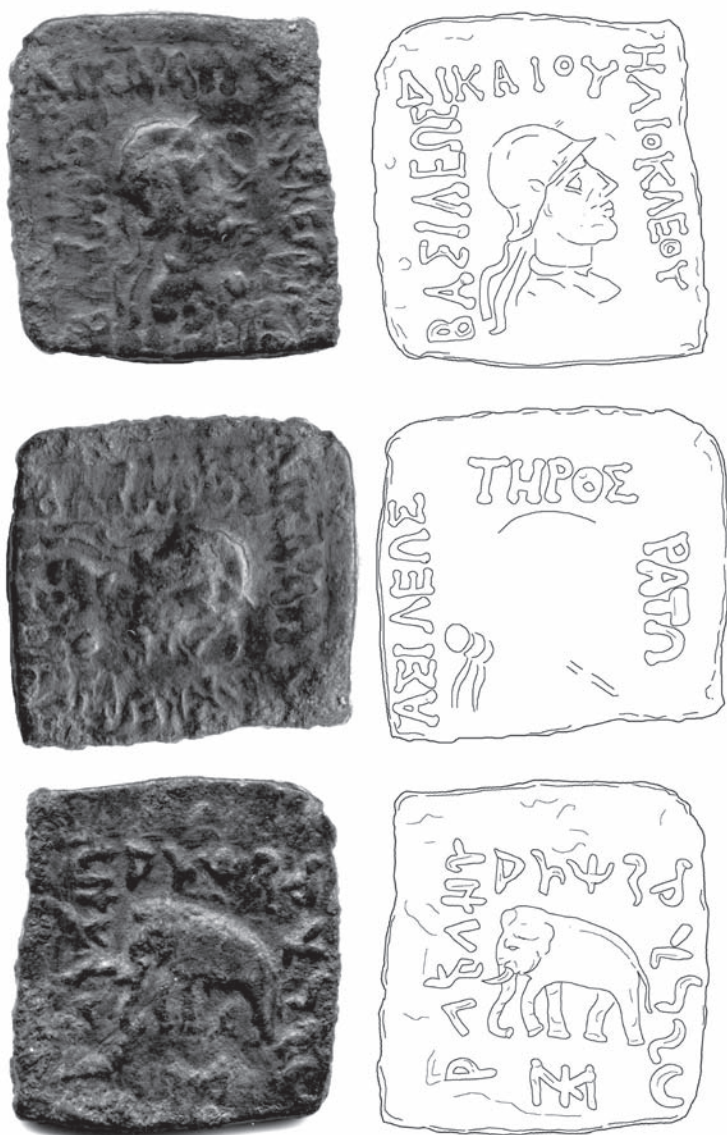


FIGURE 11: Heliocles over Strato I.



FIGURE 12: Heliocles II over Hermaios.





FIGURE 13: Heliocles II over Hermaios.



FIGURE 14: Telephos over Archebios.



FIGURE 15: Zoilos II over Apollodotos II.







FIGURE 17: Azes I over Apollodotos II.

## Graeco-Bactrian Issues of Later Indo-Greek Kings\*

The so-called ‘Qunduz’ hoard<sup>1</sup> contained coins bearing exclusively Greek legends and of Attic standard, struck not only by earlier Bactrian kings, as Euthydemus, Demetrios, Eucratides, Heliocles and others, but also by the later Indo-Greek kings for whom in almost every case only bilingual coins of Indian standard had hitherto been known, and who, it was thought, reigned only in the Indian territories south of the Hindu Kush.<sup>2</sup> The discovery of the hoard posed many serious problems of historical interpretation, for it was generally agreed that the Graeco-Bactrian coins (Greek legend, Attic standard) circulated north of the Hindu Kush, whereas the Indo-Greek coins (bilingual, Indian standard) circulated south of the range. Since the discovery of this hoard, many

\* Reprinted from *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 1990, pp. 79-104.

<sup>1</sup> This hoard was found by chance on the 23 August 1946 at Khisht Tepe (on the Afghan side of Amu Daria, about 90 km from Qunduz in Afghanistan). Prior to the detailed publication by R. Curiel and G. Fussman in *TQ*, the find was discussed in important articles by A.D.H. Bivar, ‘Indo-Greek Victory Medallions’, *N. Circ.* (May 1953): 201-2; ‘The Qunduz Treasure’, *N. Circ.* (May 1954): 187-91; *The Bactrian Treasure of Qunduz. Numismatic Notes and Monographs* (Numismatic Society of India), no. 3, 1955; ‘The Bactrian treasure of Qunduz’, *JNSI* 1955: 37-52. Although the complete and well illustrated publication of the Qunduz hoard appears under the name of R. Curiel and G. Fussman, it is necessary to emphasize here that the inventory was done by R. Curiel and the commentary was written by G. Fussman (*TQ*, pp. 9-11). So when referring to the historical analysis one should quote G. Fussman.

<sup>2</sup> I refer to the tetradrachms of Lysias (*TQ*, nos. 611-14), Theophilos (*ibid.*, no. 615), Archebios (nos. 624-5), Philoxenos (*ibid.*, no. 626) and Hermaeus (*ibid.*, no. 627), and the double-decadrachms of Amyntas (*ibid.*, nos. 619-23). Almost a hundred years before the discovery of the Qunduz hoard two Graeco-Bactrian coins of Antialcidas were known: one tetradrachm was acquired by Col. Abbott and noticed by E. Thomas in *Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities* (ed. E. Thomas, London, 1858), II, p. 193; later cf. A. Cunningham, *CASE*, pl. VIII, no. 5 (*NC* 1869, pl. IX, no. 5), and then by P. Gardner, *BMC*, Antialcidas, no. 1, p. 25. The second coin was a drachm published by Mionnet, *Supplément*, p. 483 = A. Cunningham, *CASE*, pl. VIII, no. 6 (*NC* 1869, pl. IX, no. 6). However, these two coins being in isolation seemed unaccountable for a long time. Furthermore the chronological and geographical position of this king was very much debated because of the supposed overstrike of Eucratides over Antialcidas that A. von Sallet (‘Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Baktrien und Indien’, *ZfN* 1879: 298-9), seemed to have identified. We were able to examine this coin in the Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen of Berlin, and notice the regrettable error committed by von Sallet in his reading: see my article, ‘Monnaies indo-grecques surfrappées’, *RN* 1989: 49-79, esp. 50-1.



coins of this class, i.e. Graeco-Bactrian issues of Indo-Greek rulers, have appeared from time to time, and several interpretations have been given to explain their role.

The aim of this study is to give a complete inventory of all published and some hitherto unknown Graeco-Bactrian coins minted by Menander and his successors south of the Hindu Kush, and to re-examine the various hypotheses put forward by scholars since the Qunduz find in the light of new archaeological discoveries. Regarding the coins from the Qunduz hoard, I rely on the detailed and well-illustrated publication by R. Curiel and G. Fussman. For the rest I have had the opportunity to examine almost all of them during my researches in the history of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms.<sup>3</sup>

In this inventory of Graeco-Bactrian coins issued by later Indo-Greek kings, all the specimens are first catalogued under the name of each king, then they are classified under series in conformity with the following criteria: denominations, obverse and reverse types, and legend arrangement. Coins in each series are then grouped according to the variations of monograms. The disposition of the legend and the die axes are indicated, as are the monograms and their position in the field. The die links are noted as well. When a coin is illustrated or mentioned in several publications, which is usually the case for the well-known specimens, I have tried to give at least the most important references; the place where it is now held is indicated at the head.

## MENANDER

### ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

*Obv.* In reel and bead border, diademed bust of king to r.


*Rev.* Athena Alkidemos standing to l. holding shield on outstretched l. arm, and hurling thunderbolt with r. hand. Leg. ↓↓ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ/  
MENANΔΡΟΥ





Monogram to l.  (cf. Mitchiner, 2, 212, b).

1. 16.18 g ↑ The British Museum. Inv. no. 1966. 11.4.1.  
Allouche-Le Page, *Journal Asiatique* 1950: 476-7; A.D.H.  
Bivar, *N. Circ.* (May 1954): 188-9, fig. 7 (= *JNSI* 1955:

<sup>3</sup>I wish to extend my warmest thanks to (Mrs) Cécile Morisson, the Director of the Cabinet des Médailles of Paris, to Joe Cribb, Curator, Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum, and to Harry Fowler, the Chairman of the American Numismatic Society, New York, who very kindly allowed me to reproduce certain coins, several of which have never been published, and who always extended a very warm welcome to me and provided me with every working facility. I am also exceedingly grateful to Paul Bernard, Directeur d'Etudes, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, IV<sup>e</sup> Section, Paris, Raoul Curiel, former Curator of the Cabinet des Médailles de Paris, and to Zeph Stewart, the Director of the Center for Hellenic Studies, Washington, for their unfailing helpfulness, advice and guidance.

38, no. 3); A.K. Narain, *IG*: pl. II, no. 7; A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, pp. 148-9, pl. XXIV, no. 1; Monnaies et Médailles, Basel, Auct. 32, 20. X. 1966, no. 178; G.K. Jenkins, *BMQ*, 1967-8: 109, pl. XXIII, no. 1 (= *JNSI* 1968: 25-6, pl. I, no. 1); N. Davis and C.M. Kraay, *The Hellenistic Kingdoms* (London, 1973), no. 164; Mitchiner, 2, 212, second illustration from the left; *Monnaies hors trésors*, p. 103, n. 7.


- Monogram to 1.  (cf. Mitchiner, 2, 212, a).
2. 16·81 g    ↑    Bank Leu, Zurich, Auct. 13, April 1975, no. 329 (= Mitchiner, 2, 212, first illustration).
  3. 14·13 g    ↑    Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, Inv. no. 1973. 35. Unpublished<sup>4</sup> (Plate 1, no. 1).

These three coins were issued with different obverse and reverse dies and bear two different monograms, which probably indicates that a considerable number of this class were issued. The reverse type, Athena Alkidemos, is familiar in Menander's abundant bilingual coinage.<sup>5</sup> As for the diademed head of the king it only appears, as correctly shown by A.D.H. Bivar in his remarkable study of Menander's coinage,<sup>6</sup> on later bilingual issues of Menander. As one may easily notice on the first bilingual series, where the legend is adjusted first  (for Greek) and  (for Kharoshthi), then  (for Greek) and  (for Kharoshthi), the portrait of the king is always presented as seen from the back wielding the spear;<sup>7</sup> it is only much later, with the introduction of new mints, that the diademed portrait can be found. Therefore I believe this unilingual series was minted when Menander became the sole king of the whole Indo-Greek kingdom, after the death of Eucratides.<sup>8</sup>

## ZOILOS I

### ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

*Obv.* In reel and bead border, diademed bust of king r.

*Rev.* Naked Heracles, standing facing, crowned with leaves, holding in outstretched r. hand another wreath and carrying club and lion's skin with his l. arm. Leg.  ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ/ΖΩΙΛΟΥ.

Monogram to 1.  (unpublished)

<sup>4</sup>This coin was bought at Monnaies et Médailles, Basel.

<sup>5</sup>See A.B. Brett, 'Athena "Alkidemos" of Pella', *ANSMN* 1950: 55-72.

<sup>6</sup>'The sequence of Menander's drachmae', *JRAS* 1970: 123-36.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Mitchiner 2, first 220 and then 221-5.

<sup>8</sup>Menander was partly contemporary with Eucratides and may have begun his rule around 155 BC. The dates given here are taken from the forthcoming publication based on my doctoral thesis presented to the Sorbonne University, Paris I, *Étude d'histoire et de numismatique indo-grecques*, vols. I-IV, 1987.

1. 16.75 g ↑ Collection Harry Fowler. Inv. no. 9-11-84. Unpublished (Plate 1, no. 2).

This coin, which is exceptional on more than one count, is a major revelation. It brings to light a coinage that is purely Greek in type, weight and legend, of a king for whom until now only a bilingual coinage of Indian standard was known. The king's portrait on the obverse and the Heracles standing and holding wreath on the reverse correspond exactly to the types on his bilingual issues of Indian weight (cf. Mitchiner 2, 255-6). It proves, further and beyond any doubt, the existence of two Zoili,<sup>9</sup> one a contemporary of Menander and the other, much later, the successor of Apollodotos II in the region of Sagala, striking rudely styled bilingual drachms with Athena Alkidemos on the reverse.

#### ANTIALCIDAS

##### I. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

*Obv.* In reel and bead border, diademed bust of king r.

*Rev.* Zeus seated l. on throne holding in outstretched r. hand Nike with wreath and palm in l. long sceptre; in the field l., forepart of elephant to r. with bell around neck, who raises his trunk. ☞ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ/ΑΝΤΙΑΚΙΔΟΥ.

Monogram to r.  $\Pi$  (cf. Mitchiner, 2, 269, a).

1. 16.66 g ↑ The British Museum. Inv. no. India Office Collection, no. 53.  
A. Cunningham, *CASE*, pp. 198-9, pl. VIII, no. 5 (*NC* 1869: 300-1, pl. IX, no. 5); P. Gardner, *BMC*, Antialcidas, no. 1, p. 25, pl. VII, 9; A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 82, pl. IV, no. 7; G.K. Jenkins, *BMQ* 1966-7: 109-10, pl. XXIII, no. 2 (= *JNSI* 1968: 25-6); Mitchiner 2, 269.
- 2.<sup>10</sup> 16.64 g ↑ Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. R.3681.223, ex coll. Marc Le Berre. Unpublished (Plate 1, no. 3).


<sup>9</sup>Even in spite of the differences of types and titles, styles, and especially monograms between the two coinages, Whitehead (*NC*, 1950: 209) and Fussman (*TQ*, pp. 73-9) refuse to admit the existence of two Zoili. As far as we are concerned, two homonymous kings named Zoilos did exist, and I have treated this question in the light of overstrikes, composition of the coin hoards, and the pattern of monograms in a paper 'Les derniers rois indo-grecs, une autre hypothèse', read at the International Colloquium, *Histoires et cultes de l'Asie Centrale préislamique. Source écrites et documents archéologiques*, Paris, 22-8 November 1988 (forthcoming publication).

<sup>10</sup>These two coins, nos. 1 and 2, were issued with the same reverse die.

## II. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

*Obv.* In reel and bead border, helmeted bust of king r.

*Rev.* As on the preceding series I. Leg. as on the preceding series I.


Monogram to r.  (cf. Mitchiner 2, 270<sup>11</sup>).

3. 16.61 g ↑ Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 616.  
A.D.H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1954: 189, fig. 8; *JNSI* 1955: pl. VI, no. 6; A.K. Narain, *JNSI* 1954: 186, pl. III, no. 2; A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 82, pl. IV, no. 8; Mitchiner, 2, 270, first illustration.
- 4.<sup>12</sup> 16.65 g ↑ Collection Wahler,<sup>13</sup> U.S.A.  
Monnaies et Médailles, Basel, Auct. 53, November 1977, no. 162.

## III. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

*Obv.* As on the preceding series II.

*Rev.* As on the preceding series I and II. Leg.  ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ/  
ΑΝΤΙΑΚΙΔΟΥ.


Monogram to r.  (cf. Mitchiner, 2, 270).

5. 16.47 g ↑ Bank Leu, Auct. 1975, no. 331.  
Mitchiner 2, 270, second illustration.
6. 16.24 g ↑ Collection Harry Fowler.<sup>14</sup> Unpublished (p. 1, no. 4).
- 7.<sup>15</sup> 16.66 g ↗ Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. R.3681.190, ex coll. Marc Le Berre. Unpublished (Plate 1, no. 5).



## IV. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

*Obv.* In reel and bead border, diademed bust of king r., wearing *kausia*.

*Rev.* As on the preceding series I-III. Leg. as on the preceding series III.

Monogram to r.  (cf. Mitchiner 2, 271, a).

8. 16.07 g ↑ Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 618.  
A.D.H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1954: 189, fig. 10; A.K. Narain,

<sup>11</sup>Mitchiner does not seem to distinguish between the two different series; one may notice that each series has a very clear legend arrangement: one  and the other , so our series II = Mitchiner 2, 270, 1st illustration; our series III = Mitchiner 2, 270, 2nd illustration.


<sup>12</sup>These two coins of Antialcidas, nos. 3 and 4, were struck with different obverse and reverse dies.


<sup>13</sup>I owe this information to the authorities of the American Numismatic Society.

<sup>14</sup>This coin was bought at Bank Leu, Zurich, 1975.

<sup>15</sup>These three coin nos. 5, 6 and 7, of Antialcidas were issued with different obverse and reverse dies.

*JNSI* 1954: 186-7, pl. III, no. 3 = A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, pp. 82-3.

Monogram to r.  (cf. Mitchiner 2, 271, b)



- 9.<sup>16</sup> 16.72 g  Kabul Museum, *TQ*, no. 617.  
A.D.H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1954: 189, fig. 9 (= *JNSI* 1955: pl. VI, no. 7); A.K. Narain, *JNSI* 1954, 186-7, pl. III, no. 4; A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, pp. 82-3, pl. IV, no. 9; Mitchiner 2, 271.




#### V. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER DRACHM

*Obv.* As on the preceding series IV.

*Rev.* As on the preceding series I-IV, but the forepart of the elephant is turned 1., and its trunk holds the wreath. Leg. as on the preceding series III and IV.

Monogram to r.  (cf. Mitchiner 2, 272, a).

- 10.<sup>17</sup> 4.70 g  Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, 1845, ex coll. Révil (Plate 1, no. 6).  
Mionnet, *Supplément*, p. 483 (line drawing); A. Cunningham, *CASE*, p. 199, pl. VIII, no. 6 (*NC* 1869: 301, pl. IX, no. 6); R.B. Whitehead, *PMC*, p. 36, unrep. V; A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 83, pl. IV, no. 10; Mitchiner 2, 272.<sup>18</sup>
- 11.<sup>19</sup> 4.07 g  Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, R.3681.191, ex coll. Marc Le Berre. Unpublished (Plate 1, no. 7).

We now know of eleven Graeco-Bactrian coins of Antialcidas, of several varieties, bearing three different monograms (, , ), three obverse types, two noteworthy legend arrangements, and above all of two denominations, tetradrachms and drachms of Attic standard. Antialcidas is the only Indo-Greek king for whom a parallel series of unilingual drachms is so far known. It is

<sup>16</sup>These two coins, nos. 8-9, of Antialcidas are of different dies.

<sup>17</sup>This coin was first published by Mionnet, *Supplément*, p. 483, when it belonged to the cabinet of M. Révil; but it was subsequently acquired by the Cabinet des Médailles de Paris (then known as Cabinet de France) in 1845. Cunningham, *CASE*, p. 199 (*NC* 1869: 301) referred to Mionnet, but seems to have been unaware that it was already held in the Cabinet de France; Whitehead, *PMC*, p. 36, unrepresented types V, correctly indicated it as then belonging to the Cabinet de France, but A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 83, referring to R.B. Whitehead, says 'It is not in "Cabinet de France"', see *PMC*, p. 36, unrep. type V'. This is probably a printing mistake.

<sup>18</sup>Those who have referred to this coin always reproduced the line drawing given by Mionnet, p. 483. We are presenting it, for the first time, in photographs: see Plate 1, no. 6.

<sup>19</sup>These two coins, nos. 10 and 11, were struck with the same obverse die.

also very important to emphasize here that these two drachms were struck with two different reverse dies, and that all the published bilingual silver coins of Antialcidas that we know so far were issued in the same mints as the unilingual ones,<sup>20</sup> and bear mostly the same obverse and reverse types.<sup>21</sup> The important conclusion to be drawn from these observations is that all the mints that issued bilingual coins for Antialcidas were also engaged in striking unilingual coins of Attic weight.

## LYSIAS

### I. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

*Obv.* In reel and bead border, diademed bust of king r. wearing elephant's scalp.

*Rev.* Naked Heracles standing facing, crowning himself with his r. hand, and carrying club and lion's skin with his l. arm. Leg.  $\Omega$  ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ / ΛΥΣΙΟΥ.

Monogram to l.  $\mathbb{A}$ , to r.  $\Sigma$  (cf. Mitchiner 2, 259, a).

1. 16.55 g    ↑    Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 613.  
A.D.H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1954: 188, fig. 4 (= *JNSI*, 1955: 51, pl. VI, no. 3); A.K. Narain, *JNSI* 1954: 185, pl. II, no. 6; A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, pp. 145-6; Mitchiner 2, 259, first illustration.
2. 16.36 g    ↑    Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. Inv. no. 1970.617, ex coll. Marc Le Berre. Unpublished (Plate 1, no. 8).

Monogram to l.  $\mathbb{A}$ , to r.  $\mathbb{Z}$  (cf. Mitchiner 2, 259, b).

- 3.<sup>22</sup> 15.90 g    ↑    Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 612.
4. 16.90 g    ↑    Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. Inv. no. 1972.1040. Bought at Monnaies et Médailles, Basel. Unpublished (Plate 2, no. 9).
5. 16.67 g    ↑    Collection Harry Fowler. Inv. no. 27-4-84. Unpublished (Plate 2, no. 10).
6.            ↑    Collection Wahler, U.S.A.  
Monnaies et Médailles, Auct. 53, November 1977, Basel, no. 161.

Monogram to l.  $\mathbb{H}$  (cf. Mitchiner 2, 259, c).

- 7.<sup>23</sup> 16.88 g    ↑    Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 611.

<sup>20</sup>Some of the bilingual bronzes of Antialcidas bear the combined monogram:  $\mathbb{A}\Sigma$ , but they do not appear on his silver coinage.

<sup>21</sup>Cf. Mitchiner 2, 275, 277, 279.

<sup>22</sup>These four coins of Lysias, nos. 3-6, were struck with the same obverse and reverse dies.

<sup>23</sup>These two coins of Lysias, nos. 7 and 8, were struck with the same obverse die.



- A.D.H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1954: 188, fig. 5 (*JNSI*, 1955: 51, pl. VI, no. 4); A.K. Narain, *JNSI* 1954: 185, pl. II, no. 7; A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, pl. XXIII, no. 4.
8. 15.92 g ↑ The British Museum. Inv. no. 1966.11.4.2. Monnaies et Médailles, Basel, Auct. 32, 20 October 1966, no. 179; G.K. Jenkins, *BMQ* 1967-8: 110, pl. XXIII, no. 3 (= *JNSI* 1968: 24, pl. I, no. 2); Mitchiner 2, 259, second illustration).

## II. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

*Obv.* In reel and bead border, helmeted bust of king 1, seen from the back, wielding spear with his upraised r. hand. The l. shoulder of the king is covered by the scalp of an elephant, with tusks projected forward, as if it belonged to an aegis.

*Rev.* As on the preceding series I. Leg. as on the preceding series I.

Monogram to l.  $\Sigma$ , to r.  $\Sigma$  (cf. Mitchiner 2, 260, a).

- 9.<sup>24</sup> 16.11 g ↗ Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 614.  
A.D.H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1954: 187 (= *JNSI* 1955: 50-1, pl. VI, no. 2); A.K. Narain, *JNSI* 1954: pl. II, p. 185, no. 5; A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 146, pl. XXIII, no. 5; Mitchiner 2, 260, first illustration.

Monogram to l.  $\mathbb{K}$ .

- 10.<sup>25</sup> 16.98 g ↑ Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. Inv. no. 1970. 389, ex coll. Marc Le Berre. Unpublished (Plate 2, no. 11).

We now know of ten unilingual tetradrachms of Lysias, bearing three different monograms:  $\Sigma$  with  $\Sigma$  or  $\mathbb{Z}$ ,  $\mathbb{K}$  and  $\mathbb{K}$ . As was true in the case of Antialcidas, all the published bilingual silver coins of Lysias were issued by the same mints<sup>26</sup> and bear the same obverse and reverse types.<sup>27</sup> It is quite

<sup>24</sup> A series of bilingual drachms, bearing the same types, is now known to me from two coins, one in the British Museum, Inv. no. 1888.12.1.199, ex coll. Cunningham, published by Whitehead, *NC* 1923: pl. XV, no. 7 (Mitchiner 2, 265); and the other an unpublished coin in the collection of Harry Fowler, Inv. no. 7-16-87.

<sup>25</sup> These two coins of Lysias, nos. 9 and 10, were struck with different dies. The coin no. 9 is double-struck on the reverse.

<sup>26</sup> Some of the bronze coins of Lysias are issued by the mints characterized by the monograms:  $\mathbb{K}$  and  $\mathbb{K}$  but they do not appear on his silver coinage.


<sup>27</sup> A Graeco-Bactrian coin of Lysias is described by J. Kozolubski in *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin* (1965), p. 358, no. 316 (without illustration), as having a diademed and draped bust of the king r. on the obverse and young Heracles standing facing on the reverse, but no one since then seems to have come across this coin or any other specimen belonging to this series. However, there is no reason to doubt the existence of such a series which would correspond exactly to the bilingual coins of Lysias; cf. Mitchiner 2, 261.

certain that all the mints that issued bilingual coins for Lysias were also responsible for minting unilingual coins of Attic weight.

# PHILOXENOS

## I. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

*Obv.* In reel and bead border, diademed bust of king r.

*Rev.* King diademed and helmeted, on horseback r.; horse prancing. Leg.  ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ / ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ.

Monogram to r.  (cf. Mitchiner 3, 337, a).


1. 16.74 g ↑ Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 626.  
A.D.H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1954: 190, fig. 12; A.K. Narain, *JNSI* 1954: 187, pl. II no. 6; A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 167, pl. XXVIII, no. 1; Mitchiner 3, 337, first illustration.
- 2.<sup>28</sup> 16.53 g ↑ Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. Inv. no. 1977.29.11 (Plate 2, no. 12).  
Monnaies et Médailles, Basel, Auct. 53, 4 November 1977, no. 163; Mitchiner 3, 337, second illustration;<sup>29</sup> H. Nicolet-Pierre, *BBN*, 1978, 3: 100, fig. 1.

Monogram to r. .

3. 16.67 g ↑ Collection Harry Fowler. Inv. no. 10-1-86. Unpublished (Plate 2, no. 13).  
This coin first appeared in a sale catalogue, *Monnaies de Collection*, Strasbourg, 19-20 June 1984, no. 263. It was found in the region of Mazar-i Sharif, and was held in the collection of Prof. Broussy, Toulouse (France) until his death.<sup>30</sup>
- 4.<sup>31</sup> 16.56 g ↑ Collection Harry Fowler. Inv. no. 4-30-75, Bank Leu, Zurich. Unpublished (Plate 2, no. 14).

## II. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

*Obv.* As on the preceding series.

*Rev.* As on the preceding series. Leg.  ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ / ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ.

Monogram to r. in ex. Σ  (Mitchiner 3, 337, b<sup>32</sup>)

<sup>28</sup>These two coins, nos. 1 and 2, of Philoxenos are struck with the same obverse and reverse dies.




<sup>29</sup>Mitchiner illustrated the same coin in the Cabinet des Médailles de Paris as belonging to a private collection.

<sup>30</sup>For the provenance of this coin see *TQ*, p. 63, n. 16.

<sup>31</sup>These two coins, nos. 3 and 4, of Philoxenos are struck with different obverse and reverse dies.

<sup>32</sup>The adjustment of the legend is noteworthy: it is similar to what we find on Archebios' Graeco-Bactrian tetradrachms; see below under Archebios.

5. 14.68 g ↑ Wahler Collection, U.S.A.  
Bank Leu, Auct. 13, 4 April 1975, no. 332; Mitchiner 3, 337, third illustration.

Since the first unilingual coin of Philoxenos was found in the Qunduz hoard, four other specimens have appeared from time to time. These five coins were issued with four different obverse and reverse dies, and bear three different monograms. These three monograms ,  and  are also found on the majority of the bilingual silver coins of Philoxenos.

## DIOMEDES

### I. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

*Obv.* In reel and bead border, diademed bust of king r.

*Rev.* Mounted Dioscuri holding palms, prancing to r. with spears. Leg.   
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ / ΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥ.

Monogram to r. 

1. 16.16 g ↑ Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. Inv. no. 1971. 618, ex coll. Le Berre (Plate 2, no. 15).  
H. Nicolet-Pierre, *BBN*, 1978, 3: 100, fig. 2; *Monnaies hors trésors*, p. 165.



### II. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

*Obv.* In reel and bead border, diademed and helmeted bust of king r.

*Rev.* Mounted Dioscuri holding palms, prancing to r. with spears. Leg.   
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ / ΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥ.

Monogram to r. 

2. 16.81 g ↑ (R.C. Senior) Collection. Unpublished (Plate 3, no. 16).


Ten years after the publication of the first Graeco-Bactrian issue of Diomedes, which was a major revelation for the Indo-Greek kings, now we are in a position to introduce a second specimen of this class, with a different obverse type and a new monogram, thanks to the generous cooperation of R.C. Senior, the owner of this coin, and Joe Cribb who kindly sent me a photograph of it. The main characteristics of these two specimens, such as the royal portraits, one diademed, the other helmeted, the reverse type and the two monograms  and  can be found in his bilingual tetradrachms and drachms.<sup>33</sup>


<sup>33</sup> Cf. Mitchiner 3, 347, b, and 349, a.

## THEOPHILOS


## I. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

*Obv.* In reel and bead border, diademed bust of king r.






*Rev.* Athena seated l. holding spear and wearing helmet, holds Nike on her extended r. hand; shield leaning against the seat.<sup>34</sup> Leg.  ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ / ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ.

Monogram to 1.  (cf. Mitchiner 3, 371.<sup>35</sup>)

1. 16·67 g ↑ Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 615.  
A.D.H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1954: 188, fig. 6 (= *JNSI* 1955: 51, pl. VI, no. 5); A.K. Narain, *JNSI* 1954: 186, pl. III, no. 1; A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 186, pl. XXXIII, no. 1.



Monogram to 1.  (cf. Mitchiner 3, 371, a).

2. 16·78 g ↑ BM, Inv. no. 1965.4.10.1. (Plate 3, no. 17).  
G.K. Jenkins, *BMQ* 1966-7: 110, pl. XXIII, no. 5 (= *JNSI* 1968: 24-5, pl. I, no. 3); Mitchiner 3, 371, first illustration.
3. 16·78 g ↑ Wahler Collection, U.S.A.  
Spink stock 19 August 1976 = Mitchiner 3, 371, second illustration.

These three coins of Theophilos are struck with the same obverse die, but the three reverses are of different dies. The two monograms:  and  are, no doubt, two variants of the same mint. Here we come across one of the rare cases where a unilingual issue does not correspond to the bilingual series issued in the same name. One may notice that the types, the titles and the monograms of these Greek tetradrachms have no parallel series in the bilingual coins of the Indo-Greek king named Theophilos, who had adopted Heracles as his obverse type, ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ as his epithet, and used the following monograms:<sup>36</sup> ,  and  G.K. Jenkins, using the considerable differences that he had observed in the portraits, suggested that there were two different men of the same name.<sup>37</sup>


Yet one may still argue, in spite of all the differences between the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek series, that the more individualized features of the

<sup>34</sup> A diversity can be observed on the three reverses of these tetradrachms: Athena is sometimes represented seated on a simple stool (our nos. 1 and 3), or sometimes on an armchair of which the legs and armrests are conjured away (no. 2); and also the position of Athena's legs changes from one specimen to the other: they are presented either parallel (no. 1), crossed (no. 3), or the left leg very much set back from the right (no. 2).

<sup>35</sup> Mitchiner seems to ignore the fact that this coin from the Qunduz hoard bears the monogram:  not .

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Mitchiner 3, 372-4.

<sup>37</sup> *BMQ* 1966-7: 110; also in *JNSI* 1968: 23-7.


portrait on the unilingual tetradrachms may be mainly due to the exceptional skill of the engraver and to the relatively larger space he may have enjoyed while engraving the die: the average dimension of a unilingual tetradrachm (31-4 mm) is obviously larger than that of a bilingual tetradrachm (24-7 mm) or drachm (15-16 mm). Regarding the difference of the monogram one may assume that an exceptional issue might have been thought worthy of a special mint. For this outstanding issue Theophilos may have taken the title *Autokratōr* (possessing full powers)<sup>38</sup> in contrast with the ordinary epithet *Dikaïos*. To the question one may raise regarding the difference of the reverse type figured on the Greek coins we may draw attention to a similar coin found in a hoard from the Ai Khanum excavations,<sup>39</sup> bearing the name of Apollodotos (but without an epithet), with an obverse type similar to that of Theophilos (Athena enthroned with a victory on her right hand), and bearing the monogram . This coin was correctly attributed to Apollodotos I, for whom only bilingual coins had hitherto been known, by P. Bernard<sup>40</sup> followed by Cl.-Y. Petitot-Biehler,<sup>41</sup> in spite of the considerable divergence from his bilingual coins, which have nothing in common in respect of monetary types (elephant/humped bull for silver (cf. Mitchiner 2, 203, 206, 207), and Apollo and tripod for bronzes (cf. Mitchiner 2, 209, 210)), monograms,<sup>42</sup> and the fact that the bilingual coins bear the epithet Soter. In conclusion, I believe that the arguments used by Jenkins are not sufficient in themselves to show that there were two homonymous Indo-Greek kings named Theophilos.

<sup>38</sup>For this title see A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides* (Brussels, 1913), pp. 130, 188; G. Le Rider, *Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes . . . (MMAI)* (Paris, 1965), p. 319; J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.*, 1961, 419: 193-4. A.N. Lahiri was wrong when he assumed that the epithet *Autokratōr* is used only by the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares. This epithet is attested even in some early Parthian issues, where the name of Arsaces is accompanied by the title: ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ; cf. M.T. Abgarians and D.G. Sellwood, 'A Hoard of Early Parthian Drachms', *NC* 1971: 103-19.

<sup>39</sup>This coin was found in the hoard discovered in 1973 during the excavations conducted by the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan under the direction of Paul Bernard.


<sup>40</sup>*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1974), pp. 306-7.

<sup>41</sup>*RN* 1975: 37-9. Contrary to the hypothesis put forward by A.K. Narain (first in *IG*, pp. 64-5, 124-7, and then in *JNSI* 1957: 121-34), this coin made it possible to decide once and for all in favour of the existence of two Apollodoti, one a predecessor of Eucratides and the other very much later, a successor of Maues. I do not intend to enter into details to show the serious consequences for the chronology proposed by Narain that resulted from his refusal to accept the existence of two Apollodoti. One may read the arguments developed in favour of two Apollodoti by G.K. Jenkins, 'The Apollodotus Question: Another View', *JNSI*, 1959: 20-33; J.P. Guépin, 'Apollodotus et Eucratides', *Jaarboek voor Munten Penningkunde*, 1956, pp. 1-19; D.W. MacDowall et N.G. Wilson, 'Apollodoti Reges Indorum', *NC* 1960: 221-8, and recently, *Les monnaies hors trésors*, pp. 66-7.

<sup>42</sup>The monogram  is never attested in the bilingual issues of Apollodotos I.

## AMYNTAS

## I. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER DOUBLE-DECADRACHM

- Obv.* In reel and bead border, diademed and helmeted bust of king r.  
*Rev.* Zeus seated l. on throne holding in outstretched r. hand armed Athena who holds shield and spear, and in l. hand long sceptre and palm.  
 Leg.  ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ / AMYNTΟΥ.

Monogram to r.  (cf. Mitchiner 3, 385, a).

1. 84·92 g ↑ Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 620.  
 A.D.H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1953: 201-2, fig. 1; A.K. Narain, *IG*, pl. V, no. 1 (= *JNSI* 1953: 213, pl. IX, no. 1); A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, pp. 78-9, pl. III, no. 2.
- 2.<sup>43</sup> 84·70 g ↑ Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 619.  
 A.D.H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1953, col. 201-2; A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, pp. 78-9, pl. III, no. 1; N. Davis and C.M. Kraay, *The Hellenistic Kingdoms* (London, 1973), no. 174; Mitchiner, 3, 385.

## II. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER DOUBLE-DECADRACHM

- Obv.* As on the preceding series.  
*Rev.* City goddess (Tyche) seated l. on a throne, holding cornucopiae in l. hand, and making a gesture with outstretched r. hand. Leg. as on the preceding series.

Monogram to r.  (cf. Mitchiner 3, 386, a).

3. 84·89 g ↑ Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 621.  
 A.D.H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1953: 201-2; A.K. Narain, *IG*, pl. V, no. 1; A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 79; Mitchiner 3, 386.
4. 84·76 g ↑ Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 622.  
 A.D.H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1953: 201-2, fig. 2; A.K. Narain, *IG*, pl. V, no. 1 (= *JNSI* 1953: 213, pl. IX, no. 2; A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 79, pl. III, no. 2.
- 5.<sup>44</sup> 84·50 g ↑ Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 623.

<sup>43</sup>As R. Curiel well observed, these two coins of Amyntas nos. 1 and 2 (*TQ*, nos. 619-20), are struck with the same obverse and reverse dies, but one may well notice that on the reverse of no. 620 there are two parallel circular lines of dots under the king's name in the exergue which do not appear on coin no. 619. These dots correspond exactly to the number of letters of AMYNTΟΥ, which may have originally been engraved to dispose the king's name in circular form. Having struck the coin no. 619 and before striking the coin no. 620, the engraver seems to have obliterated the dots by filling the corresponding holes of the same die.

<sup>44</sup>These five coins, nos. 1-5, of Amyntas are struck with the same obverse die and nos. 3-5 with the same reverse die.




A.D.H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1953: 201-2, *JNSI*; A.K. Narain, *IG*, pl. V, no. 1; A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 79.


These five double-decadrachms of Attic standard were the most important revelation of the Qunduz hoard, for they bring to light on the one hand a coinage purely Greek in weight and legend of a king for whom until then only a bilingual coinage was known, and on the other hand, the largest silver denomination ever attested in antiquity. Furthermore the five specimens, with two different reverse types, are linked by the same obverse die. I am not concerned here to explain why these two types should alternate on the same issue. It is more important to know the role of such high value coins (double-decadrachms). Were they commemorative victory medallions or simple coins used for current payments? We will come to this question later.

## ARCHEBIOS

### I. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

*Obv.* In reel and bead border, diademed and helmeted bust of king r., seen from the back, wielding a spear with r. hand; king's l. shoulder is covered by the aegis.

*Rev.* Zeus facing, clad in himation, holding long sceptre in l. hand and hurling thunderbolt with r. hand. Leg.  ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΑΙΚΑΙΟΥ / ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ.

Monogram to r.  (cf. Mitchiner 3, 355, a).

1. 16.87 g ↗ Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 624.  
A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, pp. 100-1, pl. IX, no. 3).
- 2.<sup>45</sup> 16.82 g ↗ Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 625.  
A.D.H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1953: 190 (= *JNSI* 1955: 52); A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, pp. 100-1).
3. 16.72 g ↑ BM, Inv. no. 1959.11.1.1. (Plate 3, no. 18).  
Monnaies et Médailles, Auct. XIX, 5-6 June 1959, no. 573; A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 101; G.K. Jenkins, *BMQ* 1966-7, pl. XXIII, no. 4 (= *JNSI* 1968: 25, pl. I, no. 4); Mitchiner 3, 335.
- 4.<sup>46</sup> 16.84 g ↑ Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, Inv. no. 1986. 1062. (Plate 3, no. 19).  
This coin first appeared in a sale catalogue, *Monnaies de Collection*, Strasbourg, 19-20 June 1984, no. 264. It was

<sup>45</sup>These two coins, nos. 1-2, of Archebios are struck with the same obverse and reverse dies.

<sup>46</sup>The last two coins, nos. 3 and 4, of Archebios are struck with the same obverse and reverse dies; they are closely similar to the two specimens of the Qunduz hoard and no doubt of the same hand.


found in the region of Mazar-i Sharif, and was in the collection of Prof. Broussy, Toulouse (France) until his death.<sup>47</sup>


G.K. Jenkins correctly described the obverse of this issue of Archebios as an outstanding work of art. The reverse reproduces the Zeus type of the same king's bilingual coins,<sup>48</sup> and the monogram likewise is commonly found on his bilingual coinage.

## HERMAEUS

### I. ATTIC STANDARD SILVER TETRADRACHM

*Obv.* In reel and bead border, diademed bust of king r.

*Rev.* Zeus-Mithra<sup>49</sup> with Persian headdress and radiate, seated l. on throne, holding long sceptre in l. hand and making a gesture with his outstretched r. hand. Leg.  ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ / ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ.

Monogram to l.  (cf. Mitchiner 3, 409, a).

1. 16.54 g ↑ Kabul Museum; *TQ*, no. 627.  
A.D.H. Bivar, *N. Circ.* 1954: 190 (= *JNSI* 1955: 52, pl. VIII, no. 5; A.K. Narain, *JNSI* 1954, pl. III, no. 7, *IG*, pl. V, no. 3; A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 139, pl. XVII, no. 12; Mitchiner 3, 409.
2. 16.83 g ↑ Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. Inv. no. R, 3681.521, ex. coll. Marc Le Berre. Unpublished (Plate 3, no. 20).
- 3.<sup>50</sup> 16.56 g ↑ Collection Nasher, formed in Qunduz. Unpublished (Plate 3, no. 21). I owe this information to the generosity of the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, who provided me with the photographs and the description of this collection.

It is interesting to find two more specimens struck with the same obverse and reverse dies as the one in the Qunduz hoard. As was true for most of the other Indo-Greek coins we have mentioned here, the types and the legend of this unilingual issue correspond exactly to the bilingual coinage of Hermaeus.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Concerning the provenance of this coin, see *TQ*, p. 63, n. 16.

<sup>48</sup> *JNSI* 1968: 25.

<sup>49</sup> A.D.H. Bivar, 'Mithraic images of Bactria: Are They Related to Roman Mithraism?', in *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain*, 80 (1979): 741-50; D.W. MacDowall, 'The Role of Mithra among the Deities of the Kusana Coinage', in J. R. Hinnell, *Mithraic Studies* (Manchester University Press, 1975), pp. 142-50; and also, 'Sol invictus and Mithra: Some Evidence from the Mint of Rome', *EPRO*, 80 (1979): 557-71.

<sup>50</sup> These three coins, nos. 1-3, of Hermaeus are struck with the same obverse and reverse dies.

<sup>51</sup> Apart from the usual diademed or helmeted royal portrait, two other different obverse types are known in the coinages of Hermaeus: the first is the king on horseback (cf. Mitchiner 3, 410); the second one has so far been known through one specimen in the British Museum,

It should be noted that a mint  $\Omega$ , very rarely attested in his bilingual coinage, was responsible for this issue.

Having described Graeco-Bactrian coins minted by Menander and by his Indo-Greek successors, we may now proceed to re-examine some of the questions of historical interpretation they raised. I have, however, no intention of treating all the questions raised by the Qunduz hoard itself: I am more concerned with various explanations given by several scholars to justify the discovery of coins of Attic weight minted by the Indo-Greek kings who are supposed to have reigned only in Indian territories where bilingual coins of Indian standard were in circulation.

In order to explain the presence of Graeco-Bactrian coins in Bactria, but minted by the Indo-Greek kings, A.K. Narain,<sup>52</sup> followed by G. Fussman,<sup>53</sup> proposed that these sovereigns exercised a political control over some part of the regions north of the Hindu Kush. This assumption was based on the view that the coins in conformity with the Attic standard were strictly a currency for Bactria. G. Fussman further argued that it was logical to suppose that the Graeco-Bactrian coins, since they were intended for circulation north of the Hindu Kush, were struck in the north, and conversely that the bilingual ones should have been minted south of it. D.W. MacDowall<sup>54</sup> and M. Mitchiner<sup>55</sup> were in favour of Narain's hypothesis, but made clear that these Graeco-Bactrian coins were struck in the mints situated south of the Hindu Kush.

Already in 1968, only two years after the publication of the Qunduz hoard by R. Curiel and G. Fussman, G.K. Jenkins wrote articles in two different journals, which put into question, but in a very ambiguous way, the hypothesis of A.K. Narain and G. Fussman.<sup>56</sup> Jenkins wrote:

Then again, if the later Attic tetradrachms are to be regarded as strictly a currency for Bactria, it is logical to suppose that their mintage, at whichever mint, should imply some degree of control by the Indo-Greek kings of the region to the north of the Hindu Kush. But is it not conceivable that these coins, especially the double-decadrachms of Amyntas, were really something in the nature of medallic or presentation pieces rather than as currency? In that case it seems less necessary to envisage that the issuing kings really had any control over the Bactrian region, and that the coins could well have been minted to the south of the Hindu Kush as the monograms would seem in most cases to imply.<sup>57</sup>

---

but wrongly interpreted as king on horseback (cf. Mitchiner 3, 411, second illustration). Recently I have questioned this interpretation, thanks to the two drachms in the Cabinet des Médailles, struck with the same dies as the one in the British Museum; I interpret the type as queen-amazon: see 'Roi-cavalier on Reine-amazone?', *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique* (November 1988), pp. 453-6.

<sup>52</sup> *IG*, pp. 48, 50, 103, 105, 107.

<sup>53</sup> *TQ*, pp. 62-3.

<sup>54</sup> In F.R. Allchin and N. Hammond (eds.), *The Archaeology of Afghanistan from Earliest Times to the Timurid Periods* (London, 1978), p. 210.

<sup>55</sup> Mitchiner 2, pp. 102-4.

<sup>56</sup> *BMQ* 1967/8: 108-12; *JNSI* 1968: 23-7.

<sup>57</sup> *JNSI* 1968: 26.

The same doubt and hesitation can be seen in a number of questions posed by H. Nicolet-Pierre when publishing the Graeco-Bactrian tetradrachms of Philoxenos and Diomedes. H. Nicolet-Pierre questions:<sup>58</sup>

Faut-il conclure, de l'existence de ces monnyages et de leur présence dans le trésor de Qunduz, que ces souverains régnèrent aussi sur une partie de la Bactriane, plus profondément hellénisée que leurs possessions indiennes? Ou s'agit-il de frappes exceptionnelles dans des ateliers indiens, émissions de prestige rares mais nécessaires pour perpétuer une tradition? Ou bien ces rois préféreraient-ils utiliser des monnaies de poids attique dans leurs transactions avec leurs voisins du Nord, les pièces bilingues de poids indien étant celles de la circulation locale?

G.K. Jenkins and H. Nicolet-Pierre, even in spite of their hesitation, took a big step forward towards a reasonable solution, but the final great leap was taken by P. Bernard in his recent book on the stray finds from the Ai Khanum excavation conducted by the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan under his direction.<sup>59</sup> I repeat briefly the most important arguments used by him when opposing Narain's hypothesis.<sup>60</sup>

1. If one accepts A.K. Narain's chronology, the control of some regions of Bactria should be extended until the beginning of the reign of Hermaeus who, according to him, did not begin to rule until 70 BC.
2. How can one imagine that the mountainous province of Badakhshan,<sup>61</sup> considered by Narain as the last Greek enclave held by the later Greek kings of India, a fringe region with high valleys of rough climatic conditions, where no central power seems to have ever exercised firm control, was the last bastion of Greek power? It is even less probable, argued P. Bernard, that the lower valley of the Qunduz River, where the hoard was found, remained under the control of the Greeks until 70 BC, surrounded from east and west by the nomadic invaders.
3. The hypothesis of A.K. Narain does not tally with the results obtained from the excavation of Ai Khanum. The silver coins found in the hoards<sup>62</sup> and

<sup>58</sup> BBN 1978, 3: 100.

<sup>59</sup> *Les monnaies hors trésors*. In this book, P. Bernard gives an exhaustive inventory of the coins found apart from the hoards.



<sup>60</sup> *Les monnaies hors trésors*, pp. 103-5.

<sup>61</sup> Badakhshan is situated on the mid and upper Kokcha and on the left bank of the upper Oxus somewhat to the east of the Qunduz River. The reason to suggest this region was that it is close to the Khisht Tepe where the hoard was found. G. Fussman proposed to enlarge this Greek territory beyond this enclave, owing to the fact that two coins of Philoxenos (our no. 3) and Archebios (no. 4) were found in Mazar-i Sharif, further to the west of the Qunduz River and close to Bactra.

<sup>62</sup> The first Ai Khanum hoard was found in 1970, in room 20 of the administrative quarter situated in the centre of the lower city; it contained 677 silver punch-marked coins and 6 bilingual drachms of Agathocles, but none of the issues of other Graeco-Bactrian kings was present in it: see R. Audoin and P. Bernard, *RN* 1973: 238-9, *id.*, *RN* 1974: 7-41. The second hoard was found in 1973, in the ruins of the kitchen of a large private house situated

the stray finds (over 200 items, mainly bronzes),<sup>63</sup> stop suddenly at Eucratides I's reign. In particular the absence of any coin of Heliocles and his successor, in hoards or in stray finds is especially remarkable, whereas his coinage is abundantly represented in the Qunduz hoard.<sup>64</sup> The fact that the coinages stop at Eucratides I's reign, far from being a chance coincidence, is surely explained by one event, the nature of which became clear through the excavation: the catastrophe which struck the city when the palace was burnt down and the existence of the Greek city came to an end. The archaeological data are categorical; after the palace was burnt down and during the brief period that followed when indigenous populations occupied the city, there is no trace of Greek presence; from the time they were driven away from Ai Khanum, the Greek settlers never returned. One is therefore led to assume that the cause for this tragedy was the invasion of the peoples of the steppe, which occurred at a time when, precisely, Chinese records mention large scale movements of tribes travelling westwards from north-west China and southern Siberia. The Chinese imperial annals (the *Shih-chi* and the *Han Shu*) provide us with texts based on a report allegedly made by a certain Chang-K'ien, an envoy of the Han emperor Wu Ti, to the western provinces

---

outside the north wall of the city. It comprised 63 silver tetradrachms of Attic standard, 49 of which were Graeco-Bactrian coins: 7 Diodotos in the name of Antiochos, 1 Diodotos in the name of Diodotos, 27 Euthydemus, 3 Demetrios I, 1 Euthydemus II, 3 Agathocles, 2 Antimachos Theos, 1 Apollodotos I, 1 Eucratides (cf. C.-Y. Petitot-Biehler, *RN* 1975: 23-57). It is very important to emphasize here that although there was only one coin of Eucratides I in this hoard, it is a later issue of this king, because the name of the king is accompanied with the epithet *Megas* and adjusted  (Mitchiner 1, 177), contrary to his first issues where the legend is without epithet and adjusted  (Mitchiner 1, 168). The third hoard was found in the winter 1973/4 by an Afghan farmer near the excavation site itself. It was quickly sold in Kabul and a large portion of it passed in commerce through New York City. It was published by Fr. Holt, *RN* 1981, pp. 7-43, from a rapid inventory completed by (Mrs) Waggoner, curator of the American Numismatic Society. As Holt himself correctly said, doubts must be expressed about the integrity of any hoard of valuable coins which has been passed from dealer to dealer over a period of years. Except for a few suspicious coins, like the drachm of Lysias, the composition of this hoard is similar to the one published by Petitot-Biehler. It must have comprised 142 silver coins of Attic standard, 120 of which were Graeco-Bactrian: 7 Diodotos in the name of Antiochos, 4 Diodotos in the name of Diodotos, 81 Euthydemus, 8 Demetrios I, 3 Euthydemus II, 6 Agathocles, 2 Antimachos Theos, 9 Eucratides.

<sup>63</sup>The excavations have yielded 274 coins. There were 224 legible coins of which 77 were Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek specimens. The coins found apart from the hoards are almost exclusively bronzes of small denomination. The Seleucid coins are represented in quantity (68 specimens of which 62 of Antiochos II). Then come Euthydemus I with 49 bronzes, Diodotos with 26 coins and Eucratides with 12 coins of which 11 were bilingual. There were also 6 Demetrios I, 5 Euthydemus II, 3 Antimachos Theos, 3 Agathocles, and 1 Apollodotos: P. Bernard, *Les monnaies hors trésors*, pp. 17-71.

<sup>64</sup>It is noteworthy that 221 coins out of 627, i.e. over one-third, are struck in the name of Heliocles.

between 138 and 126 BC. He tells us about the arrival in Central Asia of the Yüeh-chi in the second half of the second century BC. One could derive from this Chinese source a picture of a thrust which took place progressively in two stages.<sup>65</sup> The numismatic data provided by the Qunduz and Ai Khanum hoards would thus corroborate this picture. In the first stage the Yüeh-chi nomads must have taken the territories situated north of the Oxus, i.e. Sogdiana, the region of Ai Khanum at the eastern extremity of the plain of Bactria, on the left bank of the river, and the second stage of this move must have already been completed at the time of the visit by the Chinese ambassador Chang K'ien in these regions in 129-128 BC. P. Bernard was able to date exactly the catastrophe which brought the existence of the Greek city of Ai Khanum to an end (or in other words the first invasion of Sogdiana by the Yüeh-chi), thanks to an inscription, found in a destruction stratum, giving a clear *terminus post quem* the twenty-fourth year in the reign of Eucratides (= 148-147 BC).<sup>66</sup> It is likely that the destruction of the Greek city of Ai Khanum and the first stage of the Yüeh-chi invasion and also the death of Eucratides I took place more or less at the same time, that is around 145 BC.<sup>67</sup>

A.K. Narain considered that Badakhshan, the name that for him covers all the region on the left bank of the upper Oxus from the Pamir to the lower reaches of the river at Qunduz, and which would include the Ai Khanum plain, had been the last bastion of Greek resistance to the nomads' onslaughts.<sup>68</sup> The coin finds from Ai Khanum show on the contrary that Badakhshan proper, i.e. the mountain region of the mid and upper Kokcha and of the left bank of the upper Oxus, was lost to the Greeks, together with the Ai Khanum plain, at the time of the first Yüeh-chi invasion and that, during the respite they were granted for two decades before being overpowered by the second one, the territories

<sup>65</sup>We use the translation by B. Watson in *Records of the Grand Historian of China translated from Shih chi of Ssu-ma chien*, vol. II (London, 1961): 'The Great Yüeh-chih live some two or three thousand *li* west of Ta-Yüan, north of Kuei River . . . they are a nation of nomads, moving from place to place with their herds and their customs are like those of Hsiung-nu. They have some one or two hundred thousand archer warriors' (p. 267, ch. 123). ' . . . after they were defeated by the Hsiung-nu they moved far away to the west, beyond Ta-Yuan; there they attacked and conquered the people of Ta-hsia (Bactria) . . . ' (p. 268, ch. 123). ' . . . they (Yüeh-chih) attacked and conquered the people of Ta-hsia (Bactria) and set up the court of the king on the northern bank of the Kuei river (Oxus)' (p. 268, ch. 123). 'After the Great Yüeh-chi moved west and attacked and conquered Tahsia, the entire country came under their sway' (p. 269, ch. 123).

<sup>66</sup>*Les monnaies hors trésors*, pp. 97-105.

<sup>67</sup>P. Bernard admits (*Les monnaies hors trésors*, p. 103, n. 4) that the chronology he proposed in 1969 in *Ai Khanoum I* (1973), p. 109, for the destruction of the city was wrong. It was a preliminary report based on the data available at the end of the fourth campaign.

<sup>68</sup>Cf. *IG*, pp. 138-40.



they still controlled were situated mainly west of Qunduz, the eastern frontier of their lands then running between the latter city and Ai Khanum.<sup>69</sup>

Let me add another argument in favour of P. Bernard's hypothesis, according to which after the second and final invasion by the Yüeh-chi, following the death of Heliocles I around 130 BC, the Greek domination over the territories north of the Hindu Kush came to an end. The Qunduz hoard contains a certain number of interesting coins (mainly *TQ*, nos. 166-76, 237-41 and many other coins) issued in the name of Eucratides, of which the style of the royal portrait reminds us of the posthumous imitations of Eucratides I (cf. Mitchiner 1, 200). An exhaustive study of dies, monograms and style of all Eucratides' coins will certainly enable us to separate the genuine coins of Eucratides from the posthumous issues. Leaving aside this group, I wish to draw attention to two coins in the same hoard, issued in the name of Heliocles (*TQ*, nos. 582 and 583) that have received little attention from the scholars.<sup>70</sup> As R. Curiel very

<sup>69</sup> See the remarkable study on this question by P. Bernard and H.P. Francfort, *Étude de géographie historique sur la plaine d'Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan)* (CNRS, Paris, 1978). I give the English translation of a section of an article by P. Bernard in *RN* 1975: 67-9, where he summarizes his arguments developed in this book: 'According to a certain tradition of ancient and mediaeval geography, it would seem that the Ai Khanum plain and its mountainous hinterland belonged, not to Bactria, as has always been supposed, but to Sogdiana. That appears to be the inference to be drawn from a certain number of geographical indications that my friend H.P. Francfort and I intend to analyse in a forthcoming article; I shall briefly mention the main ones here: (1). In Achaemenid inscriptions lapis lazuli (*kapautaka*), the only mine of which is found in the upper valley of the Kokcha, is always mentioned as coming from Sogdiana; (2). For Ptolemy Bactria borders on Sogdiana to the north and east; conversely, Sogdiana borders on Bactria to the south and west and also touches India to the south via the Caucasus, i.e. the Hindu Kush-Himalayan chain (*Geography*, i, 16; vi, 11, 1; xii, 1. Already Erastosthenes in Strabo x, 8 [*sic*]; J. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang* (1938), pp. 27-8). These indications only make sense if, for the classical geographers, Sogdiana, i.e. the right bank of the Oxus, was in fact prolonged to the south-east by an appendix which included the region lying between the Kokcha and the upper Oxus, and thus crossed over to part of the left bank of the latter river. (3). Khuttalana province, which all ancient Islamic sources agree in placing in Transoxia, therefore on the right bank of the Oxus, also included the Ai Khanum plain and the immediate approaches of the mountainous hinterland. That will be shown by the identification by H.P. Francfort of Nushara-Andijaragh, one of the main cities of this province, mentioned several times by Arab and Persian geographers, with an important Islamic site of the Ai Khanum plain (*Hudūd al-ʿAlam*, ed. V. Minorsky, pp. 119 and 360-1 (Nuchara); Istakhri p. 339 (BGA) and Ibn Hauqual, *Configuration de la terre* (ed. J. H. Kramers and G. Wiet), p. 495).

Therefore ancient Bactria only extended as far as Qunduz and its territory to the east, whereas Sogdiana, overlapping the Oxus opposite Ai Khanum, is supposed to have reached south-eastwards along the Kokcha; if the Kokcha did indeed constitute the eastern frontier between these two provinces, which were already two different political entities in the Achaemenid period, one will better understand that the nomads, after completing the conquest of the whole of Sogdiana when they reached its banks, decided not to cross this frontier, at least for a while'.

<sup>70</sup> R. Curiel had correctly added two more specimens to this list of barbarized coins, *TQ*,

well noted, the reverse type of these two coins is of extremely crude style. The head of Zeus is reduced to a caricature. On coin no. 583 what we read is the mirror image of the epithet ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ. The monogram is the same as the one that appears on later imitations of Heliocles coins (cf. Mitchiner 4, 501, c), so they cannot be considered as genuine lifetime issues of Heliocles I. They are obviously posthumous coins struck by the nomads who occupied Bactria after the defeat of the Greeks. These coins were in the same hoard with the remarkable issues of Amyntas and Hermaeus and other Indo-Greek kings. One is thus obliged to assume that when the coin of Hermaeus reached this region there were no more Greeks but rather nomads imitating the coins of the last two great Greek kings who reigned over Bactria, Eucratides I and Heliocles I. They were the same nomadic invaders who, fifty years later, having occupied the western territories of the Indo-Greek kingdom, e.g. Paropamisadae and Arachosia, minted debased silver coins imitating the genuine issues of Hermaeus (cf. Mitchiner 3, 418-21), the last Greek king to reign in this part of the Indo-Greek kingdom.<sup>71</sup> When fixing a burial date for the Qunduz hoard one has to take into consideration not only the coin of Hermaeus, but also the posthumous coins of Heliocles I. So one cannot now accept the very early date of 100 BC, which involves a considerable compression of the chronology of the later Indo-Greek kings, proposed by A.D.H. Bivar<sup>72</sup> and approved by G. Fussman.<sup>73</sup>

The final conclusions to be drawn from these arguments are that once completely overpowered by the Yüeh-chi around 130 BC the Greeks had no further control whatsoever over the provinces north of the Hindu Kush, and naturally that all these Graeco-Bactrian coins issued by Indo-Greek kings were struck in the mints situated in their territories south of the Hindu Kush. If this is so, the first question one should ask obviously is how these Graeco-Bactrian coins, struck in the mints situated south of the Hindu Kush, reached Bactria and for what purpose they were issued by the kings who reigned only in the Indo-Greek territories where coins of Indian standard were in circulation?

H. Nicolet-Pierre suggested two possibilities to explain their role. Either they were exceptional issues of prestige, rare but necessary to perpetuate the tradition, or they were currency used for the transactions with their neighbours

---

nos. 472 and 592. M. Mitchiner, *The Early Coinage of Central Asia* (London, 1973), pp. 51-3, considered 9 specimens of Heliocles in this hoard as imitations (among them *TQ*, nos. 472, 482-3, 592-3); also see E.V. Zejmal, *Drevnie monety Tadžikistana* (Dušanbe, 1983), pp. 111, 113.

<sup>71</sup> Hermaeus would not have been the last Indo-Greek king, as A.K. Narain thought him to be, but Strato II associated with his son seems to have reigned in the Punjab until AD 10. My researches based on new numismatic data, overstrikes, hoard evidence, monogram pattern, evolution of monetary style, etc., have compelled me to reconsider A.K. Narain's hypothesis and to propose a quite different chronology for the last Indo-Greek kings: see the article cited in n. 9.

<sup>72</sup> *JNSI* 1955: 45-6.

<sup>73</sup> *TQ*, pp. 59-60, 63-4.

of the northern territories.<sup>74</sup> She did not develop either of these propositions, as we said earlier. P. Bernard independently held and developed the view that these Graeco-Bactrian coins were minted by the sovereigns in question for their trade with Bactria, where silver currency had always been of Attic standard. Let us examine each of these propositions separately.

The strongest argument in support of the first hypothesis, according to which these coins were exceptional issues of prestige, is the existence of double-decadrachms of Amyntas that one may consider as medallic rather than as ordinary currency.<sup>75</sup> However, a certain number of important objections can be made against this hypothesis. Firstly, we have to answer the question: if they were prestigious issues, why were they in a hoard found in the territories of nomads but not in the territories of the kings who minted them? Secondly, an exceptional issue should be minted by exceptional sovereigns alone, but a king like Theophilos, to judge from the small number of his coins we know, would not have been so important. On the contrary Apollodotos II and Hippostratos, for whom a considerable number of coins with diversity of types and monograms are known, do not seem to have issued any Attic standard coins. I am well aware of the fact that it is hazardous to base one's reasoning on an *ex absentia* argument which a new find may invalidate at any moment; however, as I will argue later it seems to me that the lack of Bactrian coins in the name of Apollodotos, Hippostratos or any other king who reigned in the Punjab, is due to a historical fact that we can account for.

The second hypothesis, on the contrary, is more acceptable, except for the objection we have already made, that is, that high value coins such as double-decadrachms can hardly be considered as a denomination of common currency. Nevertheless one can always argue that although these issues cannot be considered as common currency meant for ordinary circulation, they may have served in exceptional transactions, since on the one hand they represent a very precise denomination, in this case of Attic standard, and on the other hand, they are identical in legend, monogram and in certain types with the ordinary Indo-Greek issues. Although I do not pretend to settle the question, there are many arguments in favour of accepting the Graeco-Bactrian coins in question as a currency issued by the Indo-Greek kings for their transactions with their neighbours of Bactria. In this way one may easily explain how these coins, minted in the territories south of the Hindu Kush, were found in Bactria, the two isolated specimens of later kings, Philoxenos and Archebios, found in Mazar-i Sharif, being noteworthy. Smaller denominations like drachms of Attic weight (of Antialcidas, our nos. 10 and 11), whose existence is now attested may have been used for small purchases along with the tetradrachms for bigger transactions. The remarkable specimens of the Graeco-Bactrian coins issued by later Indo-Greeks found along with the posthumous imitations of Eucratides



<sup>74</sup> *BBN* 1978, 3: 100.



<sup>75</sup> A.D.H. Bivar considered them as victory medallions, *N. Circ.* (May, 1953): 201-2.

I and Heliocles I of crude style in the Qunduz hoard enable us to make a very important observation: that is, in spite of the differences of style, provenance, monograms, and types, there is one characteristic common to all the coins in this hoard: they were struck according to the Attic standard. Even the two barbarized posthumous coins, which we consider as the most recent issues in the Qunduz hoard, along with the tetradrachm of Hermaeus, are of Attic weight.<sup>76</sup> It seems that even half a century after the conquest of Bactria by the Yüeh-chi the coins of Attic standard were in circulation as a common currency. Is it not possible to imagine, in this context, that the Indo-Greek kings were obliged to mint coins of Attic standard for their transactions with the populations of Bactria, who would have only accepted a currency they were accustomed to?

Our own researches on the attribution of monograms to geographical regions, which confirm, to a certain extent, the propositions already made by G.K. Jenkins<sup>77</sup> and A.D.H. Bivar,<sup>78</sup> enable us to assume that each and every Indo-Greek king who minted coins of Attic weight along with coins of Indian standard had under his control one or many western territories of the Indo-Greek kingdom, e.g. Paropamisadae with Alexandria-Kapisa, Arachosia-Gardez and western Gandhara with Pushkalavati.<sup>79</sup> It is in perfect conformity with a common logic that the territories located in the immediate vicinity of Bactria were in trade relations with their northern neighbours. For Apollodotos II, who overpowered the Indo-Scythian king Maues in Taxila around 80 BC, and his successors Hippostratos (65-55 BC), Dionysios (65-60 BC), Zoilos II (60-35

<sup>76</sup>Their weights are slightly inferior to the normal standard (15.81 g, 15.25 g), but there are very many cases in the same hoard, especially nos. 115 (14.48 g), 106 (15.59 g), of Eucratides' genuine issues.

<sup>77</sup>*JNSI* 1955: 1-26, I entirely agree with Jenkins in his attribution of the following monograms  to Charsadda and  to Taxila.

<sup>78</sup>*NC* 1965: 70-107. I basically agree with A.D.H. Bivar in most of his attributions, but it is quite difficult to accept his attribution of  to Pushkalavati and  to Alexandria, I think it should be exactly the contrary.

<sup>79</sup>These researches were carried out not only on existing sources but also on many unpublished numismatic data. I had the opportunity, thanks to the missions generously offered to me by the U.A. 1222, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (France), to examine many museum collections in Europe and in the U.S.A., and to establish the provenance for many of these coins. The two Paris collections, Cabinet des Médailles and Musée Guimet, are noteworthy. The Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins of the Cabinet des Médailles comprise three major collections: coins of General Allard, former general of Napoleon, who was later in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, were collected mainly in the Panjab; Joseph Hackin, former Director of the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan, bought his coins in Kabul and Peshawar; and the collection of Marc Le Berre, former architect of the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan, was made of coins from Mir Zakah. The collection of the Musée Guimet is composed of Joseph Hackin's private collection, half of it being in the Cabinet des Médailles, and of some specimens from the Begram excavations. The results of these researchers and the catalogues of the above-mentioned collections will be published in the near future.

BC), Apollophanes (35-30 BC) and Strato II and III (30 BC-AD 10), not a single coin of Attic standard is so far attested.<sup>80</sup> Why? As I said earlier, I do not believe that it is a question of an *ex absentia* argument, but rather a fact, for two reasons: firstly the later Indo-Greeks, according to the find spots of their coins, seem to have reigned far away from Bactria, first in the western Panjab with Taxila as capital and then, chased away by Azes I, in the eastern Panjab with Sagala as capital, but never in one of those fringe territories of Bactria; secondly by the end of the reign of Apollodotos II around 70 BC, the western territories, especially Paropamisadae, had already passed into the hands of nomadic tribes who were then minting coins of Indian standard copying the monetary types of Hermaeus, enabling Greeks in the Panjab to make their transactions with their Indo-Greek currency. It seems most improbable, for these reasons, to suppose that these later Indo-Greek kings ever minted coins of Attic standard. In conclusion, I find that there are many convincing arguments for accepting the hypothesis that the Graeco-Bactrian coins were issued by Indo-Greeks as a currency for use for transactions with Bactria.

A possible third hypothesis, which may equally explain the role of these Graeco-Bactrian coins found in Bactria, was conveyed to me recently by G. Le Rider, during several personal communications I had with him. Le Rider would prefer to interpret these issues as tribute made to the nomadic tribes in Bactria by the Indo-Greeks reigning in the neighbouring territories so as to stop their penetration into the Indo-Greek territories. He also drew my attention to various comparable situations in the history of the Hellenistic world. I now wish to examine this hypothesis, and take the responsibility for the commentary that follows. Although one may refer to more than one historical event where Greeks were forced to pay tribute to barbarian tribes, I wish to take one specific case. The states of Asia Minor, and the Seleucid kingdom in particular, had to pay tribute when their dominions were under continuous pressure from the Celtic tribes which had invaded from the north. Despite occasional acts of successful opposition, most of the Greek communities were terrified into paying tribute.<sup>81</sup> Only after several decades did Attalus I of Pergamon finally defy them and refuse, subsequently defeating them.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>80</sup> See my article cited in n. 9.

<sup>81</sup> Livy gives a vivid picture of the invasion: 'The Gauls, a vast horde of men, whether moved by shortage of land or hope of plunder, feeling assured that no people through which they would pass was their match in war, under the leadership of Brennus came into the country of the Dardanians. There strife broke out among them; about twenty thousand men, with Lonerius and Lutauius as their chiefs, seceded from Brennus and turned aside into Thrace. There, when they had penetrated as far as Byzantium, contending against those who resisted and imposing tribute upon those who sought peace, they occupied for a considerable time the coast of the Propontis, holding as tributaries the cities of the district' (xxxviii, 16, 1-3). 'And so great was the terror of their name, their number being also enlarged by great natural increase, that in the end even the kings of Syria did not refuse to pay them tribute' (xxxviii, 17, 13-15). (Translation by Evan T. Sage, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1936); cf. *CAH* VII, 1 (2nd. edn., 1984): 422-5.)

<sup>82</sup> 'Attalus, the father of King Eumenes, was the first of the inhabitants of Asia to refuse,

It is not improbable that the Greeks in the Indian territories would have been under the permanent pressure of the Yüeh-chi, in the northern neighbourhood, who finally overpowered them. One may well imagine that in their desperate effort to keep their kingdom, they may have paid tribute to their enemies, at least to stop temporarily their advance. This is one of the ways one may explain the presence of the large number of Heliocles' coins found in the Qunduz hoard. It is very difficult to assume that all the silver unilingual coins, which have no parallel series of bronze issues, were in circulation as a common currency. So they would have been minted in large quantity to pay tribute to their enemy. As was discussed earlier, the Indo-Greek kings who minted Graeco-Bactrian coins had under their domination one or many bordering provinces south of the Hindu Kush where they would have been in under continuous pressure of the Yüeh-chi. So one may suppose that the Yüeh-chi would have imposed tribute upon the Greeks who sought peace. The double-decadrachms issued by Amyntas, who would have been an immediate predecessor of Hermaeus, can well be interpreted as a desperate effort to dissuade the enemy from penetrating into his territories. One should not forget that the Indo-Greek coins of Amyntas are very few in number compared to his exceptional Graeco-Bactrian issues.

After establishing that the Indo-Greek kings who, like Menander, minted Graeco-Bactrian coins, did not have any possessions north of the Hindu Kush, I have examined three possibilities to account for the existence of the Graeco-Bactrian coins issued in the name of kings who normally should have minted only the bilingual coinages: we have seen that the first one—that these coins were prestige issues—is to be practically excluded. Between the two remaining ones—currency for commercial exchanges with Bactria or tribute paid to menacing neighbours used to the Attic standard—I hesitate to negate one in favour of the other, for both propositions remain, as far as I am concerned, as possible hypotheses, and one cannot pretend to present one or the other as established until further evidence can be provided to make one's choice.

---

and his bold step, contrary to the expectation of all, was aided by fortune and he worsted the Gauls in pitched battle' (Livy, xxxviii, 17, 13-15). See also A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides* (Brussels, 1913), pp. 65, 112; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social & Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford, 1941), (repr. 1953), pp. 33, 43, 555, 578.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- BBN*     *Bulletin de la Bibliothèque Nationale*  
*BMC*     P. Gardner, *A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum: The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India* (London, 1888; repr., 1968).  
*BMQ*     *The British Museum Quarterly*  
*CASE*     A. Cunningham, *Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East* (London, 1884, Delhi-Varanasi, 1970, Chicago, 1969); originally a series of articles in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1868, 1870, 1872, 1873.



- Corpus* A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus of the Indo-Greek Coins* (Calcutta, 1956).
- IG* A.K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks* (Oxford, 1957).
- JNSI* *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.*
- Mionnet* Mionnet, *Description des Médailles antiques, grecques et romaines, Supplément*, VIII (Paris, 1837).
- Mitchiner* M. Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, 9 vols. (London, 1975-6).
- Monnaies hors trésors* P. Bernard, *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum IV. Les monnaies hors trésors. Questions d'histoire gréco-bactrienne* (MDAFA 27, Paris, 1985).
- PMC* R.B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore. I: Indo-Greek Coins* (Oxford, 1914).
- TQ* R. Curiel and G. Fussman, *Le trésor monétaire de Qunduz* (MDAFA 20, Paris, 1965).



PLATE 1: Bopearachchi, Later Graeco-Bactrian Issues.



PLATE 2: Bopearachchi, Later Graeco-Bactrian Issues.



16



17



18



19



20



21



PLATE 3: Bopearachchi, Later Graeco-Bactrian Issues.

## Menander Soter, an Indo-Greek King Chronological and Geographical Observations\*

Numismatists and historians are unanimous in considering that Menander<sup>1</sup> was one of the greatest if not the greatest and most illustrious of the Indo-Greek rulers. The coins in the name of Menander are incomparably more abundant than those of the other Indo-Greek kings.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, apart from the rare

\*Reprinted from *Ménandre Sôter un roi indo-grec: observations chronologiques et géographiques, studia Iranica*, tome 19, 1990, pp. 39-85.

This study could not have been completed without the aid and the permission that were generously given to me by the keepers of numerous museums: Cécile Morrison, director of the Cabinet des Médailles; Dominique Gerin, keeper of the Cabinet des Médailles; J.-F. Jarrige, director of the Guimet Museum; Joe Cribb, curator of the American Numismatic Society, New York; H.D. Schultz, kustos of the Münzkabinett des Staatliche Museen in Berlin; R. Herbert, curator at the Smithsonian Institution. To all of them I express my sincere gratitude. I also owe particular thanks to Claude Rapin, who was kind enough to clarify certain historical facts. And I sincerely thank P. Bernard, A.D.H. Bivar, R. Curiel, K.W. Dobbins, F. Holt and D. Matringe who helped me with their advice and encouragement.

<sup>1</sup> In the author's view there are two homonymous kings with the name Menander, the one qualified as *Sôter* the other as *Dikaïos*; we will return to this at the end of this article. Throughout the article the unqualified term 'Menander', designates Menander (I) *Sôter*.

<sup>2</sup> In collections the coins of Menander are incomparably more abundant than those of all the other Indo-Greek kings: 146 in the Ashmolean Museum, 199 in the British Museum, 198 in the Cabinet des Médailles, 48 in the Fitzwilliam Museum, 34 in the Guimet Museum, 84 in the Smithsonian Institution, 222 at the American Numismatic Society, 65 in the Berlin Museum, 28 in the private collection of Harry Fowler, 9 in the collection of S. Nasher, 13 in various private French collections that came from the Mir Zakah hoard; the great majority of the coins in the collections just cited are unpublished; thanks to the generosity of the keepers of these museums or the private collectors, I was able to personally examine them. To these can be added 66 coins in the Lucknow Museum (*LMC*, nos. 113-78), 26 in the Patna Museum (*Indian Numismatic Chronicle* 1961, nos. 46-71), 142 in the Lahore Museum (*PMC*, nos. 373-514), 23 in the Copenhagen Museum (*SWG Copenhagen*, nos. 289-311), 96 in the Calcutta Museum (*IMC*, nos. 1-96). In the Mir Zakah deposit Menander is represented by 416 coins; if we exclude the coins of Hermaïos, whose 876 coins certainly include a large number of later imitations that the catalogue does not distinguish from the originals, Menander is in the second position in Mir Zakah, just after Apollodotos I, whose power was well established in this region: *Trésors monétaires*, pp. 76-9. In Taxila, where the excavations have uncovered 31 coins, Menander is also in the second position, after Apollodotos II, whose kingdom was centred around this city: *Taxila*, p. 767. In the following hoards, whose distribution by kingdom is known, Menander comes at the head of the list in all cases: Bajaur I = 722 (74,43%) (*IGCH*, no. 1845); Bajaur II = 91 (75,84%) (*IGCH*, no. 1846); Swat Valley Hoard = 200 coins of Menander exclusively (*IGCH*, no. 1837);



but precious references in classical sources, ancient Indian literature also refers to him: Menander is in fact the only Indo-Greek king mentioned in it.

Numismatists and historians are divided concerning the chronology of his reign and the expanse of his territories. For A. Cunningham his reign must be placed between 160 and 140 BCE,<sup>3</sup> while A. von Gutschmid proposes a very late date of 125 to 95 BCE.<sup>4</sup> According to E.J. Rapson,<sup>5</sup> followed by W.W. Tarn,<sup>6</sup> Menander was a contemporary of Eucratides, while A. K. Narain makes him the immediate successor of this ruler.<sup>7</sup> More recently A.D.H. Bivar proposed recognizing him as the successor of Apollodotus I and Antimachos and he considers him a contemporary of Eucratides I.<sup>8</sup>

In the light of new archaeological data from the excavation of Aī Khanoum and the numismatic and textual data, we will try to answer the following questions: What is the date of the reign of Menander? Who were his predecessors, his contemporaries and his successors? Over which territories did he reign and was Sagala his capital?<sup>9</sup> Were there two homonymous kings with the name of Menander?

Let us first examine the information given by the Indian and classical texts about Menander.

The memory of Menander was immortalised by a work named after him, the *Milindapañha* 'The Questions of Milinda', known from a Pāli version.<sup>10</sup>

---

Hazarajat = 108 (90%) (*IGCH*, no. 1842); Dhumtaur = 9 coins of Menander exclusively (*IGCH*, no. 1839); Kutehara = 29 coins of Menander exclusively (*IGCH*, no. 1840); Sonipat = 564 (63,87%) (*IGCH*, no. 1854); Bairat = 16 (64%) (*IGCH*, no. 1850); Pachkora = 40 (40,8%) (*IGCH*, no. 1836). Apart from the hoards just enumerated, there are others for which the exact number of coins of Menander is not precisely known, such as those of Rajjar (*IGCH*, no. 1848); Dudial (*IGCH*, no. 1843); Kangara (*IGCH*, no. 1847) and Saharanpur (*IGCH*, no. 1850). Only the hoard of Mahmand (*IGCH*, no. 1859) included an amount of Menander coins (4), smaller than that of other rulers, for the most part Indo-Scythian. A certain number of the coins found in the hoards later entered museum and private collections.

<sup>3</sup> CASE, pp. 258, 269.

<sup>4</sup> *Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarländer von Alexander dem Grossen bis zum Untergang der Arsaciden*, Tübingen, 1888, p. 104.

<sup>5</sup> CHI, pp. 551-2.

<sup>6</sup> GBI, pp. 133-4, 166-7.

<sup>7</sup> IG, p. 181.

<sup>8</sup> 'The Sequence of Menander's Drachms', *JRAS*, 1970, pp. 123-36.

<sup>9</sup> We touched upon this problem in a paper entitled 'Was Sagala Menander's Capital?', *South Asian Archaeology*, 1989, Papers from the Tenth International Conference of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe, Musée national des Arts asiatiques-Guimet, Paris, 3-7 July 1989, edited by C. Jarrige, Wisconsin, 1992, pp. 327-37.

<sup>10</sup> It is thanks to the publication by V. Trencker of a Pāli manuscript discovered in Ceylon that the *Milindapañha* became known for the first time: *The Milindapañho*, London 1880. This text was translated into English for the first time by T. W. Rhys Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda, Sacred Books of the East*, vols. XXXV-XXXVI, Oxford, part I, 1890 and part II, 1894. The French translation of the *Milindapañha* by L. Finot, *Les Questions de Milinda*, Paris, 1923, only includes the first and oldest part.



Composed in the form of a dialogue in which the king Milinda (Menander) and a Buddhist sage, Nāgasena, discuss the merits of Buddhism, this work gives some information concerning the life of the king. It comprises two clearly distinguished parts. The first is unanimously considered to be the oldest; the second, of a later date, has been the object of many revisions.<sup>11</sup> A Chinese version also exists that approximately corresponds to the first part of the Pāli version.<sup>12</sup> It is believed that this version was created, as was the Pāli version, directly from an original in Prakrit or, more likely, in Sanskrit, which must have been authored in the North-West of India either at the time of Menander or slightly later, roughly between the second half of the 2nd century BCE and the 1st century CE. The Chinese version allows us to control many points of the information given by the Pāli text.

#### THE ROYAL PEDIGREE OF MENANDER

One piece of information given by the *Milindapañha* concerns the family of Menander. The Pāli text explicitly states that he belonged to the *varṇa* ('caste') of the kṣatriya and that his ancestors had been kings.<sup>13</sup> The Chinese version is even more precise: 'The king, father of Mi-lan (Menander), having died at an advanced age, Mi-lan ascended to the throne and became king of the land.'<sup>14</sup> The Pāli version does not have the equivalent of this passage, according to which the accession of Menander to the royal throne happened with every legality and in a tranquil political climate. There is little doubt that we should not attach too much importance to this indication, and should only keep the fact that Menander belonged to the Greek aristocracy, and that he might have had royal blood in his veins.

#### THE PLACE OF BIRTH

The Pāli version of the *Milindapañha* gives us precise information about the place of birth of Menander. To the question of Nāgasena: 'What is the land of your birth, mahārāja?' (*kuhiṃ pana mahārāja tava jātabhūṭi*), Menander answers: 'The *dvīpa* of Alasanda' (*Alasando nāma dīpo, tatthāhaṃ jāto ti*).<sup>15</sup> A further question is more precise: 'What is your natal town, mahārāja?' (*kuhiṃ pana mahārāja tava jātānagaran ti*, to which the answer is: 'It is in the place called *Kalasigāma* (= Sanskrit *Kalasigrāma*) that I was born' (*Kalasigāma nāma, tatthāhaṃ jāti ti*).<sup>16</sup> The Indian terms that we cited need some clarification, as they have often been the source of misunderstandings. The equivalence

<sup>11</sup> L. Finot, op. cit., pp. 1-11; Tarn, chapter 'The *Milindapañha* and Pseudo-Aristeas', in *GBI*, pp. 414-36.

<sup>12</sup> P. Demiéville, 'Les versions chinoises du *Milindapañha*', *BEFEO*, 1924, pp. 1-253.

<sup>13</sup> *Milindapañho*, p. 329.

<sup>14</sup> *BEFEO*, 1924, p. 90.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 82-3.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

between *Alasanda* = Alexandria has never been doubted, but the identification of this Alexandria has given rise to diverging interpretations, influenced both by the translation of the word *dvīpa* and by the distance between this Alexandria and Sagala, the capital of Menander as it is named in both the Pāli and Chinese versions. In the Pāli version the distance is given as 200 *yojana*.<sup>17</sup> E.J. Rapson, by giving the *yojana* the value it has in the Buddhist texts, that is 2.5 English miles, estimates the distance at 500 miles, or 800 km, and identifies this Alexandria as the Caucasian one, that is Begram-Kapisi, for which the distance given corresponds to a satisfactory degree, and which is actually situated on the right bank of the confluence of two rivers, the Ghorband and the Pandshir, that flow down from the Hindu Kush.<sup>18</sup> It is precisely this confluence that is designated by the term *dvīpa*, literally ‘the land between two rivers’, the equivalent of which would be in Persian: *doab*, in French: *Mésopotamie*, and in English: *Mesopotamia*.<sup>19</sup> The interpretation of E.J. Rapson received the vote of the indologists.<sup>20</sup> The Sinologists have proposed a different interpretation, based on the Chinese version, that is quite different from the Pāli text. Alexandria (*A-li-san*) is given as belonging to the land of *Ta-ts’in* (the Hellenic Orient), but there is no reference to Kalisi, and the 200 *yojana* have become 2,000, or the Chinese equivalent to 80,000 *li*.<sup>21</sup> The considerable increase in the distance and the fact that the country of origin of Menander is given in a different passage as being ‘on the shore of the sea’, led P. Pelliot<sup>22</sup> to regard this Alexandria as being the capital of ancient Egypt. He was followed by Demiéville<sup>23</sup> and by the Indologist L. Finot who, in his translation, renders *dvīpa* as ‘île’ [island].<sup>24</sup>

It appears quite clear that preference should be given to the Pāli version. It is in fact improbable that at the beginning of the 2nd century BCE the approximate date of birth of Menander, the Greeks of the Mediterranean basin continued to emigrate to Central Asia and the Indus river basin. The influx of colonists to these Hellenised territories must have ended toward the middle of the 3rd century, at the same time as the Seleucid sovereignty over these provinces. It should be added in favour of the Pāli version that in the Sinhala version of the *Mahāvamsa*, among the Buddhist delegations that visited Ceylon at the invitation of King Dutugamunu (161-137 BCE),<sup>25</sup> a historical figure contemporary with Menander, to witness the inauguration of the great stūpa (Mahāthūpa,

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> *CHI*, p. 550.

<sup>19</sup> I.B. Horner gave the correct translation of *dvīpa*: ‘There is a land between two rivers called Alasanda . . .’ (*Milinda’s Questions*, Part I, London, 1963, p. 114).

<sup>20</sup> Notably Tarn, *GBI*, pp. 99, 243, 460-62 and A.K. Narain, *IG*, p. 74.

<sup>21</sup> *BEFEO*, 1924, p. 168.

<sup>22</sup> *JA*, 1914, pp. 413-19.

<sup>23</sup> *BEFEO*, 1924, p. 168.

<sup>24</sup> *Questions de Milinda*, p. 157, no. 86.

<sup>25</sup> This dating is based on the list of Sinhalese kings given in the *Rajavaliya*, I.V. Suraweera (ed.), Colombo, 1976, p. 106.

now Ruwanveli Dāgoba), constructed by the Sinhalese ruler, was one sent by 'Alexandria, the city of the *Yonas* (*Yonanagarālasandā*)', led by the therā Yonamahadammarakhita, whose very name gives evidence as it means 'the great Greek protégé of dharma'.<sup>26</sup> It is obvious that this Alasanda is not the Egyptian one but that of the plain of Begram – Alexandria of Caucasus.

It is therefore the Pāli text and the interpretation given by Rapson that must be preferred. We will, however, propose a slight change to this translation that will make the Pāli version even more convincing. All the translators from Rhys Davids to I.B. Horner understood that Menander was born in the 'village' of *Kalasi*.<sup>27</sup> A. Foucher suggested that *Kalasi* was a corruption of *Kavisi*, the indigenous name of the Alexandria of the Caucasus, that appears on a bronze series of Eucratides I (Mitchiner 1, 194), struck in the same town and bearing on the reverse a local goddess represented in Greek style.<sup>28</sup> It would be reasonable to be surprised that this Menander, who, even if he was not the son of a king as the *Milindapañha* claims, must have belonged to the Greek aristocracy, was born in a village that bore the name of the capital of the province. In fact the term *gāma* or *grāma*, that has been translated in this

<sup>26</sup> It is unanimously accepted that the *Mahāvamsa* 'The Great Chronicle', was written by the Buddhist monk Mahanama at the request of the Sinhalese king Dathusena (459-77 CE). For the English translation of this chronicle see W. Geiger, *The Mahāvamsa or The Great Chronicle of Ceylon*, London 1912, p. 194: '... and from Alasanda the city of the *Yonas* came the therā Yonamahadammarakhita with thirty thousand *bhikkus*'. The number given here is obviously exaggerated, but the historical fact is in itself probable: E. Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien, des origines à l'ère Saka*, Louvain, 1958, rpt. 1967, pp. 129, 399.

<sup>27</sup> 'There is a village called Kalasi. It was there I was born' (transl. T.W. Rhys Davids, *Questions of King Milinda*, part I, p. 127); 'There is a village called Kalasi, reverend Sir. I was born there' (transl. I.B. Horner, *Milinda's Questions*, part I, pp. 114-15); L. Finot, *Questions de Milinda*, p. 138, translates: 'Le village de Kalasi'.

<sup>28</sup> 'Professor E. J. Rapson found that the name of the town of Kāpiçi with the form Kavisi on the reverse of certain coins of Eucratides; 'Kalasi' given by the texts as the natal town of Menander would appear to be a corruption': *JA*, 1929, p. 175. It must be noted that the bronze coins in the name of Eucratides bearing on the reverse the City Goddess of Kavisi-Begram and the legend *Kavisiye nagara devata* (pl. I, no. 23), to which Foucher alludes, are considered by K.W. Dobbins as posthumous issues. 'The Question of the Imitation of Hermaios Coinage', *EW*, XX, 1970, pp. 307-25. This series of imitations must have been issued during the second half of the first century BCE in Begram and in the Parapamisadae by the nomadic princes who had just expelled the Greeks from the region. Dobbins proposes two main criteria to differentiate the posthumous issues from those struck while Eucratides I was alive: 1. the clearly barbaric style of the types; 2. the monograms: ⚡, ⚡, ⚡, ⚡, and ⚡ which only appear on the barbaric style series. We will examine the question of these posthumous series and the reasons that validate Dobbins hypothesis in a later paper (see 'The Posthumous Coinage of Hermaios and the conquest of Gandhāra by the Kushans', *Gandhāran Art in Context. East-West Exchanges at the Crossroads of Asia*, ed. R. Allchin, B. Allchin, N. Kreitman and E. Errington, 1997, Cambridge, pp. 189-213). Whatever this may show, let us underline that the link drawn by Foucher between the City Goddess that appears on these coins and the town of Kavisi is not affected.

passage as ‘village’, is an integral part of the place-name *Kalasisgāma*, as is clearly indicated by the text: ‘It is in the place called *Kalasisgāma* that I was born’ (*atthi bahante Kalasisgāmo nama, tatthāham jato ti*); Nāgasena poses the question in a similar manner: ‘At what distance is *Kalasisgāma*?’ (*kīva dūro mahārāja ito Kalisisgāmo hotīti?*); and later in the text again: ‘Think then of *Kalasisgāma*’ (*ingha tvaṃ mahārāja Kalasisgāmaṃ cintehīti*) he says to Menander. It is evident from these two phrases that the notion of ‘village’ is no longer present and that it would have been maladroit on the part of Nāgasena to insist on the supposed humble place of birth of his royal interlocutor. We believe that *gāma-grāma* is here simply an element of the toponymic composition that can be applied where appropriate even to cities. Thus in the *Bodhisattvā-vadanakalpalatā* of Kṣemendra, Ptaliputra, the famous capital of the Mauryas, appears under the form ‘*Pātali-grāma*.’<sup>29</sup> Patañjali notes concerning the theoretical distinction between *pura* = town and *grāma* = village that it is local usage that takes precedence and not the grammatical rule.<sup>30</sup> It is normal that in the Buddhist context of the *Milindapañha* Menander says he is a native of the ‘town’ of *Kavisi-Kalasi*, using the local term rather than the Greek name. This last is not, however, completely obliterated: it appears to qualify the ‘natal land’ of the king.<sup>31</sup>

#### SAGALA, THE CAPITAL OF MENANDER

It is also evident from the *Milindapañha* that Menander’s capital was Sagala. It is clearly stated, while alluding to the reincarnation of a novice, who became the king Milinda in Sagala, ‘This novice became, in India, in the town of Sagala, the king Milinda’ (*tesu sāmanero Jambudīpa Sāgalanagare Milindo nāma rājā āhosi*).<sup>32</sup>

A.K. Narain contested the theory that Sagala had ever been the royal city of Menander and founded his objection on the interpretation that he gave to

<sup>29</sup> T.W. Rhys Davids published a fragment of this work, which is dated to the 11th century CE, according to the manuscript of the University of Cambridge: *Questions of King Milinda*, Part II, p. XVII. It should be noted here that Ptolemy (VII, 28) gives us a parallel: the ancient name Anuradhagrāma of the first capital of Ceylon, was later transformed into Anuradhapura, meaning the town of Anuradha. In this example *grāma* is the equivalent of *pura*, and does not have the meaning of village but of town.

<sup>30</sup> ‘Patañjali, in commenting on the distinction between the terms *grāma* and *pura*, remarks that these should not be settled by rules of grammar but by local usage’ (V.S. Agravala, *India as known to Panini*, Lucknow, 1953, p. 63).

<sup>31</sup> We can ask ourselves whether in the inscriptions if Saka in the North-West of India the word *grāma* should systematically be translated as ‘village’. In the *grāma* of Kamti (Kudi) the brother-in-law of the king of Apraca lives (G. Fussman, *BEFEO* 67, 1980, pp. 5-7). Concerning the depositories of reliquaries two other inscriptions always mention an ‘Athaya *grāma*’ that G. Fussman renders as ‘Eighth Village’ remarking, however, that this toponymy recalls Hašt Nagari (the eight towns), the modern name of ancient Pushkalavati: *BEFEO*, 71, 1984, pp. 35, 37, 39.

<sup>32</sup> *Milindapañho*, p. 3.

the two first verses of the versified introduction of the *Milindapañha*: ‘Even if Sāgala proves to be Sialkot, it does not seem to have been Menander’s capital, for the *Milindapañha* states that Milinda repaired to Sāgala to meet Nāgasena, just as the Ganges river goes down to the sea.’<sup>33</sup> Even if this introduction in verse really was part of the Prakrit original—and this is not certain and has even been contested by L. Fiot<sup>34</sup>—we cannot pass over in silence, as Narain does, in favour of these two verses only, the other passages of the text where the reference to Sagala as Menander’s capital cannot be contested. In any case it is in this role that Sagala appears in later Indian tradition, proof that it is clearly thus that the Indian readers of the *Milindapañha* understood it:

*Milindo nāma so rājā Sāgalāyaṃ puruttame  
upagañchi Nāgasenaṃ Gangā va yatha sāgaram.*<sup>35</sup>

The locative form *Sāgalāyaṃ* is not in itself explicit because in Pāli this case indicates both the place to which you are heading (end result) and the place where you are. However it is indisputable that the comparison with the Ganges that goes to the Ocean applies not to Menander going to Sagala, but to Menander going to meet Nāgasena and symbolises the incomparable superiority of Buddhist wisdom compared to the great wisdom of the Greek sovereign. The locative form is there to express the place (Sagala) where the meeting took place between these two wisdoms, the place where the one goes to be lost in the other as do the waters of the sacred river in the Ocean. Even the place of *Sāgalāyaṃ* immediately after the name of the king in the first verse immediately sets the scene. Menander did not arrive from outside to Sagala so as to visit Nāgasena; he was already in the town, which was his capital, and when Nāgasena arrived to settle there he simply came from his palace to the Buddhist hermitage. A passage of the *Milindapañha* describes how the sage Nāgasena came to Sagala to settle in the hermitage of Sankheyya: ‘Nāgasena, passing through townships, towns and cities, arrived in Sagala and settled in the hermitage of Sankheyya with eighty thousand monks;’<sup>36</sup> then comes the visit of Milinda to Nāgasena: ‘Immediately the king climbed onto his chariot and, with his escort of five hundred *Yonaka*, made his way to the hermitage of Sankheyya.’<sup>37</sup> The interpretation that is obviously the most natural is that Menander lived in Sagala where Nāgasena had just settled. Thus we will translate:

<sup>33</sup> *IG*, p. 81.

<sup>34</sup> The introduction of L. Fiot, op. cit., p. 1, that only includes the older part of the *Milindapañha*, is without this versified introduction.

<sup>35</sup> *Milindapañño*, p. 1.

<sup>36</sup> *Questions de Milinda*, p. 50.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

The King called Milinda, in Sagala, the famous city,  
Went to Nāgasena, as the Ganges flows to the Ocean.<sup>38</sup>

The precise location of the site of Sagala remains uncertain. The classical texts (Arrian V, 22-24; Quintus Curtius IX, 1, 14-18) mention Sagala as being the capital of the Kathiaioi to the east of the Hydraotis-Ravi, three days' march from the river, according to Arrian. After a heroic defence, the town was destroyed by Alexander.<sup>39</sup> The *Mahābhārata* places Sagala, the capital of Madras, to the west of Ravi, a position that also seems to be accorded to it by the Xuan Zang itinerary.<sup>40</sup> The stereotyped position that the *Milindapañha* was given to the capital of Menander and which we find, in almost identical terms, applied in Indian literature to other cities offers no help.<sup>41</sup> A. Cunningham, preferring the Xuan Zang itinerary, believed that the town was situated on the hill of Sanglawala-Tiba, to the west of Hydraotis, approximately parallel to Lahore, about 90 km to the west of it.<sup>42</sup> V.A. Smith, adhering strictly to the

<sup>38</sup> In the same manner Rhys Davids (*Questions of King Milinda*, part I, p. 1) translates:

“King Milinda, at Sagala the famous town of yore  
To Nāgasena, the world famous sage, repaired  
(So the deep Ganges to the deeper ocean flows).”

<sup>39</sup> Ptolemy VIII, I, 46, situates Σάγαλα ἡ καὶ Εὐθυμήδια ‘Sagala, also called Euthymedia’ among the town of the region of Hydaspe, which is certainly a mistake on the part of the geographer.

<sup>40</sup> S. Beal, ‘Si-Yu-Ki’ *Buddhist Records of the Western World, Translation from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (AD 629)*, vol I, London, 1906, pp. 165-6: ‘To the south-west of the capital about 14 or 15 li we came to the old town of Sakala (She-Kie-Lo). Although its walls are thrown down, the foundations are still firm and strong. It is about 20 li in circuit. In the midst of it they have built a little town of about 6 or 7 li in the circuit; the inhabitants are prosperous and rich.’ P. Chandra Roy, *The Mahābhārata*, I, Calcutta, 1883: ‘And the mighty hero, proceeding thence to Cakala the city of the Madras, made his uncle Calaya accept from affection the sway of the Pandavas’ (II, p. 94); ‘There is a town of the name of Cakala, a river of the name of Apaga, and a clan of the Vahikas known by the name of the Jarttikas’ (ibid., VIII, 1888, p. 153).

<sup>41</sup> The description of Sagala appears in the Pāli version immediately after the introduction in verse, but in the Chinese version it is found much later in the text and is introduced in a brusque manner. P. Demiéville writes concerning this: ‘The two texts are obviously based on one and the same source and although this banal description seems to be a long cliché, I believe that it was part of the original work and maybe, given its singular position in the Pāli version, it was part of the introduction’ (*BEFEO*, 1924, p. 25). We find an analogous description applied to the city of Kusinara, where the Buddha died, in *Dīgha Mikāya*, translated by Rhys Davis, vol. III, Oxford, 1910, pp. 161-2.

<sup>42</sup> In order to overcome the contradiction between the classical texts on the one hand and the Indian sources and Xuan Zang on the other, A. Cunningham refers to an indication given by Arrian of a backtracking of the army of Alexander after the crossing of the Hydraotis: *The Ancient Geography of India*, London, 1879, pp. 179-91. The Greek text does not allow for such an interpretation.



data of the classical sources, proposes the region of Amritsar to the east of the Hydraotis-Ravi.<sup>43</sup> J. F. Fleet, examining the same sources as Cunningham but based on the similarity between the names Sagala-Sialkot, opted in favour of this latter site, also to the west of the Ravi, but about one hundred km to the north of Lahore.<sup>44</sup> For our part we will give our preference to the identification of Sagala with the town of Sialkot between the Chenab and the Ravi because of the phonetic resemblance between the two terms.

#### THE ATTACHMENT OF MENANDER TO THE BUDDHIST FAITH

In the second part of the *Milindapañha* which, let us recall, is an addition to the original text, Menander, converted to Buddhism by the arguments of Nāgasena and renouncing all his terrestrial ties, abdicated, leaving power in the hands of his son and abandoning his family, so as to achieve the state of *arhant*.<sup>45</sup> The Chinese text mentions nothing of this sort and dryly concludes the dialogue with the departure of Nāgasena.<sup>46</sup> On the other hand according to Plutarch,<sup>47</sup> a source that surpassed the Pāli version both in antiquity and in historical likelihood, Menander died while at war, during a military campaign (ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου). Is this reason to reject the testimony of the *Milindapañha* about the Buddhist faith of Menander? Certainly not, and the text of Plutarch is for this reason even more convincing in that it reports a fact concerning Menander, without understanding it, which is authentically Buddhist: after the death of the king, the cities of the kingdom shared his remains, not without fierce rivalries, and erected monuments in his honour.<sup>48</sup> We can recognise in this text the famous dispute that pitted the Indian kings against each other over the possession of the relics of the Buddha, the partition that followed this and the construction of the monumental reliquaries to house them, that are called the stūpas.<sup>49</sup> Even if this is not just a legend that Plutarch collected, it is dated

<sup>43</sup> *The Early History of India*, Oxford, 4th edn. 1924, p. 78, n. 2.

<sup>44</sup> *Actes du XVI<sup>e</sup> Congrès international des Orientalistes*, Alger, 1905, pp. 164-76. See on this, A. Foucher, *La Vieille Route de l'Inde*. . ., Paris, 1942, p. 398.

<sup>45</sup> 'And afterwards, taking delight in the wisdom of the Elder, he handed over his kingdom to his son, and abandoning the household life for the houseless state, grew great in sight, and himself attained Arhatship.' *Questions of King Milinda*, part II, p. 374.

<sup>46</sup> 'Having finished speaking, Na-Sien desired to leave. So the king rose and bade farewell to Na-Sien' (*BEFEO*, 24, p. 180).

<sup>47</sup> 'When a certain man named Menander, who had been a good king of the Bactrians died in camp, the cities celebrated his funeral as usual in other respects, but in respect of his remains they put forth rival claims and only with difficulty came to terms, agreeing that they should divide the ashes equally and go away and should erect monuments to him in all other cities' *Moralia*, 821, translation by H.N. Fowler, Oxford, 1936, p. 278.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> T.W. Rhys Davids, 'Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta', in *Dīgha Nikāya*, vol. III, Oxford, 1910, pp. 186-91; and also by the same in *Buddhist suttas*, Oxford, 1881, pp. 130-6.

to a period much older than the Pāṇi version of the *Milindapañha*, and it could not have come into existence if the Buddhists did not consider the king a protector of their faith. Does this mean that Menander had adopted Buddhism as his personal faith? Nothing permits us to actually assert this. Did he favour it at the expense of other religions? We cannot exclude the possibility. The emblem of the wheel that appears on an isolated bronze coin of this king, with a palm on the reverse (pl. I, no. 14),<sup>50</sup> might symbolise the *cakravartin*, '(the king) who makes the wheel of law turn', meaning the supreme ruler, but it may also have a Buddhist connotation.<sup>51</sup> We will not object to the hypothesis of a sincere attachment of Menander to the Buddhist faith because of the fact that he died fighting. There is no shortage in history of kings who were faithful to the Buddhist faith and who went to war. One cannot believe that in particular all the petty kings of north-west India who at approximately the period we are discussing multiplied the relic shrines, had renounced the use of force to defend their interests.<sup>52</sup> What is certain is that at the time of Menander Buddhism was already solidly implanted throughout northern India and south-east Afghanistan: in the year 14 of his reign a reliquary was consecrated on the territory of Bajaur.<sup>53</sup> The multiplication of Buddhist offerings from the second half of the first century BCE shows that this religion was already well established. In order

<sup>50</sup> Mitchiner 2, 241. It was Charles Masson who made this bronze known in *JASB*, 1836, pl. XLVII, 7. Since then it has been mentioned many times by numismatists and historians; A. Cunningham, *CASE*, pl. XII, 13, p. 274; P. Gardner, *BMC*, Menander, no. 73, pl. IV, 11; P. Damiéville, *BEFEO*, 1924, p. 35; La Vallée Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas* . . ., Paris, 1930, p. 148; W.W. Tarn, *GBI*, pp. 262-4; A.K. Narain, *IG*, pp. 97-8.

<sup>51</sup> A. Cunningham (*CASE*, p. 274) correctly mentioned these two possibilities, while W.W. Tarn (*GBI*, p. 263) preferred the interpretation that he gave as 'supreme ruler'.

<sup>52</sup> Let us draw attention for example to the fact that Dutugamunu, king of Ceylon, considered a great protector of Buddhism in honour of which he built numerous important constructions whose ruins are still visible today, felt no repugnance in carrying out a bloody war against the Indian king Elara (South India) that occupied the island at that time and killing him with his own hands (*Mahāvamsa*, pp. 170-1). We can further cite a passage of the *Thūpavaṃśya* (Ven. Makuludva Piyaṭana (ed.), Colombo, 1948, p. 126), according to which the king, after a battle during which he had exterminated thousands of Tamils, started to have doubts about his salvation: 'Yes, Lord, I have committed many sins, killing, during this war, approximately eight million Tamils. Is this an obstacle to my entering the superior world?' The Buddhist monks reassured him thus: 'But, great king, you are a man that has carried out many meritorious acts during your previous lives, wishing, during thousands of eons, to reach a higher state. In the future you will become the first disciple of the Buddha Maitreya. Thus you have no place in this circle of reincarnations, you do not have the opportunity to commit any sins.'

<sup>53</sup> This reliquary was discovered 35 km to the North-West of the confluence of the rivers Panjkora and Swat. N.G. Majundar, 'The casket of the reign of Menander', *Epig. Ind.*, XXIV, pp. 1-8; D.C. Sircar, 'A note on the Bajaur casket of the reign of Menander', *Epig. Ind.*, XXVI, pp. 318-21; S. Konow, 'Note on the Bajaur inscription of Menandros', *Epig. Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 52-58.

to have such success Buddhism must have benefited from the protection of the king, but this protection was not necessarily exclusive.

#### THE CONQUEST OF INDIA

Strabo (XI, xi, 11), presents Menander as a conqueror of India: ‘The Greeks who caused Bactria to revolt grew so powerful on account of the fertility of the country that they became masters, not only of Ariana, but also of India, as Apollodorus of Artemita says; and more tribes were subdued by them than by Alexander—by Menander in particular (at least if he actually crossed the Hypanis (Beas) towards the east and advanced as far as the Imaüs [Isamos Jamna]), for some were subdued by him personally and others by Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, the king of the Bactrians. . . .’<sup>54</sup> This text of Strabo where it is stated that the most extensive conquests in India were carried out by Menander, who crossed the Hypanis (Beas) and advanced to the Isamos, is corroborated by a number of Indian sources. The most extended report is given in the *Yugapurāna*, that constitutes one of the chapters of a Sanskrit treaty on astronomy, the *Gārgī Saṃhitā*. The *Yugapurāna*, that recounts in the form of a prophecy certain events of Indian history, says: ‘After this, having invaded Sāketa (a city of Awadh province),<sup>55</sup> the Pāncālas (Doāb) and Mathurā, the viciously valiant Yavanas (here meaning Greeks) will reach Kusumadhvaja (Pāṭaliputra).’<sup>56</sup> According to D.R. Mankad there exists a variant of this passage: ‘The Yavanas, cruel and valiant, with the Pañchalas and the Mathuras, having seized Sāketa, reached Pāṭaliputra’. Both versions in any case speak of an advance of the Greek armies to Pāṭaliputra, the capital of Maghada.<sup>57</sup> The grammarian Patañjali<sup>58</sup> gives as an example of the use of the imperfect tense to indicate an action in the past but of which the writer could have been a witness: *aruṇad Yavanaḥ Sāketam* ‘The Yavana (Greeks) were besieging Sāketa’ and *aruṇad Yavano Madhyamikām* ‘The Yavana (Greeks) were besieging Madhyamika’ (Nagri near Chitor, in the region of the river Chambal, western tributary of the Yamuna). The attribution of this campaign to Menander is compatible both with historical probability—who better than he could carry out this expedition that penetrated right to the heart of the Ganges valley and to Rajasthan?—and with the date of the treaty of Patañjali, that is not older

<sup>54</sup> Translation by H.L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo*, 2nd edn. 1969, Loeb Classical Library, London, pp. 278-81.

<sup>55</sup> La Vallée-Poussin, op. cit., p. 180.

<sup>56</sup> Translation in H. Kern, *The Brhat-Saṃjitā of Varāha-Mihira*, vol. XLVII (Calcutta, 1865), pp.35-40; see also K.P. Jayswal, “Historical Data in the Gārgī-Saṃhitā and the Brahmin Empire”, *JBORS*, 14, 1928, pp. 397-421, and 15, 1929, pp. 129-35.

<sup>57</sup> D.R. Mankad, ‘A critically edited text of the *Yugapurāna*’, *Journal of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society*, 1947, pp. 32-64. On the history of the manuscripts and the different versions of the *Yugapurana* see W.W. Tarn, appendix 4, *GBI*, pp. 452-6, and A.K. Narain, appendix IV, *IG*, pp. 174-9.

<sup>58</sup> Kielhorn, *Mahābhāṣya*, II, pp. 118-19.

than 150 BCE.<sup>59</sup> In his work *Mālavikāgnimitram*,<sup>60</sup> Kālidāsa, classical Sanskrit play writer, alludes to a Greek army which, on the southern bank of the Sindhu river (probably a tributary of the Chambal, which itself flows into the Yamuna) opposed the passage of the sacred horse released during the great sacrifice of the *asvamedhā* celebrated by King Puṣyamitra, of the dynasty of the *Śuṅga*, and who was in the end vanquished. The character which is clearly later than this testimony (we date Kalidasa to the 4th-5th centuries), as well as the nature itself of the context in which it appears, a theatrical piece where the author can take liberties with historical realities, demands prudence, although the date of the event to which it alludes is not incompatible with that of Menander, given that Puṣyamitra, according to the *Purāṇa*, died around 150 BCE.<sup>61</sup>

We are certain in any case that this Greek occupation did not last very long because according to the *Yugapurāṇa*, the troubles between the Greek factions—or dissensions within the coalition itself, if we adopt the interpretation that gives the Pañchalas and the Mathuras as allies of Menander – obliged the invaders to rapidly evacuate the Madhyadeśa after having carried out a cruel war.<sup>62</sup> According to the version given by Jayaswal,<sup>63</sup> the departure of the Greeks was caused by a civil war that broke out in their own kingdom: ‘(But ultimately) the Yavanas, intoxicated with fighting, will not stay in Madhyadeśa: there will be a terrible and ferocious war.’<sup>64</sup>

<sup>59</sup> W.W. Tarn, *GBI*, pp. 145-6 and M.A. Mehendale in *The Age of Imperial Unity (The History and Culture of the Indian People)*, Bombay, 1951, p. 269 and A.K. Narain, *IG*, pp. 82-3, discuss the date unanimously accepted for Patanjali: 150 BCE.

<sup>60</sup> For the French translation of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* see P.E. Foucaux, *Malavika et Agnimitra*, Paris, 1877. Let us here cite the passage that concerns us (pp. 110-11):

‘The king, having seated himself, had the letter read to him.

—Greetings! From the place of sacrifice the general Pouchpamitra to his son Agnimitra residing in Vidica, to whom he wishes a long life, after having embraced him tenderly, communicates to him that he must know this: Having myself been consecrated for the sacrifice of Radjasoūya, and having designated Vasoumitra, escorted by one hundred sons of kings as the guardian of the horse that must be returned at the end of a year, I freely left the horse. And as he ran on the south bank of the Sindhou, he was pursued by a host of Yavana riders. Thus there came a great battle between the two armies (Dhârini showed a great anxiety).

The king: What! There was such an affair? (he ordered that the reading of the letter continue).

After this, the enemies, having been vanquished by the archer, Vasoumitra, the king of the horses, taken by force, was brought back to me.

Queen Dhârini: Now my heart is appeased! (the king ordered that the reading of the letter be completed)...’

<sup>61</sup> E. Lamotte (op. cit., p. 388), places the reign of Pushymitra between 181 to 151 BCE.

<sup>62</sup> Kern, op. cit., p. 38 and Jayaswal, 14, 1928, p. 411.

<sup>63</sup> Jayaswal, *ibid.*, p. 411.

<sup>64</sup> Translation by Jayaswal, *ibid.*, p. 411. G.R. Sharma tried to show traces of the passage of the Greek armies, whose ravages he compares to those caused by an atomic explosion, in the layers of conflagration uncovered in various sites of the Ganges valley and especially at Kausambi. The flippancy of the criteria on which the dating of these layers is based and

From this long discussion we can note the following points:

1. Menander belonged to the Greek aristocracy; he was born in Begram-Kavisi and had Sagala as his capital.
2. Menander favoured Buddhism and was considered by Buddhists to be the protector of their faith.
3. Menander's invasion into the heart of India took place slightly before 150 BCE.

We cannot, however, ignore an enigma posed by these historical testimonies. How is it that a king born in Alexandria of Caucasus, the great capital of the Paropamisadae founded by Alexander the Great himself during the conquest of India, abandoned it in favour of Sagala, a city so far away, cut off from the bastions of Greek power near the Hindu Kush (map 1)? Furthermore, how is it possible to reconcile the abundance of coins bearing the name of Menander in the regions bordering on the Hindu Kush, in other words the Paropamisadae and the Gandhāra regions, and the total absence of monetary finds of this king in the region of Sagala?<sup>65</sup>

An examination of Indian and classical texts shows the complexity of these problems. In order to find a solution, let us turn to the coins, as the history of the kings of Bactria and of North-West India in the Hellenistic period is above all a numismatic history.

#### THE CONTEMPORARIES OF MENANDER
















A.D.H. Bivar,<sup>66</sup> concerning the contemporary kings of Menander, has proposed a diagram based on an evolution of the disposition of the legend of certain Indo-Greek series of Apollodotos I, Antimachos Necephoros and Menander that allows us to place the three sovereigns one after the other in a very precise chronological order. His starting point is the series of hemidrachms of Attic standard with a circular flan of Apollodotos I (pl. I, no. 2), with legends in

---

their geographic dispersion remove any credibility from this adventurous reconstruction: *Reh Inscription of Menander. The Indo-Greek Invasion of the Ganga Valley*, Allahabad, 1980, pp. 12-16; *The Excavations of Kausambi*, 1957-9, Allahabad, 1960, pp. 45-7; B.N. Mukherjee has recently shown that the Brāhmī inscription found in Reh, where Sharma read the name of Menander and which was the departure point of his theory, refers in fact to an anonymous Indo-Parthian sovereign of the end of the 1st century BCE or the beginning of the 1st century CE: *International Association for the Study of the Culture of Central Asia, Information Bulletin*, 11, 1988 (Moscow), pp. 43-8.

<sup>65</sup> This is what can be observed concerning the localisation of coin finds containing coins of Menander: see above, n. 1. With the exception of the Kangara hoard approximately 140 km to the north-east of Amritsar, about which we unfortunately do not possess any details, no coin of this king has ever been found, as far as we know, either isolated or in the hoards between the Chenab and the Satlej, i.e. precisely in the region of Sagala, from which come numerous hoards of the later Indo-Greek kings.

<sup>66</sup> *JRAS*, 1970, pp. 123-36.

Greek and Kharoṣṭhī disposed in a circular manner, with no interruption for the Greek:  and for the Kharoṣṭhī:  (fig. 1). This disposition was imitated by Antimachos Nicephoros on the series with the Nike/King-rider types (pl. I, no. 5), with a slight difference in that the legends are disposed for the Greek:  and for the Kharoṣṭhī: . From there we pass directly to the series of drachms of Menander with the types Bust of Athena/Owl (pl. I, no. 7), and then the series with the types Royal bust seen from behind/Athena Alkidemos (pl. I, no. 8), with the same disposition for the continuous legends, for the Greek: , for the Kharoṣṭhī:  (fig. 1).<sup>67</sup> It is even more interesting to note that the silver series of Antimachos and those of Menander bear the same monograms:  (, ); :  (, ). (fig. 1).<sup>68</sup> These first two series of Menander were followed, according to Bivar, by many series of the same king with the same types as the previous ones, but with discontinuous legends, for the Greek:  and for the Kharoṣṭhī:  (pl. I, nos. 9-13),<sup>69</sup> following a module that was to become the rule for his coins and for the silver series of his successors.

<sup>67</sup> Menander introduced on his silver coinage this reverse type, which is a new type among the Indo-Greeks (pl. I, nos. 8-13; pl. II, nos. 28-31), but well known in Macedonia. This Athena Alkidemos, ‘Protector of the people’, of a clearly archaic style, represented walking with a vigorous gait and brandishing a lightning bolt with her right hand, while with the left she holds a shield, appears for the first time in this form under Antigonos Gonatas (*HN*, 1, p. 2, fig. 14; A.B. Brett, *Catalogue of Greek Coins*, Boston, 1955, pl. 38, nos. 712-3), then under Philip V (*HN*, p. 2, fig. 14; Brett, *Cat. Greek Coins*, pl. 38, no. 716); see also L. Lacroix, *Les reproductions de statues sur les monnaies grecques. La statuaire archaïque et classique*, Liège, 1949, pp. 116-21. According to A.B. Brett (‘Athena “Alkidemos” of Pella’, *ANS MN*, 1950, pp. 55-72), this coin type is a faithful copy of the statue of Athena Alkidemos that was housed in the goddess’s temple in Pella, the capital of the Kingdom of Macedonia. It must however be noted that the Athena that appears on the reverse, as a secondary symbol, on the tetradrachms of Alexander of Amphipolis and on the coins of Pella, brandishes not a lightning bolt, but a lance (*ANS MN*, 1950, pl. X, nos. 1-2). It is certain that the Macedonian Alkidemos was an Athena in a warrior pose, attacking, but nothing allows us to decide whether her weapon was a lightning bolt, as on the coinage of Antigonos Gonatas, or the lance as on the series of Alexander, Ptolemy I (*BMC, Ptolemies*, pl. I, nos. 2, 5, 6, 8), of Demetrios Poliorcetes (*ANS MN*, 1952, pl. XI, 9) or, among the Seleucids (Seleucos I: *WSM*, Pl. VI; Antiochos I: *ESM*, 13-14; Antiochos II: *WSM*, Pl. XLIX, 10-13; Achaïos: *ibid.*, pl. LX, 1-2). For Tarn (*GBI*, p. 261) the choice of this type by Menander manifests his desire to imitate Alexander, who, however, used it, as we have already noted, but briefly, not as a type in the full sense of the term but in the form of a symbol. A.B. Brett (*loc. cit.*, p. 65) proposes a very similar interpretation, according to which Menander wanted to present himself as an Alexander, like him a conqueror of India. It is doubtful that this image, which is so rare on the coinage of Alexander, could have evoked memories of the conqueror better than the Zeus aetophoros or the head of Heracles. We believe, rather, that it is an affirmation of the Macedonian origins of Greek power in Central Asia.

<sup>68</sup> Compare Mitchiner 1, 135, a-e for Antimachos Nicephoros and Mitchiner 2, 213, a-c and 2, 220, a-d, f, for Menander.

<sup>69</sup> Mitchiner 2, 221-26, 214-18.



The change that we observe between these two distinct groups of Menander—with a continuous legend and with a discontinuous legend—cannot be due to chance and must be considered to have a chronological sequence. We will add to the difference in the disposition of the legends other indications that allow us to presume that there exists a chronological gap between these two groups.

1. The first group is characterised, as we have mentioned, by the presence of three monograms  $\mathfrak{H}$ ,  $\mathfrak{A}$  and  $\mathfrak{K}$  that we also find on the coins of Antimachos Nicephoros, while the second group bears, apart from the three former monograms, a number of new monograms  $\Sigma$ ,  $\mathfrak{R}$ ,  $\mathfrak{A}$ ,  $\mathfrak{E}$  ( $\mathfrak{E}$ ,  $\mathfrak{E}$ ),  $\mathfrak{X}$ ,  $\mathfrak{I}$ ,  $\mathfrak{H}$  ( $\mathfrak{H}$ ),  $\mathfrak{Y}$ ,  $\mathfrak{X}$  (fig. 1).

2. We can observe, in the second group, the introduction of a new denomination, a bilingual tetradrachm of the Indian weight of 9,8 g with discontinuous legends that will henceforth become, as a rule, the largest silver denomination in the bilingual coinages of the Greek kings that succeeded Menander (pl. I, no. 13).

3. We can also observe a radical change in the bronze coinage. A first group of bronze coins bearing the types Helmeted bust of Athena/Shield (pl. I, no. 15) and Helmeted bust of Athena/Owl (Mitchiner 2, 235) is characterised by an average weight of 9,60 g and average dimensions of 21 × 21 mm, which correspond exactly to the bronze coins of Antimachos Nicephoros (pl. I, no. 6). This first group of bronze coins is characterised by the same monograms  $\mathfrak{H}$ ,  $\mathfrak{A}$  and  $\mathfrak{K}$  as the first group of silver coins. In the second group of bronze coins, apart from the appearance of new monograms  $\mathfrak{R}$ ,  $\mathfrak{E}$  ( $\mathfrak{E}$ ),  $\mathfrak{I}$ ,  $\mathfrak{H}$ ,  $\mathfrak{X}$  we see the introduction of new denominations that bear a Greek letter that corresponds to distinct weights and dimensions:

A = 2,75 g and 14 × 14 mm (Head of elephant/Club, pl. I, no. 16);

B = 5,5 g and 18 × 18 mm (Helmeted bust of Athena/ Standing Nike, pl. I, no. 17);

$\Delta$  = 11 g and 22 × 22 mm (Elephant/Goad, pl. I, no. 18);

H = 22 g and 26 × 26 mm (Bust of king/Dolphin, pl. I, no. 19).<sup>70</sup>

The most convincing way to explain the marked differences between these two groups of coins of Menander is to suppose that between them a great

<sup>70</sup> D.W. Mac Dowall has shown in a very convincing manner that the letters A, B,  $\Delta$  and H that appear on the bronze coins of Menander combined with the principal monograms and which A.D.H. Bivar (*JRAS*, pp. 123-36) had interpreted as numbers of the years of the reign, are nothing but the indications of weight: *Acta Iranica*, 1970, pp. 131-2; see also P. Bernard, *Monnaies hors trésors*, pp. 98-9. We cannot here enter into the difficult question of the meaning of the monograms on the Indo-Greek coinage. We will content ourselves with the indication that in our opinion the monograms do not represent either the names of the magistrates, or the names of the cities, but that they are most probably the “Officine” of the enterprises to which the state leased out the minting of coins. The different variants that all present a common nucleus, e.g. E,  $\mathfrak{E}$ ,  $\mathfrak{E}$ ,  $\mathfrak{E}$  could evoke various minters working for the same enterprise.

political upheaval occurred. The coinage of Eucratides offers a clue that allows us to explain what this was.

#### THE COINAGE OF EUCRATIDES

It is the famous and unique gold coin of twenty staters of the Cabinet des Médailles of Paris bearing the monogram  $\text{ⲙ}$  (pl. II, no. 26).<sup>71</sup> When Chabouillet published this coin he noticed underneath the beginning of the legend  $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ}$  disposed in a semi-circular manner  $\curvearrowright$ , with the traces of certain letters engraved horizontally. We were able to personally examine the exactitude of the reading he made of this:  $\text{ΜΕΓΑ[ΛΟΥ]}$ .<sup>72</sup> In order to explain this hesitation in the engraving, we must examine the monetary series of Eucratides I that preceded this exceptional issue. The first silver unilingual series of Eucratides I with the types Bust of the sovereign/Prancing Dioscuri (Mitchiner 2, 168-9) bear the legend  $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ}$  disposed in two horizontal lines above and below the Dioscuri:  $\text{↔}$  (pl. I, no. 20). They were struck with the monograms  $\text{ⲙ}$ ,  $\text{ⲙ}$  and  $\text{ⲙ}$ . The following series (pl. I, no. 22) are characterised by the legend  $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ/ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ}$  disposed  $\curvearrowright$ , as on the gold coin of twenty staters (pl. II, no. 26). This second group, with unilingual and bilingual series, is characterised by a multiplicity of monograms, and notably  $\text{ⲙ}$ ,<sup>73</sup>  $\text{ⲙ}$ <sup>74</sup> and  $\text{ⲙ}$ ,<sup>75</sup> which do not appear on the coins of the first group. We must add that these same monograms  $\text{ⲙ}$ ,  $\text{ⲙ}$  and  $\text{ⲙ}$  are also found on the bilingual coins of Antimachos Nicephoros and of Menander, which come exclusively from the territories to the south of the Hindu Kush. The mints represented by these three monograms are thus outside Bactria.<sup>76</sup> Justin states very clearly that Eucratides I conquered India

<sup>71</sup> This gold coin weighing 168,06 g is the largest gold denomination known in Antiquity: A. Chabouillet, *RN*, 1867, pl. XII = Mitchiner, 1, 175.





<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 284-385 and also pl. XII.

<sup>73</sup> This monogram  $\text{ⲙ}$  appears only on the bilingual silver coins of Eucratides I (pl. I, no. 21). It had been incorrectly read by Mitchiner (1, 188) as  $\text{ⲙ}$ ; let us note that the two extremities of the central letter that is a Y (*upsilon*) do not join the upper extremities of the H (*eta*). It may be a variant of the family of monograms represented on the coins of Antimachos Nicephoros and Menander by  $\text{ⲙ}$ ,  $\text{ⲙ}$  and  $\text{ⲙ}$ .





<sup>74</sup> The monogram  $\text{ⲙ}$  is present on the silver unilingual coins of Eucratides I (Mitchiner 1, 177, ee) as well as on the bilingual bronze coins (pl. II, no. 24). It is also attested on the coins of Eucratides I on an unpublished unique silver bilingual coin that was acquired by the Cabinet des Médailles in 1892 (fig. 1).





















<sup>75</sup> This monogram  $\text{ⲙ}$ , although not yet discovered on the silver bilingual coinage of Eucratides I (pl. II, no. 25), is, however, present on the unilingual silver coins (Mitchiner 1, 177, dd) and on the bilingual bronze coins (Mitchiner 1, 190, k).

<sup>76</sup> On the finds of Menander's coins see n. 2. Antimachos Nicephoros is especially well represented in the two hoards of Bajaur I (*IGCH*, no. 1845): 152 coins and Bajaur II (*IGCH*, no. 1846): 17, in the Hazarajat hoard (*IGCH*, no. 1842): 5, and also in the enormous deposit of Mir Zakah where we have 133 coins of this sovereign (*Trésors monétaires*, p. 75), to which are added 13 pieces of the Le Berre collection, now in the Cabinet de Médailles,

(XLI, 6). Eucratides I thus seized the territories represented by the three monograms ,  and . The gold coin of twenty staters of the Cabinet des Médailles was precisely struck with one of them . It is probable that Eucratides after having conquered the territories to the south of the Hindu Kush, the Paropamisadae and the Gandhāra, decided to celebrate his victory with a commemorative medal, adding to the simple title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ the adjective ΜΕΓΑΣ. The engraver charged with the execution of this medal who had never had the possibility to create a die of such great dimensions must have, as was his custom, inscribed the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ on a horizontal line above the Dioskouroi (let us remember that on the previous issues of Eucratides I the legend was engraved horizontally [pl. I, no. 20]). After having realised that the two words were too cramped he rearranged them, so as to give them more space, in a semi-circle, while leaving the name of the king above in a horizontal line as it was on the preceding series. The badly erased traces that we can still distinguish on this gold piece are from the first arrangement of the legend.<sup>77</sup>

also from the same find. Hackin noted the presence of coins of this king at Begram, which is corroborated thanks to the coins in his collection, of which 10 were acquired by the Cabinet des Médailles and 5 by the Guimet Museum, all having been bought, according to his notes, in Kaboul. The absence of coins of Antimachos Nicephoros in Taxila is even more significant given that the number of the Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins found in the excavations of the site is far from negligible (207 coins: *Taxila*, pp. 766-7).

<sup>77</sup> This is not the only example of an alteration during the striking in the coinage of the Greek kings of Central Asia and of North-West India. It is also the case of the double decadrachms of the Attic standard of Amyntas, the largest denomination known in Antiquity. This exceptional issue was discovered in the Qunduz hoard. As R. Curiel noted, the two coins with the types Bust of the king/Seated Zeus holding an Athena with his r. hand (*Trésor de Qunduz*, nos. 619-20) were struck with the same dies. We can distinguish on the reverse of no. 620 a double series of dots in a circle and concentrically below AMYNTΩY, which does not appear on no. 619, despite it being in mint condition. The same observation can be made regarding the coin no. 621 where double series of dots can be seen below the king's name; however most of these dots are no more there on the other two coins (nos. 622 and 623) struck with the same reverse die depicting the City Goddess. How can we explain this peculiarity? Engravers have the habit of marking with dots the placing of the letters of the legend. The traces of dots that we can see on coin no. 620 indicate the disposition  originally planned by the engraver, who, for a reason that we cannot know, decided at the last minute to change the arrangement of the legend to ; He struck a first series of coins, as no. 620 bears witness, with the reverse die on which the traces of the hallow dots had not been carefully removed. He then reworked the die so as to get rid of the annoying traces completely. The result of this correction is the series to which no. 619 belongs. We will cite an analogous case, which is directly related to the subject of our study. We have encountered numerous drachms of the series of Menander with the types Diademed bust of the sovereign/Athena Alkidemos (Mitchiner 2, 215) where it can be seen quite clearly that there are traces of dots arranged in a continuous circle  outside the discontinued legend , as if the engraver at first wanted to imitate the disposition of the legend of the first series of the king. We illustrate here, to give an example, a drachm of Menander from the Guimet Museum (pl. I, no. 12).

It seems to us that, typologically, the second group of coins of Eucratides I with the legend disposed  should be considered as forming the natural transition between the two groups of Menander, the first disposed  and the second  (fig. 1). One series of Eucratides I shows even more clearly that it prefigures the arrangement adopted on the second group of Menander. This is the series where Eucratides commemorates his parents (pl. II, no. 27); the reverse legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ / ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ is disposed , meaning from 10:00 to 2:00 and from 7:00 to 5:00 which is almost the same as Menander 9:00 to 3:00 and 7:00 to 4:00. If the order that we propose is correct, we must accept that Eucratides I conquered all the territories of Menander, as the three monograms , , and  that are found on the coins of Menander, appear on the coins of Eucratides I, at least for a certain period (fig. 1). It is one of the main mints of Menander , situated to the south of the Hindu Kush, that was responsible for the striking of the exceptional series of the twenty stater; and the disposition of the legend  that was adopted for this medal led to the second group of unilingual and bilingual coins of Eucratides I. The continuation of the same monograms , , and  and the conjoined appearance of new monograms , , , , , , , and  in the second group of Menander that is characterised by a new disposition of the legend influenced by that of Eucratides I, as well as the introduction of tetradrachms of Indian weight and of new denominations for the bronze coins, allow us to suppose that Menander managed not only to re-conquer the territories that had been seized from him by Eucratides I, but also to enlarge his domain.

It is now clear that Eucratides I should be considered a contemporary of Menander and that the limits of the reign of the latter must be defined in relation to the former whose dating is almost certain. We know from the passage of Justin, that Eucratides ascended to the throne at approximately the same time (*eodem ferme tempore*) as Mithridates I of Parthia, that he gained his power by seizing it from the legitimate ruler Demetrios, that he conquered India and was assassinated by his own son while returning from his Indian lands.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Justin, XLI, 6: 'Almost at the same time that Mithridates ascended the throne among the Parthians, Eucratides began to reign among the Bactrians; both of them being great men. But the fortune of the Parthians, being the more successful, raised them, under this prince, to the highest degree of power; while the Bactrians, harassed with various wars, lost not only their dominions, but their liberty; for having suffered from contentions with the Sogdians, the Arachosians, the Drancae, the Arei and the Indians, they were at last overcome, as if exhausted, by the weaker Parthians. Eucratides, however, carried on several wars with great spirit, and though much reduced by his losses in them, yet, when he was besieged by Demetrius king of the Indians, with a garrison of only three hundred soldiers, he repulsed, by continual sallies, a force of sixty thousand enemies. Having accordingly escaped, after a five months' siege, he reduced India under his power. But as he was returning from the country, he was killed on his march by his son, with whom he had shared his throne, and who was so far from concealing the murder, that, as if he had killed an enemy, and not his father, he drove his chariot through his blood, and ordered his body to be cast out unburied.' Justinus: *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus* 'Philippic histories', trans. Rev. J.S. Watson (1853).

The date of the accession to the throne of the Parthian Mithridates I, in 171 BCE, applies then to the adoption of the royal title by Eucratides. Eucratides was assassinated while he was returning from India, by his own son whom he had elevated to the throne following a custom that was well known among the Seleucids.<sup>79</sup> The date of his death is approximately known thanks to a financial inscription on a vase of the treasury of Aī Khanoum, dated to the 24th year of an era that P. Bernard rightly identified as the era of Eucratides (and thus at about 145 BCE).<sup>80</sup> This date coincides with the destruction of the treasury and of other edifices of the town and its abandonment by the Greek population. Whatever the precise reasons for this abandonment (flight faced with an invasion of nomads or a war between Greek factions), the fact that it happened must probably be put in relation with a period of troubles that could easily have been triggered by an event of the importance of the murder of Eucratides I. We can thus accept that the reign of this sovereign ended during the 24th year of his era or immediately afterwards, i.e. around 145 BCE.

In what measure can we determine the extension of the conquest of Eucratides I to the south of the Hindu Kush? The excavations have brought to light coins of this king at Begram<sup>81</sup> and at Taxila.<sup>82</sup> The explorers and collectors Masson,<sup>83</sup>

<sup>79</sup> We could be tempted to consider that this was also the case for the Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek dynasties, given that from the 2nd century BCE there were many sovereigns that ruled simultaneously. If this were the case, we would have to accept an essential difference with the Seleucid practice. Among these latter the son is, effectively, frequently the throne, but does not strike coins in his own name and with his own types before the death of his father. We only know of two exceptions to this practice: on the one hand the issues struck jointly by Seleucos I and his son, the future Antiochos I, in Bactra (*ESM*, pp. 864-6 and 672-4) and at Seleucis on the Tigris (A. Houghton, *Coins of the Seleucid Empire from the Collection of Arthur Houghton*, New York, 1983, no. 946); on the other hand the tetradrachms with the portrait of the future Antiochos V struck at the end of the reign of his father Antiochos IV that had named him viceroy under the care of his tutor Lysias before undertaking the expedition to Persis (?) where he was to meet with his death (A. Houghton and G. Le Rider, *RSN*, 1985, pp. 73-85).

<sup>80</sup> P. Bernard, 'La fin d'Eucratide I. Son ère', in *Les monnaies hors trésors*, pp. 97-105. See also Cl. Rapin, 'Les inscriptions économiques de la trésorerie hellénistique d'Aī Khanoum (Afghanistan)', *BCH*, 1983, pp. 315-81, esp. 319-20.

<sup>81</sup> The excavations carried out by R. Ghirshman at Begram brought to light 19 coins of Eucratides I representing 38.77 per cent of the total of the coins of the Greek period: *Bégram (MDAFA, 12)*, Paris, 1946, p. 85. A bronze bilingual coin (Mitchiner, 1, 190) was found in the excavation of the Shotorak monastery: J. Meunier, *Shotorak*, p. 68. The excavations at Butkara brought to light one bronze coin with the Dioskouroi type: R. Göbl, *A Catalogue of Coins from Butkara I*, Rome, 1976, no. 9, p. 21. At the museum of Kandahar, one bronze coin (Mitchiner, 1, 190); D.W. Mac Dowall, *Afghan Studies*, 1978, p. 71; and in the museum of Herat one drachm (Mitchiner, 1, 169): *ibid.*, 1979, p. 48.

<sup>82</sup> Four bronze coins, *Taxila*, p. 767 (type Mitchiner 1, 190).

<sup>83</sup> In 1833 Ch. Masson collected 70 bronze coins of Eucratides I in Begram, of which only one is unilingual (Mitchiner, 1, 186); the other 69 coins are bilingual, of which 66 are of the Mitchiner, 1, 190 type; 1 of the type Mitchiner, 1, 193; 2 of the type Mitchiner, 1, 195: *JASB*, 1834, pp. 156, 162, 164 and 165. For the 92 coins collected in 1834 (*JASB*,

Cunningham<sup>84</sup> and Haughton<sup>85</sup> report that the coins of Eucratides I are frequent in the regions of Kabul, Begram, Kandahar and Seistan.

In the Aī Khanoum treasury a plaque was discovered made of nacre with incrustations of coloured glass of Indian origin which seems to represent an episode of the myth of Śakuntalā Cl. Rapin assigns the same origin to a rich material of semi-precious stones that probably made up the decoration of a throne or a bed. He sees in these objects, as well as in the coins with multiple countermarks that were preserved in the same building, the product of tributes or loot carried off by Eucratides I after one of his campaigns in India.<sup>86</sup> The economic inscriptions on the recipients that made up the registry of this same treasury of Aī Khanoum give us information concerning the successive payments made toward the end of the reign of Eucratides I. According to Cl. Rapin an inscription found on a pitcher ‘κασαπανα ταξαννά’, refers to the *karṣapāna* (coins with multiple stamps) of Taxila. The second term, ταξαννά, might be, according to him, a toponymic adjective with the Greek suffix—ήνός that we find in the administrative subdivisions of the Seleucid world. An identification of the radical ταξα—with the region of Taxila (Takṣaśilā) cannot be excluded, especially as 14 of the 24 coins with multiple stamps collected in the treasury, as well as 545 of the 677 such coins that come from a hoard discovered in the proximity of the administrative zone of the palace were issued by the mints of this capital of the North-West of India.<sup>87</sup>

We can then, without running too great a risk of error, claim that the kingdom of Eucratides I stretched to Taxila. It is in this context that we can recall the seductive hypothesis put forward by P. Bernard: observing the rarity of the Greco-Bactrian bronze coins and the Indo-Greek silver coins of this king, within a coinage that was very rich, P. Bernard asked himself, not unreasonably, whether this ruler had not had the intention to homogenise his monetary issues,

---

1836, p. 20) and the 107 of 1836 (*ibid.*, p. 547), no precise information is given. The collection of the groups made in 1836 and 1837 is largely superior to those of the preceding years (13,474 bronze coins in 1836, 60,000 in 1837: Ch. Masson, *Narrative*, 3, p. 149), but we are ignorant of the details.

<sup>84</sup> A. Cunningham gives us the information that he was able to obtain on this matter: ‘I am able to vouch, from my own experience, that the coins of Eukratides, which Masson found in thousands at Begram, are rare in the Punjab. I can add also that in Captain Hasell’s and Major Nuthall’s collections, which were made between Peshawar and Lahore during the Afghan campaign, there was not a single coin of Eukratides, whilst of Apollodotus and Menander there were numerous specimens. On the other hand, the coins of Eukratides in the collections of Lady Sale, Lieut. Combe and Dr. Chapman, were all procured at Kabul and Begram, or from Bokhara and Badakshan, while those of Stacy and Hutton were obtained in Kanahar and Seistan’: *CASE*, p. 177.

<sup>85</sup> According to Haughton the coins of Eucratides are abundant in the regions of Nariab and Kohat: *NC*, 1943, p. 57.

<sup>86</sup> Cl. Rapin, ‘La trésorerie hellénistique d’Aī Khanoum’, *Revue Archéologique*, 1987, pp. 42-69, esp. p. 61.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55.



by striking silver coins following the Greco-Bactrian standards.<sup>88</sup> In making the populations of the south of his empire used to no longer handling anything but Greco-Bactrian silver and those of the north to no longer using anything but Indo-Greek bronze coins—let us recall the discovery of 11 bronze bilingual coins at Aī Khanoum—, he may have wanted to communicate to them the feeling that they belonged to a political community that was highly structured.<sup>89</sup> This monetary uniformity was then the expression of a great imperial plan. Nothing speaks more fluently of the grandeur of this king and better justifies the parallel drawn by Justin with the great Mithridates I than the abundance of his coinage, which circulated even in the Near East,<sup>90</sup> and was issued by a particularly high number of mints, than the choice, as a personal emblem, of an original type (Victorious Dioskouri or their twin bonnets), and the extraordinary striking of a gold coin of twenty staters.

#### THE CHRONOLOGY OF MENANDER

Let us return to Menander and let us try to establish in this context the historical events that occurred during this period. It seems to be around the middle of his own reign (170-145 BCE) that Eucratides I extended his power to North-West India. If we believe Justin, the usurper Eucratides needed some time to establish his power in Bactria that he had seized from its legitimate ruler Demetrios II. The first series of coins of Eucratides I with the simple legend  $\Rightarrow$  ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ corresponds to this period. The invasion by Eucratides I of the territories of Menander to the south of the Hindu Kush must have occurred around 155-150 BCE. This date corresponds approximately to the one we attribute to the military expedition that Menander made to the heart of India, forcing his way to Pāṭaliputra.

By joining the numismatic data to the testimonies of the texts, we start to have some idea of what the conflict between Eucratides and Menander had been. When Menander engaged in a bloody war in the heart of India, Eucratides I took advantage of the situation to invade his kingdom. This may be the “civil war” between the Greeks that is mentioned by the *Yugapurāṇa*; it explains why Menander was obliged to interrupt his conquest of the Ganges valley and had to return abruptly to face the aggressor. The two adversaries clashed in a terrible battle. Menander was the loser of this conflict. He only conserved

<sup>88</sup> *Monnaies hors trésors*, pp. 101-2.

<sup>89</sup> The hoard of 1973 of Aī Khanoum (C.Y. Petitot-Biehler, *RN*, 1975, pp. 40-1) contained a tetradrachm of the Mitchiner, 1, 177 type; the hoard of 1974 had 8 silver coins (Fr. Holt, *RN*, 1981, p. 17, nos. 130-7), as follows: 1 = Mitchiner, 1, 168; 4 = Mitchiner, 1, 177; 1 = Mitchiner, 1, 178; 2 = Mitchiner, 1, 182. Among the coins found outside the hoards there is one silver coins of the type Mitchiner, 1, 180; 11 bronze bilingual coins of the type Mitchiner, 1, 191; P. Bernard, *Monnaies hors trésors*, nos. 172-83.

<sup>90</sup> See the study by P. Bernard, ‘La diffusion du monnayage d’Eucratide I hors de l’Asie Centrale’, *Les monnaies hors trésors*, pp. 107-13.

Sagala and its region in the eastern extremity of his old lands. A passage of the dialogue that the *Milindapañā* has him hold with Nāgasena may bear witness to this dark time of his reign when he was dispossessed by Eucratides I of the greater part of his kingdom. According to the *Milindapañā*, Menander was looking for a hermit or a Brahman that he could talk to so as to help him resolve his doubts: 'So the king Milinda thought: 'In reality this Jambudvīpa is empty! In reality this Jambudvīpa is the chaff! There is no one here, a hermit or a Brahman, who can discuss with me and resolve my doubts.'<sup>91</sup> After a long conversation during which Nāgasena advances all possible arguments to convince the king, the Buddhist sage wonders: 'King Milinda is certainly satisfied, but he does not show it.'<sup>92</sup> It is then that we learn the real reason for the profound dissatisfaction of Menander: 'Like a lion that is held captive in a golden cage stretches its neck toward the outside, thus, although I live among people, I aspire to solitude. But if I quit the world for the religious life, I will not live long, because I have many enemies.'<sup>93</sup> This passage, at the end of the original version of the *Milindapañā*, paints Menander as being prey to a strong unease faced with his enemy and this could be the unease of a ruler menaced by his adversary. It would seem then that Sagala and its region constituted the principal territory of Menander during the period when the rest of his kingdom had fallen into the hands of Eucratides I. In Sagala, Menander was nothing more than a beleaguered sovereign. This explains the total absence of his coins in this province.

The fact that in the regions situated between the Chenab and the Satlej the monetary hoards contain exclusively issues of the last Indo-Greek kings, Zoilos II, Dionysius, Apollonphanes, Strato II and III, whose coinages are, by their type (Athena Alkidemos), closely related to those of Menander, confirms Sagala in its role as the final bastion of the last Greek rulers of North-West India faced with the assaults of the Indo-Scythians, and this bastion did not fall, in its turn, before about 10 CE under the blows of Rajuvula.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>91</sup> *Questions de Milinda*, p. 26.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.* p. 146. Concerning this A. Foucher correctly wrote: '... the author stretches the respect of historical likelihood to the point of putting in the mouth of the ruler the compelling reasons that in any case would obstruct him, even if the fancy took him, to follow to the end the longing of his heart' ('A propos de la conversion au bouddhisme du roi indo-grec Ménandre', *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XLIII, 1943, pp. 259-95).

<sup>94</sup> We have shown that, contrary to the thesis of A.K. Narain, the history of the Greek kingdoms of Central Asia and of North-West India does not end with the reign of Hermaios in the region of Begram, but more than half a century later with the joint rule of Strato II associated with his son in the region of Sagala, around 10 CE: 'Les derniers souverains indo-grecs: une autre hypothèse', *Colloque International sur l'Asie Centrale préislamique*, Paris, novembre 1988. This paper appeared after the publication of the present article in *Histoire et Cultes de l'Asie Centrale pré-islamique*, ed. Fr. Grenet, Paris, 1988, pp. 235-42.

The assassination of Eucratides I by his own son must have provoked a grave political crisis throughout the empire.<sup>95</sup> Having inherited a Bactria amputated of its territories to the north of the Oxus and of the region of Aī Khanoum, Heliocles I, the successor of Eucratides I, did not manage to have his power recognised over the territories to the south of the Hindu Kush.<sup>96</sup> This was the opportunity for Menander to re-conquer the territories of his kingdom he had lost and thus to become the supreme monarch of the totality of the Indo-Greek territories. This re-conquest is marked by a monetary reform. Eucratides I had wanted to homogenise the currency and accustom the populations of the south of his empire to no longer using Greco-Bactrian silver and those in the north to no longer using the Indo-Greek bronze coins. Menander, for his part, introduced the tetradrachm of the Indian standard (9,80 g) as well as a new standard for the bronze coins.

The small number of coins of the first group of Menander<sup>97</sup> on which the legends are disposed ☉ and ☊, and which we attribute to the period that

<sup>95</sup> We will deal with this episode in a forthcoming paper. Concerning the identity of the murderer, historians are split into two camps. On the one hand those – and these are the most numerous—who accept the version given by Justin (XLI, 6) according to which Eucratides I was assassinated by his own son, although opinions diverge concerning his name. On the other hand are those who believe that the murderer of Eucratides was the son of his enemy Demetrios II.

Among the supporters of the first hypothesis we can cite Mionnet, *Description des Médailles Antiques, Grecques et Romaines, Supplément VIII*, Paris, 1837, p. 470; for him the patricidal son is Heliocles; by adopting on his coinage the title *dikaïos*, he wanted to justify his act as being that of the killer of an enemy of the state and not that of a father. R. Rochette, *Journal des savants*, 1836, p. 130 categorically refuses the hypothesis of Mionnet: ‘... this idea is so extraordinary that it does not deserve a serious discussion’, and he suggests the name of Eucratides. A. Cunningham, *CASE*, pp. 184-5, proposes the name of Apollodotos (he does not distinguish the two homonymous kings). For A.K. Narain, *IG*, p. 72, it was in fact Plato; the epithet *Epiphanes* that he bears on his coinage indicates the political ambition of a ruler who did not want to wait for the natural death of his father to exercise power.

W.W. Tarn, *GBI*, p. 222, attributes the assassination of Eucratides to a son of Demetrios. A.D.H. Bivar, based on other reasons, accepts the same thesis: ‘The death of Eucratides in Medieval tradition’, *JRAS*, 1950, pp. 7-13.

<sup>96</sup> See on this subject, P. Bernard, *RN*, 1975, pp. 67-9 and also in *Monnaies hors trésors*, pp. 103-5; O Bopearachchi, ‘Graeco-Bactrian issues of later Indo-Greek kings’, *NC*, 1990, pp. 79-104.

<sup>97</sup> This is effectively what we observe starting with the silver coins and the bronze coins of the first group: 21 of a total of 146 in the Ashmolean Museum, 28 of 199 in the British Museum, 12 of 198 in the Cabinet des Médailles, 2 of 48 in the Fitzwilliam Museum, 4 of 24 in the Guimet Museum, 5 of 84 in the Smithsonian Institution, 24 of 222 in the American Numismatic Society, 5 of 65 in the Berlin Museum, 2 of 28 in the private collection of Harry Fowler, 1 of 9 in the Nasher collection, 1 of 13 in various private French collections coming from the Mir Zakah deposit, 1 of 66 in the Lucknow Museum, 0 of 26 in the Museum of Patna, 10 of 142 in the Lahore Museum, 1 of 23 in the Copenhagen Museum, 5 of 96 in the Museum of Calcutta, 34 of 436 in the Mir Zakah find.

precedes the conquest of his kingdom by Eucratides I, indicates that this first phase of his reign was of a short duration, certainly less than five years. If we accept what appears probable, that Menander ascended the throne in about 155 BCE,<sup>98</sup> the conquest of North-West India by Eucratides I to the loss of Menander is to be placed in the period 155-150 BCE.

#### MENANDER AND APOLLODOTOS I

We know now thanks, to the numismatic data, that Apollodotos I and Antimachos Necephoros were contemporaries of Menander. The association of the coins of these three kings in hoards is equally eloquent.<sup>99</sup> The coinage of Apollodotos I is characterised by an evolution both of the weight and of the types, that allows us to place the coinage of this king just after that of Agathokles and Pantaleon, the veritable inventors of bilingual issues,<sup>100</sup> and just before that of Antimachos Nicephoros. Let us recall that D.W. MacDowall<sup>101</sup> showed in a very convincing manner, using the method of frequency tables, that the circular silver coins of Apollodotos I (pl. I, no. 2) are hemidrachms of the Attic standard. Our own calculations verify his conclusions based on a

<sup>98</sup> This date is supported by A.K. Narain, *IG*, pp. 74, 144; P. Morton Smith, 'On the Ancient Chronology of India', *JAOS*, 1958, p. 178; A.D.H. Bivar, *JRAS*, 1970, pp. 126-7.

<sup>99</sup> The Hazarajat hoard (*IGCH*, no. 1842) is composed exclusively of coins of Apollodotos I, of Antimachos Nicephoros and Menander. In the two hoards of Bajaur (*IGCH*, nos. 1845-6) these are associated with a small number of coins of Zoilos I; in that of Dudial (*IGCH*, no. 1843), with coins of Antialcidas; in those of Saharanpur (*IGCH*, no. 1844) and Sonipat (*IGCH*, no. 1854), the coins of the same three sovereigns, Apollodotos I, Antimachos Nicephoros and Menander are associated with those of other Indo-Greek sovereigns.

<sup>100</sup> Agathocles and Pantaleon also reigned over truly Indian territories situated in the basin of the Indus, as is testified by their Indo-Greek silver and bronze coins that were issued for an Indian linguistic and cultural environment. The most complete of these coinages is that of Agathocles and, within it, the most important series in this regard comprises the drachms bearing new types that were brought to light by the excavations of Aï Khanoum (R. Audoin and P. Bernard, *RN*, 1974, pp. 7-41). Everything places these coins in a purely Indian context: the quadrangular form of the flans which were roughly cut from a strip of metal, the weight standard (with a weight oscillating between 2.3 and 3.3 g) identical to that of punched msark coins, the divinities figured on the two sides, Balarāma-Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, that belong to the Viṣṇu cult and whose aspect and attributes are totally foreign to Greek conceptions, the hieratic style in which they are treated and which reveals the hand of an Indian engraver, and finally the double legend, where the Greek ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ is translated in the Indian (Brāhmī) language and writing *rajane Agathuklayasa*. The bronze coins of the same form and with a Greek-Indian bilingual legend are also struck with Indian motifs: on the reverse a female divinity draped in an ample veil, her hair decorated with complicated ornaments, holding a lotus, and in her right hand, a lion of the Indian type: for the series in the name of Pantaleon, see Mitchiner, 1, 161; for that in the name of Agathocles, see Mitchiner, 1, 151-2.

<sup>101</sup> *NC*, 1960, pp. 224-5.

greater number of coins<sup>102</sup> (fig. 2). We could consider that we have here an experimentation to perfect an Indo-Greek coinage using circular flans and the Attic weight standard of the Greco-Bactrian tradition, but with types evocative of India and reverse legends in the Indian language.

With a second silver Indo-Greek series (pl. I, no. 3) of the Attic standard as the preceding series (hemidrachms), and which succeeded, in all likelihood, the bilingual coins with a circular flan, Apollodotos I prolongs the tradition inaugurated by Agathocles: rectangular flans cut from metal bands, symbols borrowed from the Indian coins with punch marks (sun symbol ☼, six armed symbol ✳, river symbol ~~~, hill surmounted by a star ⚡, taurine symbol ♂), types appropriated from territories of the Indian culture (humped bull and elephant).<sup>103</sup> But the evolution was already more advanced, in this sense, than are the Greek engravers who were henceforth responsible for the types, while Agathokles turned to indigenous engravers.

Starting with a third series Apollodotos I (pl. I, no. 4) inaugurated a new weight system of approximately 2.45 g, which henceforth was to be the rule for the drachms in the Indo-Greek domain (fig. 3).<sup>104</sup> This silver series, the most abundant of all, devoid of symbols, forms the Indo-Greek coinage of Apollodotos I *par excellence*.




All these observations confirm that Apollodotos I on the one hand, comes after Agathocles and Pantaleon, and on the other, before Antimachos Nicephoros and Menander, who adopted in their own turn the Indian weight as the weight standard of their drachms and a disposition of the legend which is derived from that of the hemidrachms of Apollodotos I. We should recall concerning this that the names of Apollodotos and of Menander are mentioned together in classical texts, that of Apollodotos preceding in every case that of Menander.

<sup>102</sup> We have excluded the coins from Indian and Pakistani museums that we were not able to examine. So as to establish the table we have only used coins that we examined ourselves and which are in a very good state of preservation. Apart from the coins of the British Museum, those of the other collections are unpublished: 3 in the American Numismatic Society (ANS) from 2.0 g to 2.13 g; 1 in the Ashmolean Museum (Ash), 1.95 g; 2 in the Berlin Museum (Ber), 1.99 g to 2.0 g; 3 in the British Museum (BM) from 2 g to 2.03 g; 11 in the Cabinet des Médailles (CM) from 1.93 g to 2.10 g; 1 in the Smithsonian Institution (SI), 1.86 g.

<sup>103</sup> It was the Mir Zakah deposit that made this series known, *Trésors monétaires*, pp. 76, 86-7. The three coins of this series in the Cabinet des Médailles belong to the Le Berre collection. It is sure that they all come from the Mir Zakah deposit (even though R. Curiel only mentioned a single coin at that time), as they are covered with a reddish patina that is characteristic of the coins of this find. The three coins of the Cabinet des Médailles respectively weigh: 2.05 g, 2.03 g and 1.92 g.

<sup>104</sup> This table was created using the same principles as those mentioned in note 102: 31 in the American Numismatic Society (ANS) from 2.20 g to 2.47 g; 15 in the Ashmolean Museum (Ash) from 2.21 g to 2.45 g; 8 in the Berlin Museum (Ber) from 2.36 g to 2.45 g; 22 in the British Museum (BM) from 2.29 g to 2.46 g; 57 in the Cabinet des Médailles (CM) from 2.20 g to 2.47 g; 7 in the Smithsonian Institution (SI) from 2.21 g to 2.46 g.

The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (1st century CE) cites the names of these two sovereigns when signalling the presence of their drachms in the region of Barygaza.<sup>105</sup> Justin in the prologue of book XLI says: 'The events of India were equally added, under Apollodotos and Menader who reigned there.' The choice of a Seated Athena by Apollodotos for a unilingual issue of the Attic standard<sup>106</sup> and by Menander of Athena Alkidemos, which constitutes the monetary type *par excellence* of this king, establish a supplementary link between the two sovereigns. Such close affinities could denote a family relationship.

Menander ascended to the throne in Begram-Kavisi where he had been born according to the *Milindapañha*. We are inclined to believe, without being able to assert it categorically, that the mint represented by the monogram  must have been located in this city, the capital of the Paropamisadae. This proposal is founded on two main arguments. First of all there are monetary finds with the monogram  that have been made in the region. It is the monogram that is best represented on the bronze coins of Eucratides I collected by Ch. Masson in Begram.<sup>107</sup> It is equally the most frequent monogram in monetary lots of Antimachos Nicephoros, Menander and Eucratides I from the Hackin collection acquired by the Cabinet des Médailles and by the Guimet Museum, a collection that is known to have been constituted in Begram and Kaboul.<sup>108</sup> If we take into account the fact that the bronze coins did not circulate at all far from their place of striking, the presence of large quantities of these bronzes reported by Masson in Begram seems to us to provide an important argument.<sup>109</sup> The second reason, and maybe the most solid, is that the attribution of the monogram  to Begram-Kavisi integrates well into the chronological sequence of the Indo-Greek kings as we have elsewhere established it, and that it agrees with the geographical location of the totality of their territories. It goes without saying that it is not possible to address these problems here in a detailed manner but we will soon discuss them elsewhere. In short, we believe that we can say that it is quite natural that Eucratides I chose the mint of Begram-Kavisi

<sup>105</sup> H. Frisk (ed.), Göttenberg, 1927, p. 47.

<sup>106</sup> This unique tetradrachm was discovered in the hoard of 1973 in the excavations of Ai Khanoum: P. Bernard, *CRAI*, 1974, pp. 306-7; C.Y. Petitot-Biehler, *RN*, 1975, pl. V, no. 50.

<sup>107</sup> *JASB*, 1834, p. 164.

<sup>108</sup> 9 in the Guimet Museum, 7 in the Cabinet des Médailles. In the Le Berre collections that entered the Cabinet des Médailles and which was formed for the most part of coins from the Mir Zakah (Ghazni) deposit, it is one of the best represented monograms (23 silver coins and 4 bronze coins of Antimachos Nicephoros, of Menander and of Eucratides I).

<sup>109</sup> It is because of the frequency of the coins struck with this monogram seen by A.D.H. Bivar in the bazaar of Peshawar that this author attributes this mint to Pushkalavati: *NC*, 1965, pp. 92-4. Evidently, as is proved by the date of 1946 and 1947, when Bivar made this observation (information kindly provided by the author), these coins came from the deposit of Mir Zakah. Cunningham, *CASE*, pp. 68-9, had proposed the same attribution, but by pure conjecture.



(Alexandria of the Caucasus), the very capital of his rival Menander, to strike the medals celebrating his conquests over his adversary.

#### THE SUCCESSORS OF MENANDER

##### AGATHOCLEIA AND STRATO I

The date of the death of Eucratides I, approximately 145 BCE, was also the date that Menander re-conquered his lost territories. It remains to determine a date for the end of his reign. According to Plutarch, Menander died while at war. His death was premature, as the son who he had designated as his successor was still a minor, and Agathocleia, the wife of the deceased sovereign, was obliged because of this to assume the regency for a certain time.

We have elsewhere justified, based on a series of overstrikes carried out on the bronze coins of Agathocleia and of Strato I by Heliocles II, Epandros and Archebios, the chronological order that makes Agathocleia the immediate successor of Menander.<sup>110</sup>

The regency of Agathocleia is attested by 6 series of coins that show its various stages.

1. Silver. Drachm. Bust of the queen/King in military attire. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ / *maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Stratasa* (Mitchiner 2, 304 = fig. 1) ⚭.
2. Silver. Drachm. Bust of the queen/King in military attire. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ / *maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Stratasa* (Mitchiner 2, 303) ⚭.
3. Bronze. Helmeted bust of Athena/Seated Herakles. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ / *maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Stratasa* (Mitchiner 2, 307) ⚭.
4. Bronze. Helmeted and diademed bust of the sovereign/Seated Heracles. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ / *maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Stratasa* (Mitchiner 2, 307, 6th photograph) ⚭.
5. Silver. Tetradrachm. Twin busts of the king and the queen/Athena Alkidemos. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ / *maharajasa tratarasa Agathukriae* (Mitchiner 2, 303) ⚭.
6. Silver. Tetradrachm. Twin busts of the king and the queen/Athena Alkidemos. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ / *maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Stratasa* (pl. II, No. 28) ⚭.

On series 1, 2 and 3 the name of the queen figures on its own in Greek, to start with without an adjective (series 1), then with the title ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΣ that signifies literally ‘with the conduct of a goddess’ (series 2, 3).<sup>111</sup> The

<sup>110</sup> O. Bopearachchi, ‘Monnaies indo-grecques surfrappées’, *RN*, 1989, pp. 49-79, esp. nos. 3-8, 13 and 14.

<sup>111</sup> The Liddell-Scott dictionary translates this adjective as ‘godlike’, a translation that we find used by W.W. Tarn, *GBI*, p. 249. The same adjective appears on a unique tetradrachm published by G. Le Rider (*Revue des Etudes Grecques*, 1967, pp. 332-42) with the legend

reverse legend is exclusively in the name of her son Strato, with a double epithet 'saviour' (*tratarā*) and 'just' (*dhramika*). The types of these three series can be considered as belonging to Agathocleia, because they disappear from the coinage struck by Strato I alone. These are:

- (a) The portrait of the queen with conventionally youthful characteristics, the hair braided in a long pigtail that falls down the back, a hair style that is never found among Hellenistic queens, but which has numerous parallels in the Indian world (series 1 and 2).<sup>112</sup>
- (b) An armed and cuirassed warrior, saluting with his right hand and whose royal character is indicated by the diadem (series 1 and 2);
- (c) A helmeted bust of Athena identical to that which figures on the bronze coins of Menander, with a Greco-Bactrian helmet and a long undulating braid falling behind the shoulders (series 3)
- (d) Sitting Heracles, the right hand resting on his club laid vertically on his right knee (series 3).

The three following series show the gradual effacement of the regent in favour of her son. The transition is made by another unique bronze coin (series 4), where the effigy of Athena of the series is replaced by a helmeted bust of the king. The male character of this head on this coin, which had been misunderstood until now, is perfectly recognisable by its short hair, the cloak draped over the shoulders (and which never appears on the bust of Athena), and by the diadem that appears beneath the helmet, a fanon of which appears behind the head.<sup>113</sup>

---

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΙΟΥ ΝΑΧΗΝΗΣ or ΜΑΧΗΝΗΣ on the obverse and *rajatirajasa mahatasa Moasa* on the reverse. G. Le Rider translates it as 'of divine character'.



<sup>112</sup> The first series is known to us from a unique coin found in the Mir Zakah deposit, concerning which R. Curiel and D. Schlumberger write: 'Bust of the queen to the r. The head is wrapped in a ribbon or braid decorated with minute pearls. We hesitate to call it a diadem, because we cannot see any fanon; maybe it is bordered by a bonnet or crown placed on the back of the head. On the forehead there are two lines of strands or curls. On the neck, in the place of fanons of the diadem, falls a braid of hair, tied at its end and ending in little pearls, exactly as on the two statues of Taxila published by Sir J. Marshall (*JRAS*, 1947, pl. III). Line of pearls around the neck. The shoulders are covered by a mantle in whose opening appear on the breast the folds of a tunic' (*Trésors monétaires*, p. 87). On the long hanging braid on the back in Indian art see *Taxila*, pp. 699-700, nos. 1-2, pl. 211, nos. 3 and 4; H. Ingholt, *Gandhara Art in Pakistan*, p. 149, nos. 353-4 and 355-6 (statuette of Taxila); Fr. Tissot, *Gandhāra* (Paris, 1985), p. 82 (statuette, Greco-Buddhist art); J. Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Bégram (Mémoires DAFA, XI, Paris, 1954)*, fig. 54 (ivory). We find some rare examples in Mesopotamian coroplastics of the Hellenistic and Parthian periods: Ch. Ziegler, *Die Terrakotten von Warka* (Berlin, 1962), no. 741, fig. 412 a, b and no. 755, fig. 418 a, b (Uruk), where the author also reports a head of a feminine figurine from Babylon in the Vorderasiatisches Museum of Berlin (inv. Bab. 32488), saying it has 'a typically Indian aspect'.

<sup>113</sup> A. von Sallet had correctly noted on this coin of the Berlin collection the presence of a diadem but, influenced by the other examples with the bust of Athena, described the bust as being female: *ZfN*, 1879, pp. 128-9.

Two silver series (5 and 6) follow it, bearing on the obverse the twin busts of the queen and her son, the latter, diademed, being in the foreground. The portrait of Agathocleia, of a discreet but well marked realism, with solid lines and an aquiline nose, is that of a woman who is older than that shown on the preceding series, where the small head is more delicate and visibly influenced by the style of certain portraits of Menander and would be quite conventional were it not for the unexpected detail of the Indian braid. On the reverse the Athena Alkidemos reappears, which was the principal type of her husband and which would be the type of her son when he became independent. On the obverse of series 5 and 6, in the Greek legend, the name of the queen is associated, but without the epithet 'θεοτρόπος', with that of her son, qualified as 'σωτήρ'. On the reverse of the series 5 the name of Agathocleia continues to figure next to that of Strato, but it disappears on the reverse of series 6 where its place is, in a certain manner, taken by a supplementary title, *dhramika* 'just', which Strato I assumes, adding it to that of 'saviour'.

A. Cunningham considered that Agathocleia was the wife of Strato.<sup>114</sup> A. von Sallet was the first to realise that she could only be his mother, an opinion that is unanimously accepted today.<sup>115</sup> The evolution which is marked in her coinage and that we have tried to shed some light on by a more logical classification can only be satisfactorily explained by this hypothesis. On the contrary we do not follow A. von Sallet when he wants to make Agathocleia a daughter of Agathocles: an unverifiable hypothesis that we can avoid.<sup>116</sup> What is certain is that Agathocleia, being a regent, could only have been the wife of Menander. With six series her coinage is well diversified, even though not very abundant. The regency certainly lasted many years. The fact that her son was still a minor at the death of Menander explains without a doubt, as we shall see, that the empire was divided and that Strato I only received a portion of it. Yet this woman that, in difficult circumstances, managed to make the rival contenders recognise the rights of her son and to secure for him the inheritance of her husband, is worthy of comparison with the most illustrious queens of the Hellenised Near East.

#### ZOILOS I

Agathocleia used two mints,  and , both inaugurated under her regency (fig. 1). The absence of the monograms of her husband seems to indicate that none of the territories represented by them passed to the hands of Agathocleia,

<sup>114</sup> CASE, p. 256: 'The connection between Strato and Agathocleia can only be that of man and wife, or king and queen'.

<sup>115</sup> ZfN, 1879, pp. 128-9. Following A. von Sallet the following numismatists and historians have considered Agathocleia to be the mother of Strato I: E.J. Rapson, *Corolla Numismatica*, 1906, pp. 254-5; CHI, p. 552; V.A. Smith, *IMC*, p. 21; W.W. Tarn, *GBI*, p. 249; A.K. Narain, *IG*, p. 110.

<sup>116</sup> ZfN, 1879, pp. 128-9.

and that she only reigned over a reduced territory. The only monogram of Menander that is present on the coins of Strato I is  $\mathbb{R}$ : and even this only appears toward the end of his reign (pl. II, no. 31).<sup>117</sup> On the contrary five monograms of Menander  $\mathbb{M}$ ,  $\mathbb{P}$ ,  $\mathbb{K}$ ,  $\mathbb{A}$  and  $\mathbb{Y}$  pass to Zoilos I (fig. 1). The fact that Zoilos I immediately succeeded Menander is attested by the presence of five of his coins in the two hoards of Bajaur where the different coinages can be chronologically ordered without difficulty (Apollodotos I, then Antimachos Nicephoros, the Menander, then Zoilos I), the coins of Zoilos I having been deposited last, just before burial.<sup>118</sup> The disposition of the legend  $\curvearrowright$  on the obverse on a small number of coins of Zoilos I (pl. II, no. 32) that brings to mind the issues of the second group of coins of Eucratides I (pl. I, no. 21), evokes the tendency of engravers to imitate more or less consciously the memory of the great ruler.<sup>119</sup> The find spots of coins of Zoilos I allow us to roughly pinpoint his territories: essentially the Paropamisadae and Arachosia. Let us add to the five coins found in the two Bajaur hoards the two drachms of the so-called Mohmand hoard.<sup>120</sup> There are also 12 coins of Zoilos I in the Mir Zakah find, which also gave us 11 other examples in the Le Berre collection now in the Cabinet des Médailles.<sup>121</sup> The total absence of coins of Zoilos I in the excavations of Taxila indicates without doubt that his domain to the east did not surpass the western Gandhāra.<sup>122</sup> The presence on his coinage of the three principal monograms of Menander  $\mathbb{M}$ ,  $\mathbb{P}$  and  $\mathbb{K}$ , and especially  $\mathbb{K}$  that we have attributed to Begram-Kavisi, completely agrees with these conclusions.

<sup>117</sup> The coinage of Strato I is in fact ordered into three phases of development according to the epithets of the legend, phases whose succession is assured by the correlated aging of the royal portrait: 1; 'Soter' = *tratarā*, that corresponds to a beardless juvenile effigy; 2. 'Soter Dikaios' = *tratarā dharmika*, that corresponds to a bearded portrait; 3. 'Epiphanes Soter' = *prachcha tratarā*, that corresponds to a beardless portrait of a mature man (Mitchiner, 2, 308-36). It is in this last phase that the monogram  $\mathbb{R}$  appears: Mitchiner, 2, 331, 336.

<sup>118</sup> In the hoard of Bajaur I (*IGCH*, no. 1845): 1 drachm = Mitchiner, 2, 256,  $\mathbb{A}$ ; in Bajaur II (*IGCH*, no. 1846): 4 drachms = Mitchiner, 2, 256.

<sup>119</sup> See Mitchiner, 2, 258, photographs 2 and 5 starting at the left.

<sup>120</sup> (*IGCH*, no. 1859): 2 drachms = Mitchiner, 2, 256,  $\mathbb{A}$ , associated to those of Menander, Archebios, Hermaios and the Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians.

<sup>121</sup> *Trésors monétaires*, p. 78. The collection of the Cabinet des Médailles includes 11 coins, or 3 coins more than the number recorded at the time by R. Curiel; but the reddish patina of all the coins, a characteristic of the coins of Mir Zakah, guarantees that they all have the same provenance. I learned from R. Curiel that Mr Le Berre had continued buying in the Kabul bazaar coins coming from the Mir Zakah find long after he had completed the catalogue of coins from Mir Zakah. The Cabinet des Médailles possesses a bronze coin of the type Mitchiner 2, 258,  $\mathbb{A}$ , offered by A. Foucher in 1898, which came from Jamal Garhi, near Peshawar, Pakistan. I published a drachm of the Mitchiner, 2, 257,  $\mathbb{P}$ , type that belonged to a private French collection formed at the time of the discovery of the Mir Zakah find: 'Coins from Mir Zakah in private collections', *Indian Numismatics, History, Art and Culture. Essays in the Honour of Dr. P.L. Gupta*, Volume I, 1992, pp. 87-94.

<sup>122</sup> *Taxila*, pp. 766 and 767.

## THE END OF THE RULE OF MENANDER

Thus Menander only had two direct successors: his wife Agathocleia and Zoilos I.

We have shown in a previous paper, thanks to two overstrikes of Epander, one on a coin of Philoxenos, the other on a Strato I.<sup>123</sup> that, contrary to the dating proposed by A. K. Narain,<sup>124</sup> Epander was not a contemporary of Menander. As far as Zoilos I is concerned, his principal type appears to be voluntarily borrowed from the emblems of Euthydemos, i.e. a standing Heracles holding a club and a crown (pl. II, nos. 32 & 33).<sup>125</sup> On the other hand, given that all the principal monograms of Menander are found on the coins of Zoilos I, the conclusion that we must accept is that the latter seized the major part of the possessions of Menander. Was this Zoilos I an adversary of Menander in the war during which, according to Plutarch, Menander died? It is a possibility that cannot be ignored. However this may be, if we admit the Euthydemid influence on the monetary iconography of Zoilos I, we must also explain why, fifty years later, that is two generations later, a successor of Euthydemos had to cross the Hindu Kush that marks the frontier between Bactria and India, to come and conquer the territories of Menander. When, in 129-8, the Chinese envoy Chan K'ien visited Bactria, the nomads had completed the conquest of all of the Oxus valley, including that of southern Bactria that they did not yet occupy in a permanent manner, but on which they had imposed their sovereignty.<sup>126</sup> It was then around 130 BCE, with the death of Heliocles I, the last Greek ruler who ruled to the north of the Hindu Kush, that Greek power was totally eliminated from Bactria. Zoilos I might have been an heir of the Greek aristocracy in Bactria, a descendant of the family of the Euthydemids or a pretender who had adopted the protecting divinity of this illustrious dynasty. The elimination of Menander by Zoilos I should then be dated to about 130 BCE. The duration of about 20 to 25 years that we thus assign to the reign of Menander takes into account the extreme abundance of his coinage and the fact that he died relatively young, leaving behind an heir who was still a minor.

## THE QUESTION OF THE KINGS HOMONYMOUS TO MENANDER

The Menander of whom we have spoken is he who on his coinage is qualified as *Soter*. But there exists a small homogenous group of silver and bronze coins struck in the name of a homonymous king who is qualified as *Dikaïos*, which

<sup>123</sup> O. Bopearachchi, *RN*, 1989, pp. 66-7.

<sup>124</sup> *IG*, pp. 74-100, esp. pp. 96, 97 and 181.

<sup>125</sup> On the bronze coins the bust of the same hero wearing a lion-skin appears, and on the reverse the club and the quiver in a crown of leaves (pl. II, no. 34).

<sup>126</sup> The report of Chan K'ien is preserved by the historian Se-Ma Ts'ien, whose work is dated to 99 BCE: B. Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China translated from Shih of Ssu-ma chien*, London, 1961, p. 268, ch. 123, 268, ch. 123, 269, ch. 123.

are clearly differentiated from the issues of Menander Soter. To make things easier for the reader, we give below an inventory of the known coins types of this Menander, adding an unpublished type.

Bilingual: ☉ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ/MENANΔΡΟΥ. ☾ *maharajasa dhramikasa/Menandra*.

1. Silver. Drachm. Diademed bust of the sovereign/Nike walking r. holding a crown (= Mitchiner 2, 228). ☒ (*PMC* 1 ex.).<sup>127</sup>
2. Silver. Drachm. Helmeted bust of the sovereign/Nike walking r. (= pl. II, nos. 35 & 36). ☒ (BM 1); ☒ (BM 1).
3. Silver. Drachm. Helmeted bust of the sovereign/King-rider (= Mitchiner, 2, 230). ☒ (ANS 1)<sup>128</sup>.
4. Silver. Drachm. Bust of the sovereign seen from behind/Enthroned Zeus ¾ to l., holding a Nike with his r. hand. Unpublished, private collection of W.F. Spengler,<sup>129</sup> ☒.
5. Bronze. Athena standing holding a palm branch and a lance/Lion sitting to l. (pl. II, nos. 37 & 38). ☐ (ASH 1); ☐ (BM 1, Mitch. 1);<sup>130</sup> ☐ (BM1).
6. Bronze. Standing warrior, saluting with his r. hand/ Lion l. (Mitchiner, 2, 253). ☒ (Mitch. 1, *PMC* 1).
7. Bronze. Standing warrior, making a gesture with his r. hand/Lion r. (pl. II, no. 39). ☒ (BM 1).

All numismatists, with the exception of Lahiri<sup>131</sup> and A.D.H. Bivar,<sup>132</sup> have attributed all these issues to Menander Soter, dating them to the end of his reign. A. Cunningham<sup>133</sup> and W.W. Tarn<sup>134</sup> state that they recognise in the royal portrait the features of an old man and place this coinage in the mints of the oriental Punjab. R.B. Whitehead thought that the epithet *dikaos* testifies to

<sup>127</sup> R.B. Whitehead (*PMC*, no. 481) reads ☒, but the reading ☒ proposed by Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 161, followed by Mitchiner, 2, 228a, seems to us to be preferable. The same coin first appeared in the sales catalogue L. White King, Schulman, 1904, no. 965.

<sup>128</sup> The coin, now in the A.N.S., first appeared in the sales catalogue L. White King, Schulman, 1904, no. 964, then in that of Sotheby, April 1907, pl. I, no. 8 (= Mitchiner, 2, 230); it was bought by E.T. Newell in the Cahn, 71 sale, Frankfurt, October 1931, no. 665. The A.N.S. possesses a second example of the same series with the same monogram that came from the collection of J. Marshall. According to the personal notes of W.F. Spengler it is a cast fake.

<sup>129</sup> We were not able to personally examine this coin; it belongs to the private collection of W. F. Spengler, according to whom there are no doubts about its authenticity.

<sup>130</sup> The reading proposed by Mitchiner (2, 252a) ☐ is erroneous; it should be read ☐, as *Corpus*, p. 162.

<sup>131</sup> *Corpus*, p. 160; *JNSI*, 1958, pp. 73-5.









<sup>132</sup> *NC*, 1965, p. 91, n. 2, Bivar rightly says: 'I have no doubt that this personage must be distinct from the great Menander I Sôtēr, who uses quite different monograms and is separated by a whole generation from the kings listed here.'

<sup>133</sup> *CASE*, p. 242.

<sup>134</sup> *GBI*, p. 262.



the conversion of Menander to Buddhism.<sup>135</sup> Concerning this hypothesis, let us note without delay that the epithet *dikaïos* also appears on coins of other kings such as Agathocles and Heliocles I and II, for whom there is nothing to permit us to suppose that they had embraced the Buddhist faith. The epithet is in any case common in Greek coinage in general.

We have noted, during our analysis of the coins of Menander Soter, of his predecessors and his successors, that the monograms that are present on their issues obeyed a certain logic of allocation. Let us see if the monograms that appear on the coins of Menander Dikaïos can be integrated into the same system. The first observation concerning this is that none of the monograms of Menander Dikaïos are found on the coins of Menander Soter. The two monograms:  and  are unique to him and disappear with him. The monogram  with one of its variants  only reappears about thirty years after his death on the coins of Amyntas for whom it becomes the principal monogram.<sup>136</sup> The two monograms  and  (pl. II, no. 30) appear for the first time on the coins of Strato I,<sup>137</sup> but right at the end of his reign, i.e. at least twenty years after the death of Menander Soter; they are used by his immediate successors such as Heliocles II,<sup>138</sup> Philoxenos,<sup>139</sup> Polyxenos.<sup>140</sup> The monogram  that resembles , but without the two bars that form the *alpha* inside the rectangle, is even more important in this regard, as it appears for the first time on the coins of Diomedes,<sup>141</sup> one of the later kings, a contemporary of Amyntas. We must note that all these kings are later than Menander Soter.

We note, on the other hand, that none of the types of Menander Dikaïos is shared by Menander Soter. The Zeus sitting  $\frac{3}{4}$  to the left, a sceptre in his left hand, the outstretched right hand holding a Nike (series 4), is identical to that featured on the silver coins of Antialcidas; the presence of an additional symbol closely related to Zeus, reinforces the link between these two types: a bust of an elephant on the coins of Antialcidas,<sup>142</sup> and a wheel (*cakra*) on the coins of Menander Dikaïos. The king-rider, his body and face in profile (series 3), is analogous to the one on the coinage of Philoxenos (pl. II, no. 40),<sup>143</sup> while that of Antimachos II (pl. I, no. 5),<sup>144</sup> the predecessor of Menander Soter, has the head facing. The Athena found on the bronze coins (series 5-6) has nothing

<sup>135</sup> NC, 1923, p. 320.

<sup>136</sup> Mitchiner, 3, 387, 388, 391, 394 and 397.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., 2, 330 a; 331, b and c; 332, a and b; 336, c and d; see also *supra*, no. 117, justifying this hypothesis.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., 2, 228, a and c; 289, c and k; 290, b; 292, a; 294, b and c.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 3, 341, b and h; 347, b.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 2, 298, a; 300 a and b.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 3, 350, a; 352-3, a.

<sup>142</sup> On the contrary, on the coins of Amyntas, although the god has the same pose and also holds a small divinity with his extended right hand (Athena), apart from the lance, his left hands holds a palm, and there is no associated symbol: Mitchiner, 3, 385, 387-94.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 3, 337-343.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 1, 135.

of the fighting Alkidemos of Menander Soter: in the place of the movement of throwing a lightning-bolt, she is making a gesture of welcome or blessing with her right hand, as on the bronze coins of Amyntas.<sup>145</sup> The type of the sitting lion (series 5) is new, but that of the walking beast, lifting a hind paw (series 6 and 7), recalls the lion of Artemidoros.<sup>146</sup> A. N. Lahiri supposed that Menander Dikaïos was a son of Strato, and thus the grandson of Menander Soter. The hypothesis is improbable. Let us simply call attention to the fact that this king did not attempt on his coinage to show a possible relationship with the great Menander Soter. The absence on his coinage of Athena Alkidemos who is, on the contrary, systematically present on the direct successors of Menander Soter (Strato I, Polyxenos, Epander) is, in this respect, significant.<sup>147</sup>

The analysis of the monograms and the types of this Menander Dikaïos thus requires that he be distinguished from Menander Soter. His monograms are those, not of Menander Soter, but of his successors. The diversity of his types on the silver issues (Nike with crown: series 1-2, king-rider: series 3; enthroned Zeus: series 4) also opposes him to Menander Soter, who, on his coins, has as a unique type Athena Alkidemos, and, on the other hand, brings him nearer, to kings such as Amyntas,<sup>148</sup> Nicias,<sup>149</sup> Theophilos<sup>150</sup> and Artemidoros,<sup>151</sup> whose silver coins present a variety of types. We have also seen that, in the details, a closeness of the types exists with those of Artemidoros and Amyntas and also with those of Antialkidas and Philoxenos. All these kings ruled after Menander Soter. It is among them that we then place Menander Dikaïos, considering him to be a contemporary of Nicias, Amyntas and Artemidoros.

In conclusion, we would like to add that this paper has succeeded in bringing some new material for the better understanding of a period of the Greeks of Central Asia and of North-West India that is particularly chaotic, thanks to the studies made by numismatists and historian-archaeologists during two decades. The contribution of the excavation of Ai Khanoum to the

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 3, 396-7. The only notable difference between the two types is the position of the shield, held by the left arm on the coins of Amyntas, placed on the ground and held against the right leg of the goddess on the coins of Menander Dikaïos.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., 3, 406.

<sup>147</sup> *JNSI*, 1958, pp. 73-5.

<sup>148</sup> On his silver coinage, Amyntas uses three different types: enthroned Zeus = Mitchiner, 3, 385, 387-94; poliad goddess = Mitchiner 3, 386; Athena Alkidemos = Mitchiner, 3, 395.

<sup>149</sup> On the coins of Nicias there are two types: Athena Alkidemos = Mitchiner, 3, 277; standing armed sovereign holding a palm branch = Mitchiner, 3, 395.

<sup>150</sup> On the coins of Theophilos also two types: enthroned Athena, holding a Nike = Mitchiner 3, 371; standing Heracles, holding a crown or crowning himself = Mitchiner 3, 372-4.

<sup>151</sup> On the coins of Artemidoros again two types: Artemis shooting her bow = Mitchiner, 3, 398-401; Nike holding a crown = Mitchiner, 3, 402-3.

development of this research was of particular importance. It goes without saying that there still remain numerous problems to which the present paper does not even attempt to offer the beginnings of a solution. Why are there so many monograms in the second group of coins of Menander Soter? Why do some of them disappear forever after the death of this king? Another problem, which depends on the interpretation of the issues unique to Menander Soter, is that of the function of the mints and of the meaning of the monograms and their variants. A die-study that we have undertaken on the coinage of this sovereign will help, we hope, to shed some light on this question.

#### POSTSCRIPT

This article was written before the publication of my first book: *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques, Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1991, since then many discoveries were made in Central Asia and India in the field of numismatics and epigraphy. We have attempted to give an idea about the importance of these new findings in the following articles published in this volume. The year 155 BCE as the beginning of the Menander era is no more valid. The reasons for it, as well as our reply to some criticisms made by G. Fussman against the present article are developed in the article: "Recent Coin Hoard Evidence on Pre-Kushana Chronology" published in this volume, see chapter 16. However, the chronological sequence for the kings who reigned just before and after Menander I, our analyses of the ancient Indian texts and the existence of two homonymous kings in the name Menander that we have proposed in the present article are always up to date.

We have reproduced here the plates as they were published in the *Studia Iranica*, tome 19, 1990, unfortunately in pl. 1, no. 2 the obverse is placed with the no. 3, and the reverse of the no. 3 is missing. In pl. 1, no. 4 the obverse is badly oriented. We have taken the liberty to add three coins from the Cabinet des Médailles to represent these three series. Better photographs of the gold medallion of Eucratides I are also reproduced here with those of the five double decadrachms of the Attic standard of Amyntas (these photographs were taken by Fred Hiebert from the originals now conserved in the Kabul National Museum, we express our gratitude to him for authorising us to publish them). These good photographs may enable the reader to see the traces of the engravings first made on the die before they were re-cut again.

Additional photographs (BN = O. Bopearachchi, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques, Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1991).

No. 1. AR, Circular bilingual Attic standard drachm of Apollodotos I; BN, série 2, no. 2, 2.10 g., 15 mm.

No. 2. AR, square bilingual Attic standard drachm of Apollodotos I; BN, série 3, no. 14, 1.92 g., 16 × 15 mm.

No. 3. AR, square bilingual Indian standard drachm of Apollodotos I; BN, série 3, no. 23, 2.24 g., 17 × 16 mm.

No. 4. twenty Stater Gold Medallion of Eucratides I; *BN*, série 4, no. 25, 169.2 g., 58 mm.

No. 5, double decadrachm of the Attic standard of Amyntas, *Trésor de Qunduz*; no. 619, 84.70 g., 66 mm.

No. 6, double decadrachm of the Attic standard of Amyntas, *Trésor de Qunduz*, no. 620; 84. 92 g., 68 mm.

No. 7, double decadrachm of the Attic standard of Amyntas, *Trésor de Qunduz*, no. 621; 84. 89 g., 64 mm.

No. 8, double decadrachm of the Attic standard of Amyntas, *Trésor de Qunduz*, no. 622; 84. 76 g., 63 mm.

No. 9, double decadrachm of the Attic standard of Amyntas, *Trésor de Qunduz*, no. 623; 84. 50 g., 63 mm.

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ANS, MN</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes.</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.</i>
<i>BEFEO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient.</i>
<i>CASE</i>	A. Cunningham, <i>Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East</i> (collection of articles that appeared in the <i>NC</i> from 1868 to 1872 and reprinted in a single volume in 1884, rpt., Chicago, 1969).
<i>CHI</i>	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History of India. I. Ancient India</i> , E.J. Rapson (ed.), Cambridge, 1922, rpt. 1970.
<i>Corpus</i>	A.N. Lahiri, <i>Corpus of the Indo-Greek Coins</i> , Calcutta, 1956.
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
<i>Ep.Ind.</i>	<i>Epigraphica Indica.</i>
<i>ESM</i>	E.T. Newell, <i>The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints from Seleucus I to Antiochos III</i> , New York, 1938, rpt. 1978 with additions by O. Mørkholm.
<i>GBI</i>	W.W. Tarn, <i>The Greeks in Bactria and India</i> , 2nd edn. Cambridge, 1951, rpt., Chicago, 1984.
<i>HN</i>	B.V. Head, <i>Historia Nummorum</i> , 2nd edn., Oxford, 1911.
<i>IGCH</i>	M. Thompson, O. Mørkholm, C.N. Kraay, <i>An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards</i> , New York, 1973.
<i>IMC</i>	V.S. Smith, <i>Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum of Calcutta. I. The Coins of Ancient India</i> , Calcutta, 1906, rpt. 1972.
<i>IG</i>	A.K. Narain, <i>The Indo-Greeks</i> , Oxford, 1957.
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique.</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society.</i>
<i>JASB</i>	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.</i>
<i>JBORS</i>	<i>Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.</i>

<i>JIH</i>	<i>Journal of Indian History.</i>
<i>JNSI</i>	<i>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.</i>
<i>JOSA</i>	<i>Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia.</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.</i>
<i>LMC</i>	A.K. Srivastata, <i>Catalogue of the Indo-Greek Coins in the State Museum of Lucknow</i> , Lucknow, 1969.
<i>MDAFA</i>	<i>Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan.</i>
<i>Milindapañho</i>	V. Trencker, <i>The Milindapañho</i> , London, 1880.
<i>Mitchiner</i>	M. Mitchiner, <i>Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage</i> , 9 vols., London, 1975-6.
<i>Monnaies hors trésors</i>	P. Bernard, <i>Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum. IV. Les monnaies hors trésors. Questions d'histoire gréco-bactrienne (MDAFA 27)</i> , Paris, 1985.
<i>PMC</i>	R.B. Whitehead, <i>Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore. I. Indo-Greek Coins</i> , Oxford, 1914.
<i>Questions of King Milinda</i>	T.W. Rhys Davids, <i>The Questions of King Milinda, Sacred Books of the East</i> , vols. XXXV-XXXVI, Oxford, Part I, 1890 and Part II, 1894.
<i>Questions de Milinda</i>	L. Finot, <i>Les Questions de Milinda</i> , Paris, 1923.
<i>RN</i>	<i>Revue Numismatique.</i>
<i>SNG Copenhagen</i>	O. Mørkholm and A. Jacobsen, <i>The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish Museum: Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum</i> , Copenhagen, 1965.
<i>Trésor de Qunduz</i>	R. Curiel and G. Fussman, <i>Le trésor monétaire de Qunduz (MDAFA 20)</i> , Paris, 1965.
<i>Trésors monétaires</i>	R. Curiel and D. Schlumberger, <i>Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan (MDAFA 14)</i> , Paris, 1953.
<i>WSM</i>	E.T. Newell, <i>The Coinage of the Western Seleucid Mints from Seleucus I to Antiochos III</i> , New York, 1941.
<i>ZfN</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Numismatik.</i>

## ILLUSTRATIONS

### PANTALEON (No. 1)

Pl. 1, no. 1. AE, bilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 1, 161).

### APOLLODOTOS I (Nos. 2-4)

Pl. 1, no. 2. AR, bilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 2, 203).

Pl. 1, no. 3. AR, bilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 2, 206).

Pl. 1, no. 4. AR, bilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 2, 207).

### ANTIMACHOS NICEPHOROS (Nos. 5-6)

Pl. 1, no. 5. AR, bilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 1, 135).

Pl. 1, no. 6. AR, bilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 1, 136).

## MENANDER SOTER (Nos. 7-19).

- Pl. 1, no. 7. AR, bilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 2, 213).
- Pl. 1, no. 8. AR, bilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 2, 220).
- Pl. 1, no. 9. AR, bilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 2, 224).
- Pl. 1, no. 10. AR, bilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 2, 218).
- Pl. 1, no. 11. AR, bilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 2, 215).
- Pl. 1, no. 12. AR, bilingual, Musée Guimet (Mitchiner, 2, 215).
- Pl. 1, no. 13. AR, bilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 2, 214).
- Pl. 1, no. 14. AE, bilingual, British Museum (Mitchiner, 2, 241).
- Pl. 1, no. 15. AE, bilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 2, 246).
- Pl. 1, no. 16. AE, bilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 2, 240).
- Pl. 1, no. 17. AE, bilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 2, 238).
- Pl. 1, no. 18. AE, bilingual, British Museum (Mitchiner, 2, 236).
- Pl. 1, no. 19. AE, bilingual, British Museum (Mitchiner, 2, 232).

## EUCRATIDES I (Nos. 20-7)

- Pl. 1, no. 20. AR, unilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 1, 168).
- Pl. 1, no. 21. AR, bilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 1, 188).
- Pl. 1, no. 22. AR, unilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 1, 178).
- Pl. 1, no. 23. AE, bilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 1, 194).
- Pl. 1, no. 24. AE, bilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 1, 190).
- Pl. 1, no. 25. AE, unilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 1, 190).
- Pl. 1, no. 26. AV, unilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 1, 175).
- Pl. 1, no. 27. AR, unilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 1, 182).

## STRATO I THE REGENCY OF AGATHOKLEIA (No. 28)

- Pl. II, no. 28. AR bilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 2, 306).

## STRATO I (Nos. 29-31)

- Pl. II, no. 29. AR, bilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 2, 317).
- Pl. II, no. 30. AR, bilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 2, 331).
- Pl. II, no. 31. AR, bilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 2, 331).

## ZOILOS I (Nos. 32-4)

- Pl. II, no. 32. AR, bilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 2, 257).
- Pl. II, no. 33. AR, bilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 2, 256).
- Pl. II, no. 34. AR, bilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 2, 258).

## MENANDER DIKAIOS (Nos. 35-9)

- Pl. II, no. 35. AR, bilingual, British Museum (Mitchiner, 2, 229).
- Pl. II, no. 36. AR, bilingual, British Museum (Mitchiner, 2, 229).
- Pl. II, no. 37. AE, bilingual, British Museum (Mitchiner, 2, 252).
- Pl. II, no. 38. AE, bilingual, British Museum (Mitchiner, 2, 252).
- Pl. II, no. 39. AE, bilingual, British Museum (Mitchiner, 2, 254).



## PHILOXENOS (No. 40)

Pl. II, no. 40. AR, bilingual, Cabinet des Médailles (Mitchiner, 3, 338).

The above photos are published with the kind authorisation of the Cabinet des Médailles, the Guimet Museum and the British Museum.

Map 1. The Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek Kingdoms.

Fig. 1. Disposition of the legends and distribution of monograms on the bilingual coinage of the first Indo-Greek kings.

Fig. 2. Frequency table of the silver coins of Apollodotos I with a circular flan and of Attic standard.

Fig. 3. Frequency table of the silver coins of Apollodotos I with a quadrangular flan and of Indian standard.

























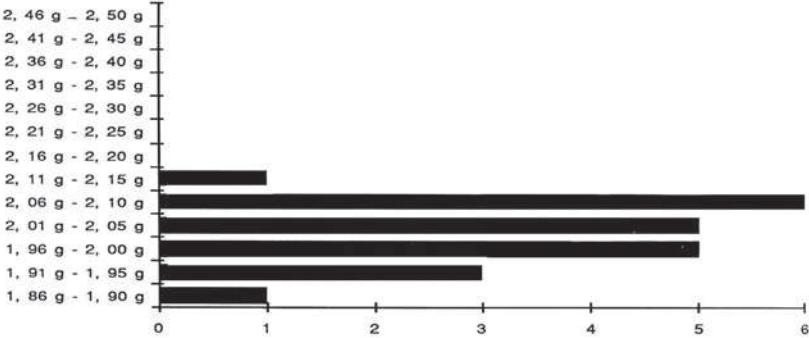
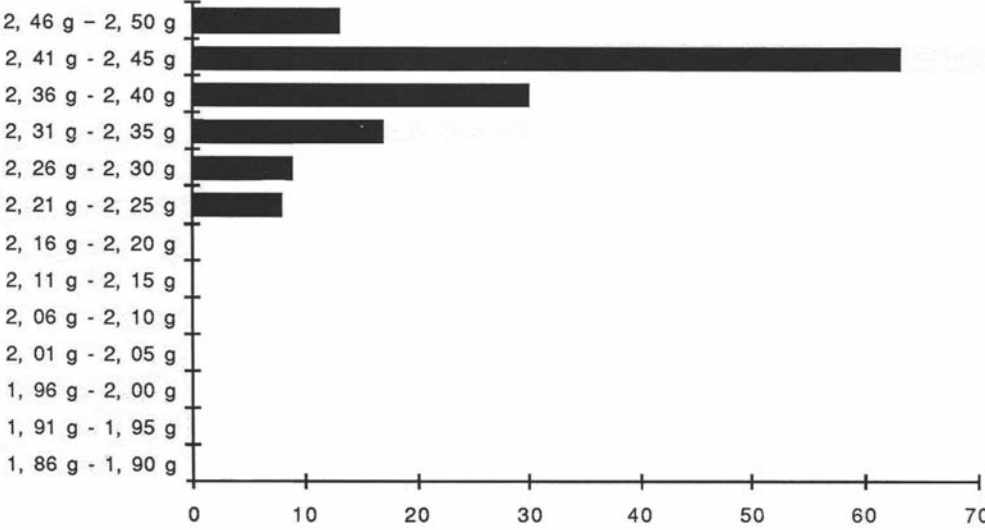
Kings	Dispositions of the legends		Monograms	
Apollodotos I				
Antimachos II				М Ф К
Menander I				М Ф К
Eucratides I				М Ф К
Menander I				М Ф К Α Ψ R
Agathocleia				Κ Φ
Zoilos I				М Ф К Α Ψ
Strato I				R Κ Φ Α Ψ

FIG. 1



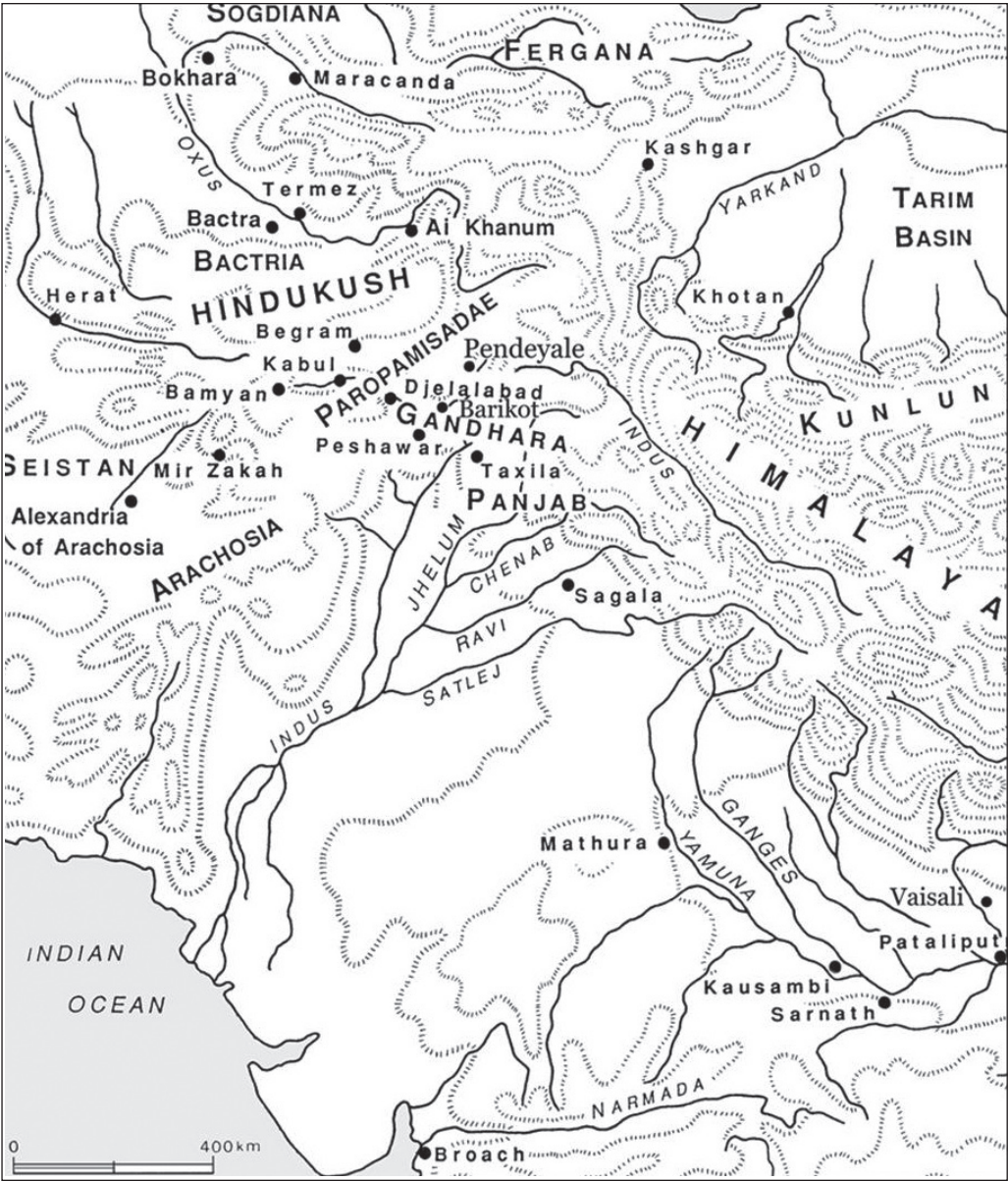
	ANS	Ash.	Ber.	BM	CM	SI	Total
1, 86 g - 1, 90 g						1	1
1, 91 g - 1, 95 g		1	1		1		3
1, 96 g - 2, 00 g	1	1	1	1	2		5
2, 01 g - 2, 05 g	1				3		5
2, 06 g - 2, 10 g				1	5		6
2, 11 g - 2, 15 g	1						1
2, 16 g - 2, 20 g							
2, 21 g - 2, 25 g							
2, 26 g - 2, 30 g							
2, 31 g - 2, 35 g							
2, 36 g - 2, 40 g							
2, 41 g - 2, 45 g							
2, 46 g - 2, 50 g							

FIG. 2



	ANS	Ash.	Ber.	BM	CM	SI	Total
1, 86 g - 1, 90 g							
1, 91 g - 1, 95 g							
1, 96 g - 2, 00 g							
2, 01 g - 2, 05 g							
2, 06 g - 2, 10 g							
2, 11 g - 2, 15 g							
2, 16 g - 2, 20 g							
2, 21 g - 2, 25 g		1			6	1	8
2, 26 g - 2, 30 g	2	1		1	5		9
2, 31 g - 2, 35 g	4	2		2	9		17
2, 36 g - 2, 40 g	8	2	2	1	12	5	30
2, 41 g - 2, 45 g	13	9	6	16	18	1	63
2, 46 g - 2, 50 g	4			2	7		13

FIG. 3



MAP 1

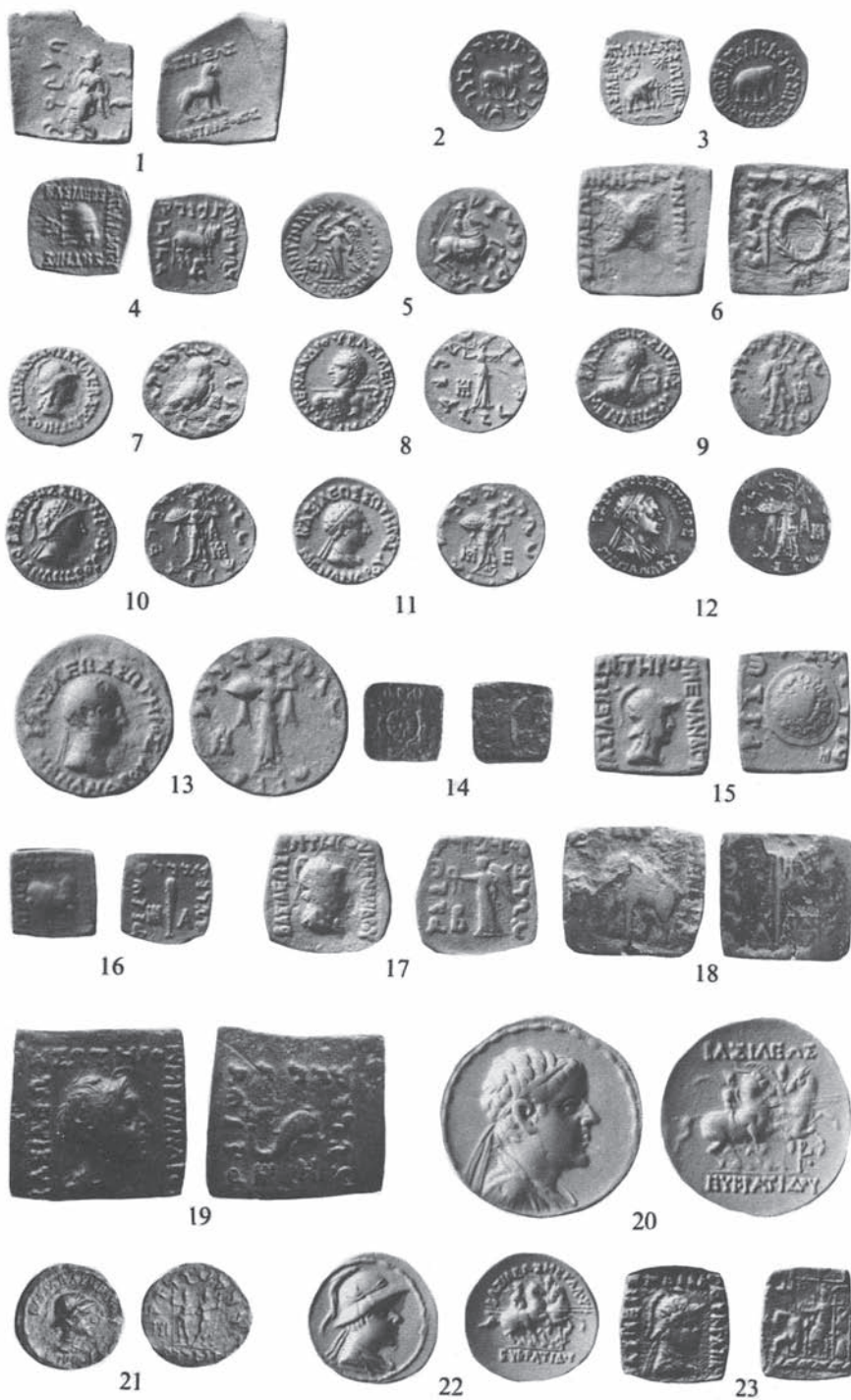


PLATE I





PLATE II





1



2



3



4

ADDITIONAL PHOTOGRAPHS



5



6



7

ADDITIONAL PHOTOGRAPHS



8



9

ADDITIONAL PHOTOGRAPHS



## The Euthydemus' Imitations and the Date of Sogdian Independence\*

Alexander the Great's conquest of the Achaemenid satrapy of Bactria and Sogdiana in Central Asia (329-327 BC) and his forward march into the Indian territories (327-326 BC) provoked, in these regions, a political upheaval with far-reaching consequences. During the years which followed immediately the death of the conqueror in 323 BC, in spite of a massive tentative exodus by the Greek colonists which was crushed by a bloody repression, the ruling Macedonians seem to have kept these areas under their control except the Indus Valley which they lost very soon. Some time later, in the closing years of the fourth century BC the satrapies of Parthia, Aria and Bactria-Sogdiana passed under the control of the Seleucid dynasties established in Syria and Mesopotamia, while the territories south of the Hindu Kush came under the control of the Mauryan king Chandragupta. Towards the middle of the third century BC, Diodotus, the satrap of Bactria-Sogdiana, revolted against his Seleucid master and proclaimed himself king. Thus was born the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom.

However there were fundamental cultural, economic and above all linguistic differences between Sogdiana and Bactria. Sogdiana had never lost its Achaemenid heritage acquired since the middle of the sixth century BC when it came under the rule of the Persian king Cyrus. Sogdiana, soon broke away from the Bactrian kingdom and became an independent kingdom. On the other hand, Bactria began to distance itself from Persian culture and was soon thoroughly hellenized. Bactria remained Greek for a longer period until it was progressively overthrown, from the middle of the second century BC, by the nomadic tribes among whom the Yuezhi played a decisive role.

The question remains as to when Sogdiana seceded. The hypothesis which is almost taken for granted today was first put forward by Allotte de la Fuÿe in 1910.<sup>1</sup> According to his hypothesis later developed by M. Mitchiner,<sup>2</sup> Sogdian independence took place after Euthydemus I's death c. 200 BC. We believe, on

\*Reprinted from *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, 2, 1991/2, p. 1-21.

\*This article is based on a preliminary paper that we have presented at the *Colloque franco-soviétique, Cultures sogdiannes* held in Samarcand, 22-30 September 1990.

<sup>1</sup> 'Monnaies incertaines de la Sogdiane et des contrées voisines', *RN* 1910: 281-333, especially p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> *The Early Coinage of Central Asia*, London, 1973, p. 26; *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coins*, 1975, London, pp. 46, 284.

the contrary that it happened during the lifetime of Euthydemus, towards the end of his reign. We are in a position to broach the subject afresh, owing to some new numismatic evidence. It should be emphasized here that the whole reconstruction of the history of Sogdian independence depends mainly on numismatic evidence. By numismatic evidence, we mean a long series of silver coins struck in the name of Euthydemus, with a diademed portrait of the king on the obverse and seated Herakles on the reverse. These silver issues can be divided into two distinct groups. The first group of tetradrachms struck according to the Attic weight standard was issued by Euthydemus I. The second group on the contrary struck according to a different weight standard was issued by the Sogdians after their independence. They are known as Sogdian imitations.

The existence of a bronze coin with the types of Euthydemus I, Herakles' head/horse prancing r. (no. 66), and bearing an Aramaic legend recently published by François Widemann,<sup>3</sup> on the one hand and, on the other, the existence of a series of authentic Euthydemus I tetradrachms, confirmed by a considerable number of specimens, but which unfortunately has drawn scant attention from numismatists, make it possible to offer a definitive solution, we believe, to the dating of the very earliest Euthydemus I imitations and therefore of Sogdiana's independence. It is by placing these new numismatic data in relation with a chronological sequence of the various Euthydemus I series that one can perceive their historical importance. What do we know about Euthydemus I?

A historical narrative by Polybius and the coinage in Euthydemus' name are our main sources on Euthydemus I's reign.

About the circumstances in which Euthydemus acceded to the throne we only know what can be reconstituted from the words Polybius attributes to him (XI, 39). Besieged in Bactria by Antiochus III, Euthydemus denies, before Telas, an envoy of the Seleucid king, ever having committed any act of rebellion against his ancestors. This rebellion had been instigated by others and though he had assumed power in Bactria, it had been by annihilating the descendants of these rebels. Taking this text literally—and there is no reason not to do so with a historian such as Polybius—it would be at Diodotus II's death, the latter and Diodotus I being the 'real rebels' alluded to in the text, that Euthydemus seized the Bactrian throne by making away with the descendants of the reigning Diodotid family. According to Justin's *History of the World* abbreviated from Pompeius Trogus (XLI, 4), Diodotus, the Seleucid satrap of Bactria-Sogdiana, revolted against Antiochus II, his suzerain, and declared independence. Justin also tells us that when Seleucus II directed his forces against the revolted satraps of the north-eastern provinces, Diodotus was succeeded by a son of the same name, to the throne of Bactria. Polybius thus confirms Justin's account,

<sup>3</sup> 'Un monnayage inconnu de type gréco-bactrien à légende araméenne', *Studia Iranica* 18, 1989: 193-7.

saying that Euthydemus took the possession of Bactria, by dethroning the descendants of those who had first revolted.

Judging from the great abundance of his coinage, the second largest in quantity after that of Eucratides I among the Graeco-Bactrian sovereigns, Euthydemus I must have had a long reign. It seems to us that Euthydemus I's silver coinage may be roughly divided into seven different groups on the basis of the following criteria: the difference in age in the royal portrait, the variants in the drawings of the ribbons of the diadem, the iconography and style of the representations of Herakles, the elimination of the dotted circle on the reverse and finally the change in orientation of the dies: for it is at the end of Euthydemus I's reign that one goes from the position  $\uparrow\downarrow$  to the position  $\uparrow\uparrow$  which will be thereafter the normal orientation for all subsequent Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coinage. Our classification uses and develops that proposed by A.D.H. Bivar.<sup>4</sup> Thanks to the generosity and the cooperation of the curators of various museums and of private collectors, and to the financial aids granted to me by the Kreitman Fund for Central Asian Numismatic Research, of the Royal Numismatic Society of Great Britain and the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) we were able to examine a significant number of relevant coins, and to propose a new classification to the coins issued by Euthydemus I.<sup>5</sup> Having observed the main characteristics of the relevant coins in each group we have selected the most significant ones from various collections to be illustrated.

For different monetary series of the Graeco-Bactrian coins illustrated in this article, we have referred to our book *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1991, abbreviated *BN*. In this short inventory following indications are also given: obverse and reverse types, metal (AV = gold, AR = silver, Æ = bronze), denomination, weight in grams, monogram, die axes by graphics, name of the collection and inventory number.

The very first coins issued by Euthydemus I are very close in style and striking technique to the coinage of his predecessor Diodotus (nos. 1 & 2). One will also note three other characteristics shared with Diodotus' issues: the

<sup>4</sup> 'The Bactra Coinage of Euthydemus and Demetrius', *NC*, 1951: 22-39.


<sup>5</sup> I wish to extend my warmest thanks to Joe Cribb, Curator of South Asian Coins, Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum, to Michel Amandry, Director of the Cabinet des Médailles of Paris, to (Mrs) Carmen Arnold-Biucchi, Curator of Greek Coins, American Numismatic Society, to (Mrs) Natasha Smirnova, Curator, Numismatic Department of the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, to R.S. Dar, Director, Lahore Museum, Lahore, to (Mrs) Savita Sharma, Curator, Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, to S.D. Trivedi, Director, State Museum, Lucknow, to R.C. Sharma, Director, Indian Museum, Calcutta and to Harry Fowler, Former Chairman of the American Numismatic Society, New York, who very kindly allowed me to examine all Bactrian coins and reproduce certain specimens, several of which have never been published, and who always extended a very warm welcome to me and provided me with every working facility.



dotted circle on the obverse and the reverse, the axis of the dies strictly anti-parallel ↑↓, and a fairly thick and squat flan.

*Diodotus (nos. 1 & 2)*


Diademed head of Diodotus/Thundering Zeus (*BN*, Diodote, series 6).


No. 1. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.75 g. to 1. . ↑↓. British Museum, Inv. no. 1888. 12.8.66.


No. 2. AV. Stater, 8.46 g. to 1. . ↑↓. British Museum, Inv. no. 1879. 4. 1. 5.


*Euthydemus I Group 1 (nos. 3-6)*

Diademed head of Euthydemus/Herakles seated on a rock, holds in his r. hand the club which rests aslant on a pile of rocks in front of him. (*BN*, Euthydème I, series 1-3)

No. 3. AV. Stater, 8.24 g. to 1. . ↑↓. British Museum, Inv. no. 1888. 12. 8. 72.

No. 4. AR. Drachm, 3.97 g. to 1. . ↑↓. American Numismatic Society (ex coll. E.T. Newell).


No. 5. AV. Stater, 8.22 g. to 1. . ↑↓. British Museum, Inv. no. 1888. 12. 8. 73.


No. 6. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.73 g. to 1. . ↑↓. British Museum, Inv. no. 1847. 12. 1. 26.


The effigy of Euthydemus I on gold and silver coins shows the portrait of a young man. As one could expect, Euthydemus I, who had seized power by doing away with the descendants of the founding dynasty, rejects the Zeus with thunderbolt and introduces a new type, Herakles at rest seated on a rock on which he leans with his left hand. On the silver coins in the first group (nos. 3-6) Herakles holds in his right hand the club which rests aslant on three or four rocks piled up in front of him.


*Group 2 (nos. 7-10)*

Diademed head of Euthydemus/Herakles holds in his r. hand the club which rests vertically. (*BN*, Euthydème I, series 4)

No. 7. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.45 g. to r. . ↑↓. British Museum, Inv. no. 1961. 3. 1. 8.

No. 8. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.36 g. to 1. . ↑↓. British Museum, Inv. no. I.O.C. 2.

No. 9. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.50 g. to 1. . ↑↓. British Museum, Inv. no. 1888. 12. 8. 74.


No. 10. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.70 g. to 1. . ↑↓. British Museum, Inv. no. 1860. 12. 20. 6.


The second group, while retaining the technical aspects of the first, shows the head of the sovereign characterized by hard and heavy features. On the reverse Herakles is slimmer; he is seated on a triangular shaped rock and his


club is set down vertically. It is also interesting to note that the coin no. 7 characterized by some of the features also found on the no. 6 makes the transition between group 1 and 2.

*Group 3 (nos. 11-16)*


Diademed head of Euthydemus/Herakles holds in his r. hand the club which rests on a pile of three rocks ending in a comma shape at the bottom. (*BN*, Euthydème I, series 5).


No. 11. AR. Tetradrachm, 15.46 g. to r. .  $\uparrow \downarrow$ . American Numismatic Society (ex coll. H. Fowler).

No. 12. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.24 g. to r. .  $\uparrow \downarrow$ . American Numismatic Society (ex coll. W.F. Spengler).

No. 13. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.62 g. to r. .  $\uparrow \downarrow$ . British Museum, Inv. no. 1853. 7. 13. 9.

No. 14. AR. Tetradrachm, 15.56 g.  $\uparrow \downarrow$ . British Museum, Inv. no. 1938. 12. 12. 2.


No. 15. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.32 g. to r. .  $\uparrow \downarrow$ . American Numismatic Society (ex coll. E.T. Newell).


No. 16. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.61 g. to r. .  $\uparrow \downarrow$ . American Numismatic Society (ex coll. E.T. Newell).

The third group shows varied types of face. On the reverse Herakles holds his right foot back, most often lifted up and leaning on a pile of two rocks; the club rests on a pile of three rocks ending in a comma shape at the bottom. It is difficult to assume at this point whether the distinct stylistic characteristics that can be observed on the coins of the second and the third groups are due to any chronological differences.

*Group 4 (nos. 17-18)*

Diademed head of Euthydemus/Herakles leans his right foot back on to the rock on which he is seated. (*BN*, Euthydème, I, series 6).

No. 17. AR. Tetradrachm, 15.86 g. to r. .  $\uparrow \uparrow$ . American Numismatic Society (ex coll. E. T. Newell).

No. 18. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.50 g. to r. .  $\uparrow \uparrow$ . British Museum, Inv. no. 1856. 11. 5. 2.

The issues in group 4 are characterized by the absence of the dotted circle on the reverse. Die orientation goes from the anti-parallel position  $\uparrow \downarrow$  to the parallel position  $\uparrow \uparrow$  which will be henceforth the normal orientation for all the subsequent Graeco-Bactrian coinage. The Herakles on the reverse leans his right foot back on to the rock on which he is seated; the club rests on a pile of three similar rocks.

*Group 5 (nos. 19-22)*

Diademed head of Euthydemus/Herakles seated on a rock and his club rests on a support which is barely distinguishable from his leg. (*BN*, Euthydème I, series 9).

- No. 19. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.00 g. to r.  $\text{R} \cdot \uparrow \uparrow$ . American Numismatic Society (ex coll. E.T. Newell).  
 No. 20. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.36 g. to r.  $\text{R} \cdot \uparrow \uparrow$ . British Museum.  
 No. 21. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.41 g. to r.  $\text{R} \cdot \uparrow \uparrow$ . British Museum, Inv. no. 1888. 12. 8. 75.  
 No. 22. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.30 g. to r.  $\text{R} \cdot \uparrow \cdot \text{R}$ . *Trésor de Qunduz*, no. 15.

Here the well-known monogram composed of the letters *kappa* and *rho*  $\text{R}$  appears. Herakles is seated on a rock covered with the lion skin and his club rests on a support which is barely distinguishable from his leg.

*Group 6 (nos. 23-8)*

Diademed head of Euthydemus/Herakles on a rock holding the club against his right thigh. (*BN*, Euthydème I, series 10).

- No. 23. AR. Tetradrachm, 15.74 g. to r.  $\text{R} \cdot \uparrow \uparrow$ . Ai Khanum hoard (III) (*RN*, 1975, pp. 23-57, no. 21).<sup>6</sup>  
 No. 24. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.38 g. to r.  $\text{R} \cdot \uparrow \uparrow$ . American Numismatic Society (ex coll. E.T. Newell).  
 No. 25. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.47 g. to r.  $\text{R} \cdot \uparrow \uparrow$ . American Numismatic Society (ex coll. H. Fowler).  
 No. 26. AR. Tetradrachm, 15.72 g. to r.  $\text{R} \cdot \uparrow \cdot \text{R}$ . Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. no. N. 1290.  
 No. 27. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.05 g. to r.  $\text{R} \cdot \uparrow \cdot \text{R}$ . Pushkin. Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. no. N. 28238.  
 No. 28. AR. Drachm, 3.73 g. to r.  $\text{R} \cdot \uparrow \uparrow$ . American Numismatic Society (ex coll. W.F. Spengler).

The sixth group is the most important of all for our demonstration. The portrait of the sovereign is closer to that in the preceding group but shows a frontal fold and a strand of curly hair which we shall return to later. Herakles now holds the club leaning against his right thigh. The only common characteristic between this group and the first, from the technical point of view, is the thick flan.

This group does not appear in the classification proposed by Bivar nor in that proposed by M. Mitchiner. This group is known to us in the first place by a single specimen no. 18 of the Qunduz hoard.<sup>7</sup> The Ai Khanoum hoard III published by Petitot-Biehler in 1975 comprises two specimens.<sup>8</sup> In the Ai

<sup>6</sup>C.Y. Petitot-Biehler, 'Trésor de monnaies grecques et gréco-bactriennes trouvé à Ai Khanoum (Afghanistan)', *RN* 1975: 23-57.


<sup>7</sup>*Trésor de Qunduz*, no. 18.


<sup>8</sup>*RN* 1975: 23-57, see pl. II, nos. 20 and 21.


Khanoum hoard IV, published by Frank Holt in 1981, there are 12.<sup>9</sup> Today this group is further attested by many other specimens in several museums some of which are illustrated here. We shall return subsequently to the importance of this group for demonstrating our hypothesis.


*Group 7 (nos. 29-38)*


Diademed head of old Euthydemus/Herakles on a rock holding the club against his right thigh. (*BN*, Euthydème I, series 11 & 12).


No. 29. AV. Octadrachm, 32.73 g. to r. . ↑ ↑. Cabinet de Médailles de Paris, Inv. no. 1966. 163.


No. 30. AR. Tetradrachm, 15.67 g. to r. . ↑ ↑. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. no. N. 1294.


No. 31. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.58 g. to r. . ↑ ↑. Lahore Museum, Inv. no. *PMC*, no. 8.


No. 32. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.00 g. to r. . ↑ ↑. American Numismatic Society (ex coll. H. Fowler).


No. 33. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.38 g. to r. . ↑ ↑. British Museum, Inv. no. G. 1157.

No. 34. AR. Tetradrachm, 14.25 g. to r. . ↑ ↑. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. no. N. 193012.

No. 35. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.07 g. to r. . ↑ ↑. Ai Khanum hoard (III) (*RN* 1975, pp. 23-57, no. 22).

No. 36. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.45 g. to r. . ↑ ↑. British Museum, Inv. no. 1888. 12. 8. 76.

No. 37. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.00 g. to r. . ↑ ↑. American Numismatic Society (ex coll. E.T. Newell).

No. 38. AR. Tetradrachm, 16.08 g. to r. . ↑ ↑. British Museum, Inv. no. 1922. 4. 24. 101.

Group 7 is represented by a gold octadrachm and several silver series. The Herakles on the reverse is the same as that in the preceding group, but the portrait of the sovereign, powerfully realistic, is that of an old man. We have illustrated here our selected specimens according to an evolution of ageing that can be observed on the king's face. If one takes into account the evolution of the royal portrait from a young man to an old man one has to conclude that the issues in this group 7 are chronologically placed at the end of the reign of Euthydemus I.

The octadrachm in the Paris Cabinet des Médailles deserves a special mention. It is the only coin of that weight found to date in the gold coinage. One will admire Euthydemus' artistically curly hair as well as the loop formed

<sup>9</sup> 'The Euthydemid Coinage of Bactria; Further Hoard Evidence from Ai Khanum', *RN* 1981: 7-44, see pl. VII, nos. 75 and 86.

by the two ends of the ribbons and the expressive features of the face, which retain a virile energy in spite of their fleshiness. As G. Le Rider observed in 1969, special dies must have been engraved to strike such a coin, whose diameter is larger than that of ordinary tetradrachms, and it must have been issued for a memorable occasion.<sup>10</sup> On the basis of what we know about the events of Euthydemus' reign we suppose that this coin comes after Euthydemus I's victorious resistance in 208-206 BC at the siege of Bactria, when his legitimacy was recognized by Antiochus III and Bactria became finally independent. It was also to celebrate an event of great historical importance that the 20 stater gold coin of Eucratides I was issued; given its weight, the highest denomination ever known in antiquity, this coin was certainly not intended for circulation but, as has already been suggested, it was a medal commemorating the conquest of the Indian territories by Eucratides I.<sup>11</sup>

For the bronzes of Euthydemus I we have proposed a classification into two groups on the basis of two criteria: the change in thickness of the flan which is accompanied by a change in the shape of the edge, and the variations in the relative positions of the dies.

*Bronzes of Diodotus (nos. 39-40)*

Head of Zeus/Artemis running r. holding torch. (*BN*, Diodote, series 8).

No. 39. *Æ*. 6.17 g. ↑ ↓. British Museum, Inv. no. 1922.4. 24. 2886.

Head of Hermes/Athena standing facing holding spear (*BN*, Diodote, series 12).

No. 40. *Æ*. 6.47 g. ↑ ↓. British Museum, Inv. no. 1888. 12. 8. 71.

*Group 1. Bronzes of Euthydemus I (nos. 41-44).*

Head of Herakles/Horse prancing r. (*BN*, Euthydème I, series 17).

No. 41. *Æ*. 8.12 g. ↑ ↓. British Museum, Inv. no. 1903. 12. 2. 1.

No. 42. *Æ*. 7.31 g. ↑ →. British Museum, Inv. no. 1894. 5. 6. 2394.

No. 43. *Æ*. 8.09 g. ↑ →. British Museum, Inv. no. 1888. 12. 8. 80.

No. 44. *Æ*. 6.78 g. ↑ →. British Museum, Inv. no. 1888. 12. 8. 81.




The first group is characterized by a thick flan with a bevelled edge similar to that of the Diodotus bronzes (nos. 39 & 40), which leads one to classify this series at the beginning of Euthydemus I's bronze coinage. Within the same group one may observe a progressive decrease in thickness of the flans, which however remain thicker than those in the second group and retain a bevelled edge.

*Group 2 (nos. 45-8)*

Head of Herakles/Horse prancing r. (*BN*, Euthydème I, series 22-4)

<sup>10</sup> 'Monnaies grecques récemment acquises par le Cabinet de Paris', *RN* 1969: 7-27, especially p. 26.

<sup>11</sup> See O. Bopearachchi, 'Ménandre Sôter, un roi indo-grec. Observations chronologiques et géographiques', *Studia Iranica*, 1990: 39-85.

- No. 45. Æ. 7.59 g. ↑ ↓. British Museum, Inv. no. 1888. 12. 8. 106.  
 No. 46. Æ. 7.30 g. ↑ ↓. British Museum, Inv. no. 1860. 12. 20. 11.  
 No. 47. Æ. 4.11 g.  · ↑ . British Museum, Inv. no. 1888. 12. 8. 107.  
 No. 48. Æ. 3.77 g.  · ↑ ↑. British Museum, Inv. no. I. O. C. 5.



Group 2 is characterized by thin flat flan, a straight edge and the emergence of monograms on the reverse.

This is the context in which one can examine the Sogdian imitations of Euthydemus I. Euthydemus' imitations are numerous and, judging from their style, their production was continued until a fairly late period. These imitations may easily be detected by their weight, which is usually under 12 g, and of course by the barbarian tendency in the style of the types and inscriptions. The later the imitation, the greater the deformation, until it becomes a caricature.

In 1910 Allotte de la Fuÿe suggested a classification for these imitations, based on his own large collection, which he assembled himself.<sup>12</sup> His classification principle has never been called into question; however, the finding of new items has enabled M. Mitchiner to develop it further.<sup>13</sup> These imitations fall at first sight into two groups, A and B, whose origins are without doubt totally different. For the coins in group A, the effigy is that of Euthydemus I and the Herakles on the reverse retains a vaguely human appearance (nos. 49-65).<sup>14</sup> In group B the obverse shows a mitred effigy of the sovereign; on the reverse the body of the god is no more than a shapeless assembly of more or less blurred lines.<sup>15</sup> We shall not dwell on the imitations in group B, it is sufficient here to have mentioned its existence. Group A is of more interest to us for it is directly related to our subject.

Within category A, Allotte de la Fuÿe suggested subdivisions which correspond to the increasing deformation of the types and therefore to an approximately chronological classification.<sup>16</sup> The classification that we propose here concerns only the very first imitations of Euthydemus and it changes or modifies what Allotte de la Fuÿe and M. Mitchiner have proposed so far.

*Group 1. Sogdian imitations (nos. 49-52)*

- No. 49. AR. Tetradrachm, 12.09 g. to r.  · ↑ ↑. British Museum. Inv. no. 1858. 7. 31. 2.<sup>17</sup>  
 No. 50. AR. Tetradrachm, 11.90 g. to r.  · ↑ ↑. Cabinet des Médailles de Paris, Inv. No. N. 6436.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>12</sup> RN 1910: 6-73; 281-333.

<sup>13</sup> Mitchiner, series 477-95.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., series 477-92.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., series 493-5.

<sup>16</sup> RN 1910, especially pp. 296-333, pls. I-III.

<sup>17</sup> Same coin: Mitchiner, series 478, 2nd illustration.

<sup>18</sup> Same coin: Allotte de la Fuÿe, RN 1910, pl. I, no. 12F; Mitchiner, series 478, 1st illustration.



No. 51. AR. Tetradrachm, 11.47 g. to r.  $\kappa$ .  $\uparrow$   $\uparrow$ . American Numismatic Society (ex coll. E.T. Newell).

No. 52. AR. Tetradrachm, 11.53 g. to r.  $\kappa$ .  $\uparrow$   $\uparrow$ . State Museum, Lucknow. Inv. no. 25815.

The first subdivision comprises coins bearing a Greek legend, whose style is still fairly close to that of authentic Euthydemus I coins. The main criterion which enables us to identify these first imitations, whose workmanship is still very respectable compared to that of later issues, is the lighter weight of 12 g, which Mitchiner calls the 'Persic standard'. The sovereign's head is that of a middle-aged man; the reverse imitates the type of the naked Herakles, seated on a rock and leaning on it with his left hand, and holding in his right hand a club which rests on his right thigh. In the field to the right one can see the monogram made of the letters *kappa* and *rho*  $\kappa\rho$ , although the loop of the rho is almost reduced to a dot  $\kappa$ .<sup>19</sup>

*Group 2. Sogdian imitations (nos. 53-5)*

No. 53. AR. Tetradrachm, 11.78 g. to r.  $\kappa$ .  $\uparrow$   $\uparrow$ . Cabinet des Médailles de Paris. Inv. no. N. 6434.<sup>20</sup>

No. 54. AR. Tetradrachm, 11.19 g. to r.  $\kappa$ .  $\uparrow$   $\uparrow$ . Cabinet des Médailles de Paris. Inv. no. N. 6435.<sup>21</sup>

No. 55. AR. Tetradrachm, 9.23 g. to r.  $\kappa$ .  $\uparrow$   $\uparrow$ . Cabinet des Médailles de Paris. (ex coll. Rollin 1834).

In the second subdivision one finds a corrupt and disfigured legend which supposedly reads *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ*; and the letters are difficult to make out. The legend on the coin no. 53 reads *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* instead of *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ*.

*Group 3. Sogdian imitations (nos. 56-8)*

No. 56. AR. Tetradrachm, 10.85 g. to r.  $\kappa$ .  $\uparrow$   $\uparrow$ . British Museum. Inv. no. OR 0283.<sup>22</sup>

No. 57. AR. Tetradrachm, 11.20 g. to r.  $\kappa$ .  $\uparrow$   $\uparrow$ . Lahore Museum, Inv. no. *PMC*, no. 11.

No. 58. AR. Tetradrachm, 11.53 g. to r.  $\kappa$ .  $\uparrow$   $\uparrow$ . State Museum, Lucknow. Inv. no. 25814.<sup>23</sup>

In the third subdivision one finds more and more corrupt and disfigured legend which reads *ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ* instead of *ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ*; in another words, *Υ* is replaced by *Υ*, *Θ* by *Ο* and *Δ* by *Λ*.

<sup>19</sup> *RN* 1910, pl. I, 12 F and 13; Mitchiner, series 478.

<sup>20</sup> Same coin: Allotte de la Fuÿe, *RN* 1910, pl. I, no. 13.

<sup>21</sup> Same coin: Allotte de la Fuÿe, *RN* 1910, pl. I, no. 14.

<sup>22</sup> Same coin: Mitchiner, series 479, 1st illustration.

<sup>23</sup> Classified under Euthydemus by A.K. Srivastava, in *Lucknow Museum Catalogue*, series 2, Lucknow, 1969, pl. I, no. 25814.

*Group 4. Sogdian imitations (nos. 59-60)*

No. 59. AR. Tetradrachm, 9.39 g. to r. Δ. ↑ ↑. British Museum. Inv. no. BMC 10.

No. 60. AR. Tetradrachm, 7.84 g. to r. Δ. ↑ ↑. Cabinet des Médailles de Paris.

In the fourth subdivision the monogram **κ** is replaced by a triangle.

*Group 5. Sogdian imitations (nos. 61-2).*

No. 61. AR. Tetradrachm, 11.06 g. ↑ ↑. British Museum. Inv. no. 1902. 6. 8. 406.<sup>24</sup>

No. 62. AR. Tetradrachm, 13.68 g. ↑ ↑. British Museum. Inv. no. 1853. 3. 1. 1259.<sup>25</sup>

This subdivision is only represented by three coins.<sup>26</sup> The reverse imitates the type of our 3rd group of authentic Euthydemus issues depicting the seated Herakles, holding in his right hand a club which rests on a pile of rocks in front of him. Although in Mitchiner's classification this series is placed as the very first imitations, we believe that this group of coins were issued later. One observes the same corrupt and disfigured legend which reads *EVOΛΗMOV* instead of *ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ*, which is also found on the imitations of the third group. Secondly contrary to the very first imitations of our classification (group 1-4), the absence of monogram **κ** which is a common feature of all the first four subdivisions, is noteworthy.

All the five groups that we have identified can be considered as the first imitations of Sogdiana. The remaining subsequent imitations belong to two distinct groups: intermediate and late. The coins of the intermediate group are characterized by an Aramaic legends on either the left or right side of the reverse and a corrupt Greek legend on the other side. Therefore on certain coins *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* is on the right and an Aramaic legend on the left (no. 63), on others *ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ* is on the left and an Aramaic legend on the right (no. 64). It will also be noted that the distortion of the Herakles image progresses more rapidly than that of the sovereign's portrait. These coins initially bear the anonymous legend *MaLKAT SuG* 'King of Sogdiana' (no. 63) or *MaLKaTsaT MaLKA* 'king of kings' (no. 64) and then the name of two kings *MaLKAT HaSa* 'Hasa'<sup>27</sup> or *MaLKAT KaGAHa* 'Kagaha'.<sup>28</sup>

These late subdivisions which follow the intermediate group go through a continuous succession of stages characterized by increasing distortion. The coins can be arranged according to their decreasing conformity with the original

<sup>24</sup> Mitchiner, series 477, 2nd illustration.

<sup>25</sup> Mitchiner, series 477, 1st illustration.

<sup>26</sup> The third specimen is in the Ashmolean Museum, see Mitchiner, series 477, 3rd illustration.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Mitchiner, series 483.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., series 482.

portrait: a heavy, flabby face with a more and more pronounced frontal fold. In all the series of the late imitations the Greek legend disappears completely and a circumferential Aramic legend appears (no. 65). The classification is then made according to the different Aramic inscriptions. These coins, amplifying the king's titulature, seem to have started during the reign of Hasa.<sup>29</sup> He was apparently succeeded by two kings in the name of Kamasa (no. 65)<sup>30</sup> and Malta.<sup>31</sup> The final conclusion that can be drawn from these observations is that the very early imitations with the Greek legend (nos. 49-62) were issued by an anonymous king of Sogdiana and the intermediate and late imitations by the named kings Hasa, Kagaha, Hamasa, and Malta. As we have stated above we do not wish to give a complete classification of these late issues, for the simple reason that they do not have a direct bearing on our present subject, but this problem will be treated elsewhere. We have given below as an example three significant types of these intermediate and late imitations.

[ BA ] ΣΙΑ [ ΕΩΣ ] / MaLKAT SuG

No. 63. AR. Tetradrachm, 9.44 g. ↑ ↑. British Museum. Inv. no. 1890. 4. 4. 18.<sup>32</sup>

MaLKaTsaT MaLKA / EVOVΛHM [ OV ]

No. 64. AR. Tetradrachm, 11.29 g. ↑ ↑. British Museum. Inv. no. 1894. 5. 6. 1733.<sup>33</sup>

MaHAT MaLKa KaMA.

No. 65. AR. Tetradrachm, 8.77 g. ↑ ↑. British Museum. Inv. no. 1890. 4. 4. 19.<sup>34</sup>

Why are these imitations attributed to Sogdiana? In 1841 H.H. Wilson noted that these imitations had been brought from the Bukhara region<sup>35</sup> and in 1910 Allotte de la Fuÿe confirmed this attribution.<sup>36</sup> In his article on monetary circulation north of the Oxus in Graeco-Bactrian times, on the basis of the studies made by V.M. Masson and E.V. Zejmal<sup>37</sup> on the find sites, E.V. Rtveladze proved that the Bukhara region is clearly the place where the Euthydemus I imitations were struck and circulated.<sup>38</sup> Apart from isolated finds of these imitations in this region, a hoard of 86 specimens of these coins was found in

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., series 486.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., series 487 & 491.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., series 489.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., series 481, 1st illustration.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., series 484, 1st illustration.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., series 491, 1st illustration.

<sup>35</sup> *Ariana Antiqua*, 1841, London, p. 225.

<sup>36</sup> *RN* 1910: 6, 24, 312.

<sup>37</sup> 'Poličeskaja istorija drevnej Transoksiany po numizmatičeskim dannym', *Kul'tura Vostoka, Drevnost'i Rannee Srednevekovye*, Leningrad, 1978, pp. 192-214.

<sup>38</sup> 'La circulation monétaire au nord de l'Oxus à l'époque gréco-bactrienne', *RN* 1984: 61-76, especially pp. 67-9; also see G.A. Pugačenkova and E.V. Rtveladze, 'Ob obraščeniï greko-baktrijskix monet v Severnij Baktrii', *Obščestvennye Nauki v Uzbekistane*, 1938, pp. 31-9.

1937 on the Murda Partob tepe, 3 km east of Bukhara.<sup>39</sup> Another hoard which is kept in the Ethnographic Museum of Bukhara is also alleged to have been found in Bukhara, in the Šaxrud canal.<sup>40</sup>

Furthermore, in view of the great number of find places and of authentic Euthydemus I coins, Rtveladze concluded that the Bukhara region was part of the territories controlled by that king.<sup>41</sup> The discovery on the one hand of a great number of Euthydemus I imitations and, on the other hand, of a very small number of issues of his successors indicates, according to him, that this same region ceased to belong to the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom.

Having introduced the different coin series issued by Euthydemus himself and by the Sogdians after their independence and having analysed their distribution relying on their findspots we may now present our principal arguments which enabled us to suppose that the Sogdians assumed their independence during the lifetime of Euthydemus. As we have said earlier, our first document is a half-unit bronze coin bearing the types of Euthydemus I and Aramaic legend on the reverse (no. 66).<sup>42</sup> J. Texidor, who has examined it attentively, has proposed the reading *MLK*, i.e. 'king' in Aramaic.<sup>43</sup> Part of the legend on the reverse, equally in Aramaic, is off flan. This coin has several characteristics of the authentic Euthydemus I coins. In the first instance, its types, the bare head of Herakles and the prancing horse, are typical types of Euthydemus I bronzes. Secondly, it has a bevelled edge as in the first group of authentic Euthydemus I bronzes. However, the less pronounced thickness of the flan and especially the parallel orientation of the dies lead one to suppose that the technical inspiration came from the intermediate bronze coins of Euthydemus I. This means that this coin was struck towards the end of the issues of the first group (nos. 41-4) and before the second group (nos. 45-8), characterized by a thin flat flan and a straight edge.

François Widemann,<sup>44</sup> quite rightly, placed this issue before the monetary reform which, according to David Bivar,<sup>45</sup> took place after the siege of Bactria towards 206 BC. According to Widemann the issue was struck by a non-Greek, a Persian, Bactrian or Sogdian who took advantage of the autonomy afforded by the two-year siege of Bactria by Antiochus III between 208 and 206 BC.

<sup>39</sup>V.M. Masson, 'Drevnebaktrijskie monety iz sobraniiji Muzeja Istorii AN YzSSR', *Trudy muzeja Istorii AN YzSSR*, vyp. 2, Tashkent, p. 87; E.V. Zejmal', 'Političeskaja istorija . . .', op. cit., p. 210.

<sup>40</sup>Reported by E.V. Rtveladze thanks to the information that he could gathered from A. Musakaeve, *RN*, 1984: 68. In spite of our attempts, we were unable to examine these coins in the Bukhara Museum. However, we are extremely grateful to our good friend E.V. Rtveladze for giving us some valuable information about them.

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 66-9.

<sup>42</sup>We wish to express our sincere thanks to my good friend François Widemann for allowing me to illustrate this coin in his private collection.

<sup>43</sup>*Studia Indica* 18, 1989: 194.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 195-7.

<sup>45</sup>*NC*, 1951: 27.

According to him this issue was interrupted by Euthydemus I as soon as he returned to power in 206 BC. In our opinion Euthydemus I did not manage to recover his territories in Sogdiana, and the rebels retained their autonomy long after the siege of Bactria. Even after peace concluded with the Seleucids, the Graeco-Bactrians do not seem to have attempted to re-conquer Sogdiana and preferred rather to launch expeditions against India, which was then weakened by the decadence of the Maurya empire. Sogdiana, more iranized than hellenized, and about to break away from Bactria, probably remained free at least until the arrival of the Yuezhi c. 130 BC.<sup>46</sup>

The very first Euthydemus I imitations (nos. 49-52), which signal Sogdiana's emancipation, show, it seems to us, that Sogdiana's independence was proclaimed during Euthydemus I's lifetime and continued without interruption during and after his reign. What are the most striking characteristics of these first imitations? The most striking aspect is the close resemblance of the royal portrait with that of group 6 of Euthydemus I (nos. 23-8). One will note that this royal portrait of a middle age man serves as a prototype for all the Sogdiana imitations. There are also frontal fold and the strand of curly hair, characteristic of the portrait in the 6th group of Euthydemus I, which become more and more pronounced on the Sogdian striking. Among other characteristic of the first series of imitations one may note the position of the club on Herakles' right thigh, the presence of the monogram *kappa-rho*  $\text{K}$  in its modified form  $\text{K}$ , the parallel orientation of the dies  $\uparrow\uparrow$ , the squat flan and the absence of the dotted circle on the reverse. All these elements are found in the first Sogdian issues, which show very creditable workmanship, and are borrowed from the authentic issues in group 6 of Euthydemus I. Is it necessary to emphasize that the portrait of the aged sovereign in group 7 did not serve as a prototype for the Sogdian imitation? These observations enable us to state that the first imitations which signal Sogdiana's independence were struck during Euthydemus I's lifetime. In other words, they preceded the striking of octadrachms which apparently commemorate the recognition by Antiochus III of Euthydemus I's legitimacy and the final independence of Bactria, i.e. before 206 BC. We have already stated that the succession of the series of imitations in group A is characterized by a more and more corrupt and barbarian style and by the evolution of the legends, which are first Greek, then Greek and Aramaic, finally, only Aramaic. One cannot see in these series any discontinuity which could have corresponded to an alleged retaking by Euthydemus I of these Sogdian territories.

In Polybius' account one will note that Euthydemus I, at the time of siege of Bactria, begged his emissary Teleas to mediate between him and Antiochus III in a friendly manner and bring about a reconciliation '... entreating Antiochus not to grudge him the name and state of king, as if he did not yield to this request, neither of them would be safe; for considerable hordes of

<sup>46</sup> 'The demise of the Sogdian kingdom is defined by the nomad migration since the Yüeh Chi were settled in Sogdiana when the Chinese ambassador Ch'ang Kien visited them there in 128 BC', Mitchiner, vol. 4, p. 284.

Nomads were approaching, and this was not only a grave danger to both of them, but if they consented to admit them, the country would certainly relapse into barbarism' (XI, 39).<sup>47</sup> The presence of nomads who are already there in not inconsiderable numbers, is that not an allusion to an important loss of territory?

It is for all these various reasons that we suppose that the independence of Sogdiana took place between 208 and 206 BC. The Sogdians took advantage of the weakening of Euthydemid power caused by the war with Antiochus III to secede.

However, we come up against a major problem. Should we consider that the whole of Sogdiana rebelled against Greek power or only the region defined by the Bukhara oasis where the vast majority of Sogdian imitations were found? New archaeological and numismatic data will one day make it possible to confirm this hypothesis. We shall leave it to the archaeologists working in this area to settle the question.

#### POSTSCRIPT

The general classification of the coinage of Euthydemus and the first Sogdian issues proposed in this article remains valid to a certain extent. However, the discovery of coins issued in the name of Euthydemus with the portrait of an old man on the obverse and on the reverse a young Heracles, instead of an old man, weakens the logic of our classification. These coins were mainly found in Kuliab hoard (see 'Coin Production and Circulation in Central Asia and North-West India (before and after Alexander's Conquest)' reprinted in this volume, see chapter 15). I personally believe that a methodical die-study on these coinages will only answer the questions raised in this article. The exhaustive die-study undertaken by Olivier Bordeaux (PhD student of the Paris

<sup>47</sup> Polybius, *The Histories*, tr. W.R. Paton, vol. IV, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1976, pp. 300-3.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

<i>BN</i>	O. Bopearachchi, <i>Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné</i> , Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1991.
<i>Mitchiner</i>	M. Mitchiner, <i>Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage</i> , vols. 1 and 4, London, 1975.
<i>NC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
<i>PMC</i>	R. B. Whitehead, <i>Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum Lahore. I. Indo-Greek Coins</i> , Oxford, 1914.
<i>RN</i>	<i>Revue Numismatique</i> .
<i>Trésor de Qunduz</i>	R. Curiel et G. Fussman, <i>Le trésor monétaire de Qunduz</i> (MDFA 20), Paris, 1953.





1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12





13



14



15



16



17



18



19



20



21



22





23



24



25



26



27



28



29



30



31



32







33



34



35



36



37



38



39



40



41



42



43



44





45



46



47



48



49



50



51



52



53



54



55



56





57



58



59



60



61



62



63



64



65



66



66(1×3)



## On the So-Called Earliest Representation of Gaṇeśa\*

A Pakistani numismatist, Agha Inayat Ali Shah, published in 1955 a silver drachm issued in the name of the Indo-Greek Hermaios, and pretended that the Greek god Zeus on the reverse has been Indianized by wearing an elephant trunk like the Hindu deity Gaṇeśa (1955: 16-17). He further argued: 'The symbolic representation of the enthroned Zeus as tutelary elephant-deity of Kapisa, like the square copper coin of Eukratides, furnish local influence on foreign currency'. However, A.K. Narain apparently unaware of Agha Inayat Ali Shah's article and claiming the credit to be the first scholar to identify the earliest representation of Gaṇeśa, repeated, many years later, the same argument: 'The Pi-lo-sho-lo mountain in Kapisi was so called after its presiding deity who had the Greek god Zeus of the Indo-Greeks and the elephant deity of the local population of a part of Afghanistan' (1978: 142-4).<sup>1</sup> Narain then wrote a series of articles on the same subject, repeating more or less the same initial arguments.<sup>2</sup> Since then scholars who dealt with this question gave a place of eminence to A.K. Narain, ignoring Agha Inayat Ali Shah who was the first to put forward this hypothesis.

\*Reprint from *TOIIOI*, vol. 3, no. 2, 1993, pp. 425-53.

The subject of this paper has been presented in August 1992, first at the National Museum of New Delhi, at the Department of History and Culture, Rohilkhand University, Bareilly, then at the Indian Coin Society, Bombay; it was proposed to the journal *Yavanika*, see O. Bopearachchi 1992. Since then I have accumulated a number of numismatic data during my visits to Russia, England and U.S.A. which enabled me to take up the whole question in detail. I wish to extend my warmest thanks to Joe Cribb, Curator of South Asian Coins, Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, to Michel Amandry, Director of the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, to Carmen Arnold-Biucchi, Margaret Thompson Curator of Greek Coins, American Numismatic Society, to Uri Dukov, Curator of Greek Coins, State Hermitage Museum, to Fr. Widemann (CNRS) and to Harry Fowler, former President of the American Numismatic Society, who very kindly allowed me reproduce certain coins.

<sup>1</sup> This coin in the British Museum (see no. 46) was donated in 1961 by A.D.H. Bivar (inv. no. 1961.3.2.1).

<sup>2</sup> A.K. Narain has first presented this idea in 1973, in his paper presented at the Paris session of the International Congress of Orientalists and in his presidential address at the Diamond Jubilee Conference of the Numismatic Society of India 1973 (*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, 1974: 180-91). His initial article also appeared in 1982 (1982: 26-9) and in 1984 (1984: 9-14) [I shall not refer to this article since A.K. Narain considers it as an incomplete paper and forbids the using of it without his consent, *ibid.*: 14]; also in 1988 (1988: 1007-19), and in 1991 (1991: 19-48).




Joe Cribb, in 1982, contested A.K. Narain's identification and showed that the photograph of the same coin, lit from a different angle gives a different picture (1982: 30-2). He further argued that what Narain interpreted as the trunk of an elephant is a badly copied Zeus-Mithra's nose, beard and a fold in his gown. Curiously P.L. Gupta, in his editorial note to Cribb's paper, wrote: 'Only photo-technician can provide us true answer. Only they can guide us about the light and angle for photographing coins to produce reliable and incontrovertible images', as if a problem of such importance can be solved by the verdict of a photo-technician, but not by historians of art and numismatists. A.K. Narain on several occasions repeated the same initial arguments until 1988, without making much of an attempt to answer the objections raised by J. Cribb. Three years later, A.K. Narain, in the collection of studies edited by R.L. Brown on the Hindu deity Gaṇeśa, without even referring to the objections raised by Cribb, talks about the so-called 'elephant-headed' divinity on the Hermaios' coin as a well established fact (1991: 19-48). To my surprise, R.L. Brown and M.K. Dhavalikar take A.K. Narain's identification very seriously into consideration.<sup>3</sup>

According to us, the hypothesis put forward by Agha Inayat Ali Shah and A.K. Narain is based on a mistaken identity. The aim of this paper is to develop further the arguments put forward by J. Cribb and to show that the coins in question with the so-called 'elephant-headed divinity' were not struck by the Greeks but by their nomadic successors, and to argue that the deity represented on this coin is Zeus-Mithra, and certainly not Gaṇeśa.

Firstly the coins on which Agha Inayat Ali Shah and A.K. Narain seemed to have identified the earliest representation of Gaṇeśa were not lifetime issues of Hermaios, but imitations issued by the nomads who occupied the Kabul Valley after the death of this Greek king. K.W. Dobbins clearly showed in 1970 that the coins of this group should be considered as posthumous issues (1970: 307-26). Quoting K.W. Dobbins, J. Cribb correctly referred to these coins as posthumous issues of Hermaios (1982: 30, n. 2).<sup>4</sup> Dobbins' hypothesis does not seem to have convinced A.K. Narain, because in his article (1978: 142-4), these coins struck in the name of Hermaios are presented as lifetime issues. Curiously enough, even in 1991 A.K. Narain, in spite of Cribb's opposition, continues to talk about these coins as lifetime issues of Hermaios (1991: 19-48). I wonder whether A.K. Narain is unaware of the importance of this hypothesis or that he purposely avoids the discussion which puts very seriously into question his reconstruction of Indo-Greek history.

<sup>3</sup> See also Dhavalikar, 1990: 38-46; and 1991: 49-68. R.L. Brown in his introduction to the above-mentioned volume on Gaṇeśa, does not take a firm stand on Narain's hypothesis, and avoids the discussion by saying: 'Likewise some early artistic depictions of an elephant-headed their anthropomorphic figure, such as Narain's own first-century B.C. coin image, is while an incipient Gaṇeśa, not yet Gaṇeśa', 1991: 4.

<sup>4</sup> However, I learnt from J. Cribb that in his article the contradictory remark which follows the reference to Dobbin's article: 'This is Dobbins' personal view and not acceptable to many scholars' was added, without the author's permission, by P.L. Gupta, the editor of the *Numismatic Digest*.

The key to our understanding of the conquest of the Indo-Greek kingdoms, in the regions of the Paropamisadae and Gandhara, by the Yuezhi, who later came to be known as the Kushans, lies in the different coinages struck in the name of Hermaios. Hermaios was a contemporary of Archebios but in different territories, as is revealed by his monograms. While Archebios was ruling in West Panjab (Taxila ) , Hermaios occupied the Paropamisadae (Alexandria of the Caucasus ) and the Gandhara (Charsadda ).<sup>5</sup> Although the kingdom of Archebios in the Indus Valley centred on Taxila was taken over by a Scythian king named Maues, and the Greeks under the leadership of Apollodotos II were subsequently able to regain these lost territories for a short period, on the contrary after the death of Hermaios, the Greek power in the Paropamisadae and Gandhara came to an end.


The Yuezhi who invaded Bactria crossed a few years later the Hindu Kush mountains, the natural rampart which once protected the Mauryan empire from Greek expansion, and later the Indo-Greek kingdom from the nomad invasion, and conquered the Paropamisadae and Gandhara dethroning Hermaios.<sup>6</sup> They were no doubt the same nomads who, having conquered Bactria, copied the silver tetradrachms of Heliocles I, the last Greek king to rule north of the Hindu Kush. Having penetrated into the Paropamisadae, the same nomad conquerors began, as they were accustomed to, to imitate the coins of Hermaios, the last Greek king to rule in these regions. This is also revealed by the find spots of his coins, both lifetime and posthumous, found in large quantities in the Paropamisadae, Gandhara and the region of Gardez-Ghazni. On the basis of the total absence of coins of Maues and Azes I in the Paropamisadae and the abundance of coins minted in the name of Hermaios in the same region, D.W. Macdowall (1985: 555-66) correctly suggested that neither Maues nor Azes I ever occupied that region. In the Mir Zakah deposit, the lifetime and posthumous coins in the name of Hermaios alone or with that of his wife Calliope are represented by 928 coins, against only one coin of Maues (R. Curiel et D. Schlumberger 1953: 79 and 96). In the collection of J. Hackin made mainly in Begram and Peshawar and now in the Musée Guimet and the Cabinet des Médailles of Paris, not a single coin of Maues or of Azes I is attested. Furthermore out of 7,000 coins collected by Ch. Masson (mostly in the region of Begram) during the years 1833, 1834 and 1835, none belonged to Azes I (1834: 152-75; 1836: 1-28; 1836a: 537-47). The total absence of Azes I's coins in the Paropamisadae is explained by the presence of imitations of Hermaios, minted in large number by the nomads who occupied that region for a long period. For these reasons A.K. Narain's hypothesis according to which Azes I conquered the Paropamisadae after the death of Hermaios c. 55

<sup>5</sup> Regarding the attribution of these monograms to different geographical regions, see Bopearachchi, *BN*, pp. 84, 111, 116.

<sup>6</sup> See Bopearachchi 1990b: 93-103.

BC cannot be upheld anymore (1957: 162-4). The Greek power in the Paropamisadae and Gandhara came to an end with the penetration of the Yuezhi. This conquest may have taken place a few years after the time when Archebios lost his territories in the West Panjab to the Indo-Scythian Maues. It is very important to underline that the Taxila excavations did not yield any of the silver denominations of Hermaios. The 263 bronze coins in the name of Hermaios found in the excavations belong to later posthumous series. The absence of Hermaios' lifetime and of his very first posthumous issues in the Taxila excavations is counterbalanced by the presence of hundreds of coins of Maues and Azes I on this site.

The most difficult question here is to establish convincing criteria to differentiate the lifetime issues of Hermaios from the posthumous imitations. I have discussed this question in detail elsewhere and classified them into several groups on the basis of style, monograms, legends and metal.<sup>7</sup> I have no intention to discuss here once again all these groups, which were successively issued during nearly hundred years. I am mainly interested in the very first imitations minted by the nomads in the name of Hermaios.

All the coins of Hermaios characterized by a good style and workmanship and bearing the monograms: , frequently found on the coins that circulated in the Indo-Greek kingdom before him, belong to the first group. I consider them as the lifetime issues of Hermaios. There are several series that can be attributed to this group:

1. A first series, known today by three coins, consists of an Attic-standard monolingual tetradrachm, with a diademed bust of the king on the obverse and enthroned Zeus-Mithra on the reverse (see no. 20).<sup>8</sup>
2. The bilingual, Indian-standard tetradrachms and drachms bearing the same types belong to the second series (see no. 21).<sup>9</sup>
3. The third series has the same characteristics as the preceding one, except for the helmeted bust of the king on the obverse (see nos. 22 and 23).<sup>10</sup>
4. On the fourth series, the bust of the king on the obverse is replaced by the mounted king on a horse prancing to right. The reverse types and both Greek and Kharoshthi legends remain the same as on the two preceding ones.<sup>11</sup>
5. The fifth series is represented by three coins, one in the British Museum and two in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris; on these coins the mounted

<sup>7</sup> Bopearachchi, *BN*, pp. 113-25.







<sup>8</sup> Bopearachchi 1990b: 93, pl. 9, nos. 20-1; *BN*, Hermaios, série 1.

<sup>9</sup> *BN*, Hermaios, séries 2-3. Since Mitchiner's arrangement of coins in the name of Hermaios (1975: 229-37) does not tally with mine, I have only referred to the classification adopted in my catalogue published by the Bibliothèque Nationale.

<sup>10</sup> *BN*, Hermaios, séries 4-5.

<sup>11</sup> *BN*, Hermaios, séries 7-8.

- king is replaced by an amazon-queen on horseback on the obverse. On the reverse, the enthroned Zeus-Mithra, instead of making a gesture with his right hand, holds a scepter.<sup>12</sup>
6. We may also integrate the tetradrachms and drachms bearing the joint diademed busts of Hermaios and Calliope in the first group, in spite of the fact that both Greek and Kharoshthi legends are in the name of Hermaios and Calliope (see no. 24).<sup>13</sup>
  7. The last series of the lifetime issues is composed of bronze coins, with Zeus-Mithra on the obverse and a horse to right on the reverse (see nos. 25-7).<sup>14</sup>

The coins bearing the following principal monograms  (see no. 28),  (see no. 29)  (see no. 30)  (see no. 31),  (nos. 32-54),  belong to the first series of imitations of Hermaios.<sup>15</sup> These posthumous imitations of Hermaios are characterized by a stereotyped portrait of the king whose hair is represented by parallel streaks (see no. 28-48).

I have proposed this classification in my catalogue published by the *Bibliothèque Nationale* (*BN*, pp. 112-25), on the basis of style, monograms, legends and metal, judging only from the external appearance of the patina. Now I am in a position to justify further this sequence thanks to the results obtained from the neutron activation analysis carried out by J.N. Barrandon in Orléans, on several specimens belonging to the coins issued in the name of Hermaios. This non-destructive technique is performed on the whole coin to avoid errors due to corrosion and surface enrichment.<sup>16</sup> According to the results of this analysis, like all the Indo-Greek coins the coin of the first group (*BN*, Hermaios, no. 2) which I consider as a lifetime issue of Hermaios, is marked by a good percentage of silver. It contains 94.1 per cent silver against 4.68 per cent copper. The silver content of the coin of the second group, that is to say, the first series of posthumous imitations of Hermaios, is reduced to 85.4 per cent (*BN*, Hermaios, no. 23). The 13.6 per cent copper content of this coin is quite high compared to that of 4.68 per cent of the previous sample.

What are the arguments for differentiating the imitations from the lifetime coins ?

The first criterion is stylistic. Upon close examination one may observe that the first series of imitations—our second group—is characterized by a stereotyped royal portrait where the king's hair takes the form of parallel






<sup>12</sup> *BN*, Hermaios, séries 6; also see Bopearachchi, 1989: 453-6.

<sup>13</sup> *BN*, Hermaios et Calliope, série 1.

<sup>14</sup> *BN*, Hermaios, série 9.

<sup>15</sup> *BN*, Hermaios, série 10-11.

<sup>16</sup> For more details about this method, see Barrandon 1982: 3-15; *ibidem* 1989: 12-15. The complete results of this analysis will be published in the near future by Barrandon and myself.

There are a few cases where such stylistic differences can be observed on the coinage issued by the same king, the best example being the coins of Apollodotos II. The royal portrait on silver coins of Apollodotos II bearing the monograms  and  attributed to western Panjab is of relatively good workmanship, whereas the portrait on the coins with the monograms of eastern Panjab , ,  is larger and coarser.<sup>17</sup> However, the context in the Hermaios coinage is different. The degeneration of style which can be observed on the coins of Apollodotos, as G.K. Jenkins (1955: 1-26) clearly showed, is due to the difference of the geographical regions. But one cannot apply the same argument to underestimate the stylistic differences between the imitations and the lifetime issue of Hermaios, because both series of coins were found in the same geographical regions.

In this context, it should be emphasized that the composition of the so-called Charsadda hoard, found in 1917, carries valuable information to illustrate this point. This hoard contained 96 bilingual tetradrachms and a single bronze,

<sup>18</sup> Although the monogram  $\mathfrak{M}$  is only found on the coins of Hermaios and of his immediate predecessor Amyntas, the continuity is attested by the fact that both kings have identical monetary types on their bronzes (*BN*, Amyntas, séries 13-14; Hermaios, série 9). We have catalogued the coin bearing the monogram  $\mathfrak{P}$  under the genuine series; this same monogram appears for the first time on two coins of Strato I (Mitchiner 1975, 2: 308, d; 320, d; Bopearachchi 1991, Straton I, séries 1A, 9A). Dobbins (1970: 308) had some doubts in considering the coins with this monogram as imitations, yet he admits that 'there is nothing in its internal evidence of style to prove it as such'. It is reasonable to assume that the two monograms  $\mathfrak{P}$  and  $\mathfrak{H}$  that appear for the first time on the Indo-Greek coinage should be considered as variations of  $\mathfrak{P}$  and  $\mathfrak{K}$  which were first introduced by Euthydemus I c. 210 BC. *BN*, Euthydème I, séries 9A, 10A, 12A, 13A, 14A, 22C, 23B and 24A.



issued by ten different Indo-Greek kings. Out of the 97 coins there were 10 specimens in the name of Hermaios and 2 of Hermaios and Calliope. These issues give a clear *terminus post quem* for the burial of the hoard. According to the description given by R.B. Whitehead who published this hoard (1923: 315; 1947: 41, 42), the coins of Hermaios were characterized by the following monograms Σ✠ (1), Φ (4), Φ (5). The absence of monograms that characterizes the second group is significant. Out of 63 tetradrachms that I have seen in various museums and private collections, 40 belong to the very early posthumous imitations (our second group); in other words they are superior in number to those of the first group. If the coins of the second group were issued during the lifetime of Hermaios, there should have been at least a few coins of the second group in the Charsadda hoard. It seems that this hoard was buried just after the death of Hermaios, and it is the only way to explain the absence of posthumous imitations of Hermaios. One may yet argue by saying that the second group of coins in the name of Hermaios was minted by Hermaios himself but towards the end of his life. Two more arguments can be added to prove that the coins of the second group were indeed posthumous, and that will explain clearly why the Charsadda hoard contained only lifetime issues of Hermaios.

Certain monograms on the second group of coins that I have catalogued as posthumous imitations are also attested on certain bronze coins of Apollodotos I: ✠ (see no. 18), ✠ (see no. 19), ✠, ✠, ✠<sup>19</sup> and Eucratides I, found mainly in the Paropamisadae; ✠, ✠ (see no. 13) ✠, ✠ and ✠ (also see no. 12).<sup>20</sup> These coins are no doubt barbarous imitations of the lifetime issues of these two kings. Most of the genuine bronzes of Eucratides bear the monograms which were also attested on the coins of his predecessors; the two monograms ✠ and ✠ are noteworthy in this respect (nos. 10 and 11).<sup>21</sup>

One may add the following remarks:

- A. The flans of the lifetime issues are very regular in shape,<sup>22</sup> whereas those of the imitations are irregular (compare nos. 10, 11 with nos. 13, 14).<sup>23</sup>
- B. The dies of some of the imitations are adjusted at 3 o'clock instead of the usual 12 o'clock.
- C. Perhaps the most evident characteristic of the imitations is the extremely poor quality of the engraving (see nos. 13, 14). When we compare the lifetime issues with the imitations, one cannot miss the fact that they are much superior in style. The stylistic features of the royal portrait is quite similar to the one on his silver (see no. 8) and gold (see no. 9) coins. The

<sup>19</sup> BN, Apollodote I, séries 6 P, 7 D; 6 Q; 6 R; 6 U, 7 E; 6 V.

<sup>20</sup> BN, Eucratide I, série 19 U; 21 A, B, C, D, E; 23 A; 24 A.

<sup>21</sup> BN, Eucratide I, série 19 D, L; 20 C.

<sup>22</sup> See also BN, Apollodote I, nos. 95-9, 101-4; Eucratide I, nos. 76-97, 106-7.

<sup>23</sup> BN, Apollodote I, nos. 73-94, 100; Eucratide I, nos. 98-105, 108-13; also see Kirkpatrick 1973: 423.

poor workmanship of the imitations misled A.N. Lahiri (1965: 129) in describing the obverse type: 'Diademed bust of king to r. wearing "flat kausia"; palm behind head'. It is unnecessary to emphasize here that what Lahiri identified as a flat kausia is the badly copied helmet, and the palm-branch the barbarous engraving of the plume. These features are also found on the bronzes of Apollodotos I bearing the same monograms as those of the posthumous imitations of Hermaios.<sup>24</sup> The barbarous rendering of the tripod and the crooked lines of irregular dots around it are some of the characteristics that enable us to identify these coins as posthumous imitations (compare nos. 16, 17 with nos. 18, 19).

Let us add another argument to reinforce this hypothesis. One may notice that the eleven bilingual bronze coins of Eucratides I found in the Ai Khanum excavations in Afghanistan are all of good style.<sup>25</sup> The results obtained from the excavations conducted by the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan under the directorship of P. Bernard (1985: 96-105) show that the existence of this Greek city came to an end with the nomadic invasion c. 145 BC, and once driven away, the Greek settlers never returned to their city, which was then completely abandoned.


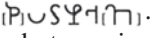


The fact that the coins found in the hoards and the stray finds of the Ai Khanum territory stop suddenly with Eucratides I's reign, proves that the life of the Greek city came to an end with his death.<sup>26</sup> Since the excavations did

<sup>24</sup>BN, Apollodote I, séries 6 O-W; 7 C-E.

<sup>25</sup>Bernard 1985: 69, nn. 173-83, pl. 8.

<sup>26</sup>Bernard 1985: 97-105; also see Rapin, 1983: 315-81; ibidem 1987: 41-70; ibidem 1992: 95-114; Boppearachchi, 1990a: 79-104; ibid. 1990 b: 39-85. The first Ai Khanum hoard was found in 1970, in room 20 of the administrative quarter of the palace situated in the centre of the lower city. It had been hidden after the pillage of the nearby treasury and during the last phase of the destruction of the palace, just before the arrival of a second wave of nomads. It contained 677 silver punch-marked coins and 6 bilingual drachms of Agathocles, but no issues of other Graeco-Bactrian kings were present: see Audouin and Bernard, 1973: 238-89; ibidem 1974: 7-41. The second hoard was found in 1973, in the ruins of the kitchen of a large private house situated outside the northern wall of the city. It comprised 63 silver tetradrachms of Attic standard, 49 of which are Graeco-Bactrian coins: 7 Diodotos in the name of Antiochos, 1 Diodotos in the name of Diodotos, 27 Euthydemos I, 3 Demetrios I, 1 Euthydemos II, 3 Agathocles, 2 Antimachos (I) Theos, 1 Apollodotos I, 1 Eucratides I, see Petitot-Biehler 1975: 23-57. The third hoard was found in the winter 1973/4 by an Afghan farmer very probably near the site itself. It was quickly sold in Kabul and a large portion of it passed by commerce through New York. It was published by Holt, 1981: 7-43, from a rapid inventory completed by N. Waggoner, former curator at the American Numismatic Society. As Holt himself correctly said, doubts must be expressed about the integrity of any hoard of valuable coins which has been passed from dealer to dealer over a period of years. Except for a few suspicious coins, like the drachm of Lysias, the composition of this hoard is similar to the one published by Petitot-Biehler. It must have comprised 142 silver coins of Attic standard, 120 of which were Graeco-Bactrian: 7 Diodotos in the name of Antiochos, 4 Diodotos in the name of Diodotos, 81 Euthydemos I, 8 Demetrios I, 3 Euthydemos II, 6 Agathocles, 2 Antimachos (I) Theos,

not yield any of the coins characterized by poor quality of style and none bearing monograms found also on the posthumous issues of Hermaios, the sensible conclusion one may draw is that such coins were not minted during the lifetime of Eucratides I. We do not believe that one could invoke the *ex absentia* argument, because, out of 256 bronze coins in the name of Eucratides that I have seen personally in various collections, his posthumous imitations represent 114 specimens against 142 of lifetime issues, the proportion being 7: 9.<sup>27</sup> If our calculation is exact, and if both series had been minted during the lifetime of Eucratides, the probability would be to find at least a few imitations at Ai Khanum.

A bronze coin of Eucratides I in the Smithsonian collection overstruck on a coin of Spalirises with Spalagadames enables us to solve once and for all the question of posthumous coins of Eucratides (see no. 15). Two-thirds of the monogram is out of the flan, the visible one-third is situated to the right side of the horses at the right edge of the flan. It is quite close, in appearance, to the monogram  found on the posthumous series of Eucratides.<sup>28</sup> Other than the monogram, the barbarous rendering of the royal portrait of Eucratides I, and the reverse type show clearly that this is a posthumous imitation of Eucratides.<sup>29</sup> When the coin is rotated 90°, on the obverse under the royal portrait, one can read three Greek letters ΔΕΛ, and just under them a line of pearls characterized by four dots. These pearls disappear under the shoulders of the king's bust and reappear over the legend [ΒΑΣΙ]ΛΕΩΕ of the overtype of Eucratides. On the reverse, once the coin is rotated 90°, one is able to read a part of the Kharoshthi legend of the undertype: [Spa]lagadama[sa] . Thus the legible parts of the obverse and reverse legends of the undertype give a clear indication for identifying the original coin. The wording and the position of the legends: on the obverse:  [CΠΑΛΑΤΡΙΟC/ΔΙΚΑΙΟΤ/A] ΔΕΛ[ΦΟΥΤΟΥ/BACIAEΩC]; on the reverse:  [Spalahoraputrasal/dhramiasa/Spa]lagadama[sa], enable us to recognize without difficulty the undertype of Spalirises with Spalagadames' coin (cf. M. Mitchiner 5, 691). This coin proves beyond all doubt that the dies which were used to overstrike the coin of Spalirises with Spalagadames do not belong to a mint which was in activity during the lifetime of Eucratides I. As we have seen earlier, we know now that the reign of Eucratides came to an end around 145 BC and the

9 Eucratides I. The excavations have also yielded 274 stray coins. There were 224 legible specimens of which 77 were Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek.



The stray finds are almost exclusively bronzes. The Seleucid coins are represented by a great quantity (68 specimens of which 62 of Antiochos I). Then come Euthydemos I with 49 coins, Diodotos with 26 coins and Eucratides I with 12 coins of which 11 were bilingual: see Bernard, 1985: 17-71.

<sup>27</sup> BN, Eucratide I, série 19 and 20.

<sup>28</sup> BN, Eucratide I, série 19 S.

<sup>29</sup> A coin very close in style to our specimen and bearing the same monogram is in the British Museum collection, see Mitchiner 1975, series 190, last illustration.

overstruck coin belongs to the Indo-Scythian Spalirises who did not begin to reign before 70 BC. So, the conclusion is that the overstriking was done at least 75 years after the death of Eucratides I.

In the light of this development we can also discuss the question of two bronze series of Eucratides, which Dobbins correctly considered as posthumous imitations. The first series bearing one of the posthumous monograms  has a reverse type of Nike to left.<sup>30</sup> In addition to the monogram and the poor execution of the engraving, this series has a peculiar title in Kharoshthi, *rajadirajasa*, and we know that this title was never used by any of the Indo-Greek kings, its earliest use being attested on the coins of the Indo-Scythian Maues who ruled at least 60 years after Eucratides I. The second series is the bronzes with the legend *Kavisie nagara devata*, bearing the unique monogram  (see no. 12).<sup>31</sup> P. Gardner (1886: 19), judging from the peculiar features of this series, assumed that it was issued after the death of Eucratides. A.K. Narain (1957: 123) argued that this series was struck by a third Eucratides. I believe that this series like the preceding one was struck by the same nomads, most probably to celebrate their victory over Alexandria of the Caucasus.

The gap between the reigns of Eucratides I and Hermaios is more than sixty years. The fact that these coins of Eucratides, Apollodotos and Hermaios that we consider as imitations have common monograms were found in the same geographical regions and are characterized by a very poor quality of workmanship allows us to assume that all these coins were minted at about the same time by the same nomads who conquered the Greek Paropamisadae and Gandhara.

The conclusion that one may draw from all these arguments is that our second group of coins was struck by the nomads who conquered the Paropamisadae and Gandhara to the detriment of Hermaios. It was on two of these coins that Agha Inayat Ali Shah and A.K. Narain were convinced that they saw an 'elephant's head' that they interpreted as evidence for the earliest form of Gaṇeśa. So, it is now very clear that it was not a Greek king but nomads who are responsible for issuing these coin with a so-called 'Gaṇeśa head'.

It is interesting to analyse, at this point, what made A.K. Narain to interpret the 'elephant's trunk' effect as the very first iconographic representation of Gaṇeśa. A.K. Narain, quoting the authorities on the question of Gaṇeśa, R.G. Bhandarkar, A.K. Coomaraswamy and A. Getty, admits that there is no literary evidence to attest Gaṇeśa cult in India before the sixth century AD.<sup>32</sup> Narain further accepts: 'Yet it is true that no image of an elephant-headed deity has been discovered which could be placed unquestionably earlier than the

<sup>30</sup> BN, Eucratide I, série 22.

<sup>31</sup> BN, Eucratide I, série 24.

<sup>32</sup> Narain 1988: 1007-9; and 1991: 19-20, 39. Bhandarkar 1931, has shown that the cult of *Gaṇapati-Vināyaka* may have been set up by the end of the sixth century. Also see Coomaraswamy 1931, and 1978: 30-1. Getty 1936: 13, 35.

5th century' (1988: 1007). Although Narain presents his identification of a 'elephant-headed' deity as an important discovery, he never attempts to bridge the gap between the earliest mention of *Gaṇapati-Vināyaka* in the sixth century BC and the isolated representation of the god on a coin dated as early as the first century AD. A.K. Narain admits that although he first came across the coin with an 'elephant face' in 1953-4, he was not much enthusiastic about publishing it because he thought that it was a freak or one of the degenerate piece of the last days of the Indo-Greeks. He goes on to say that he was waiting for either more specimens to appear or some weighty reason to shake his reluctance. Narain then explains very clearly that his reluctance gave way when he saw the photographs of some rectangular coins of Agathocles found in Ai Khanum. According to Narain, the discovery of these silver coins depicting two Brahmanic deities (see no. 1) encouraged him to present the Hermaios coin with an elephant-faced Zeus, at the Paris session of the International Congress of Orientalists in 1973, suggesting that it could be the beginning of Gaṇeśa's iconography (1988: 1009). A.K. Narain correctly assumed that the Ai Khanum coins were very positive evidence to show the role of the Indo-Greeks in the formulation of Indian cults and icons. However, as far as the coins with the so-called 'elephant-headed' deity is concerned the context is extremely different.




Firstly as we have seen, these imitations (our second group) in the name of Hermaios were struck by nomads but not by Greeks, so one cannot use these coins, as Narain did, as evidence to show the role of the Indo-Greeks in the formulation of Indian cults and icons.

Secondly, the two male figures, identical in pose and dress, on the Agathocles' silver bilingual coins were correctly identified as Balarāma-Saṃkarṣaṇa and his brother Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa by J. Filliozat thanks to the attributes held by each god (1973: 113-21). The divinity on the obverse, who flourishes a miniature plough is Balarāma 'plough-carrier' (*halabhr̥t*) or Saṃkarṣaṇa 'Ploughman'. The large wheel of six spokes, the disc (*cakra*) and the conch held by the god depicted on the reverse are distinctive attributes of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa (see no. 1). On the contrary, other than the illusory 'elephant's trunk', there is no trace of any symbol on the coins published by Agha Inayat Ali Shah and A.K. Narain which can be attributed to Gaṇeśa.<sup>33</sup>

Thirdly, the representation of two Brahmanic deities on the coins of Agathocles alone does not justify the existence of Gaṇeśa cult as early as the first century AD. J. Filliozat clearly pointed out that literary texts as early as the fourth-third centuries BC make allusions to the two Brahmanic divinities, Balarama-Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa represented on the coins (1973: 116-18). Agathocles' silver bilingual coins give us a perfectly clear and explicit

<sup>33</sup>For the identification of these divinities, see also Audouin and Bernard 1974: 7-41; for the English translation of the same article see 'The Aī Khanoum Coins: The 1970 Hoard (II)', in *Graeco-Bactrian and Indian Coins from Afghanistan*, ed. and comp. O. Guillaume, translated from the French by O. Bopearachchi, Delhi, 1991, pp. 80-116.

illustration of what was the first form of Vishnuism, the Bhāgavata religion. The grammarians Pāṇini (fourth-third centuries BC) and Patañjali (second century BC) mention several times Vāsudeva or Kṛṣṇa.<sup>34</sup> The oldest of the inscriptions relating to the Bhāgavata cult is the famous Besnagar column which stands near the ancient site of Vidisa. This monument which, as its designation (*garudadhvaja*) indicates, originally supported a statue of Garuda, Vishnu's sacred bird, was erected in honour of Vāsudeva, the god of gods (*devadeva*), by a Greek from Taxila, Heliodorus, ambassador of the Greek king Antialcidas to the local king Bhāgabhadra. In his dedication, the Greek proclaims himself a 'devotee of the lord god' (*bhāgavata*). The existence of the Bhāgavata cult in Taxila during the reign of Antialcidas c. 100 BC is thus confirmed by the Agathocles' coins depicting the two main gods of this religion.<sup>35</sup> As P. Bernard clearly pointed out, Agathocles should be credited with creating the first bilingual coinage reflecting the originality and the boldness of his monetary policy (1974: 36-7). Agathocles first remain true to the traditional Greek Attic standard coinage in Bactria with his reverses of monolingual legend, and type: Zeus holding Hecate,<sup>36</sup> but when he introduced a bilingual coinage meant for circulation in Indian territories, he decided not only to proclaim himself king to them in their own language and in the two native scripts (Brahmi and Kharoshthi), but also to represent in these issues images of their gods (see also nos. 1, 2). The conclusion one may draw from this analysis is that the two divine brothers invoked in the coins of Agathocles is not accidental, but certainly reflect the political, religious and cultural policy adopted by the Greeks when they conquered the Indian territories. As we have underlined earlier, contrary to the Bhāgavata cult well attested as early as the fourth century BC, there is no trace of a Gaṇeśa cult in India before the fifth century AD. For these reasons, I believe that it is clearly dangerous to exploit the bilingual coins depicting the gods of Bhāgavata cult with so many cultural and religious implications, to justify the identification of a god like Gaṇeśa, whose cult did not develop before the fifth century AD, on isolated coins which date back to the first century BC.





Let us now come back to the coins on which both Agha Inayat Ali Shah and A.K. Narain have identified an 'elephant-headed' deity. First of all we observe that these two coins (see no. 46) along with the one in the American Numismatic Society (no. 40) that J. Cribb had mentioned (1982: 30), bear the same monogram: . Although all the posthumous imitations issued in the name of Hermaios are engraved in a less sophisticated manner; all known specimens with the monogram:  are of extremely crude style (see nos. 32-48). Furthermore, the 'elephant's trunk' effect can only be seen exclusively on some of the coins bearing this monogram:  but never on the specimens

<sup>34</sup>Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* mentions several times Vāsudeva (III.26, III.2.1111, IV.3.98) or Kṛṣṇa (II.2.24).

<sup>35</sup>For the chronology of these kings, see *BN*, pp. 56-9.


<sup>36</sup>*BN*, Agathocles, séries 1-4.



of the same class bearing various other monograms  (no. 28),  (no. 29),  (no. 30),  (no. 31).

It should be well noted that the deity depicted on lifetime issues of Hermaios recalls the Olympian Zeus on the coins of Alexander the Great (see no. 3). The same enthroned Zeus reappeared in various forms on the coins of some Indo-Greek kings. Pantaleon reproduced a Zeus holding Hecate.<sup>37</sup> Heliocles depicted on his coins an enthroned Zeus holding a Nike (see no. 4).<sup>38</sup> Zeus on the coins of Antialcidas holds a scepter in his left hand and a winged Nike on his right palm, he is accompanied by the forepart of a small elephant turned to the left or to the right (see nos. 5 and 6). This particular reverse type of Antialcidas served as a prototype for many of his Indo-Greek successors. Zeus on Amyntas' coins holds an armed Athena (see no. 7). The same god on the coins of Hermaios is shown enthroned, holding a sceptre which is reclined over his left shoulder and his right hand making a gesture or holding a curved object (see nos. 20-3). E.T. Newell correctly called the deity depicted on the lifetime issues of Hermaios 'Zeus-Mithra' in the guise of Zeus because of his Phrygian cap, like the Iranian Mithra (1938: 89-91). The cap of Mithra can be identified very clearly on the square bronze coins of Amyntas and Hermaios (see nos. 25-7). Zeus-Mithra on the bronze coins, like the one on the silver issues, is bearded and wears a solar crown. A.D.H. Bivar, has confirmed Newell's identification of this deity represented on both silver and bronze coins (1979: 741-52).

Several factors should be taken into account regarding the coins in question. Since all of these coins are posthumous imitations of Hermaios, one should not forget the fact that the local engravers were not as experienced as the Greeks, and for this reason the execution of dies was done in a less sophisticated manner.




When Agha Inayat Ali Shah and A.K. Narain presented their identification of 'Gaṇeśa', each of them drew their evidence from single specimen, without referring to the other coins with the same monogram. I would like to draw attention to a very interesting collection of coins bearing the monogram : ten from the French Cabinet des Médailles (*Bibliothèque Nationale*) (see nos. 33-9, 41-3), another specimen, other than the one published by A.K. Narain (no. 46), in the British Museum (no. 44), two in the American Numismatic Society (nos. 32 and 40), one in the private collection of H. Fowler (no. 45) and one tetradrachm in the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg (no. 48), which would enable us to show that the 'elephant's trunk' effect partly visible on certain coins was not purposely introduced into the coinage, but was purely an accident of an inexperienced engraver.



In order to illustrate this phenomenon we have classified the drachms, in a sequence. The first three coins of our classification (see nos. 32-4) are quite

<sup>37</sup> BN, Pantaléon, séries 1-3.

<sup>38</sup> BN, Hélioclès I, séries 3-4.

close in style to the deity depicted on the other posthumous imitations of Hermaios. We see on them a badly copied Zeus-Mithra with sun-ray crown, Phrygian cap, beard and towfolds in his gown (see nos. 32-4). On the next three coins (see nos. 35-7), his nose and beard are engraved so crudely that they take the form of a compact bulk giving the impression of a half-cut trunk of an elephant. Zeus-Mithra on the next four coins is coarser (nos. 38-41). The top fold of his drapery can only be vaguely differentiated from the awkwardly large nose and the beard. On the last four coins (see nos. 42-5), the compact bulk of the nose and the beard join the fold of Zeus-Mithra's drapery giving the impression of an elephant's trunk.

It is in this context that our specimens bearing the monogram  should be compared with Agha Inayat Ali Shah's and A.K. Narain's coins with the so-called 'elephant-headed' deity (no. 46). We begin to understand that, what A.K. Narain (1988: 1010) calls the curved trunk (the *vakratunda*) of Gaṇeśa is nothing other than a fold of Zeus-Mithra's drapery (see nos. 53 and 54). On the other hand, it is very easy to distinguish, on Narain's coin, the extremities of the nose and then the beard of the deity, which disrupt the continuity of the so-called 'elephant's trunk' (see nos. 53 and 54). It goes without saying that it was the die engraver's hand which had created this confusing effect. As J. Cribb (1982: 32) clearly demonstrated, the elephant's trunk effect disappears when the same coin is held to the light at a different angle. We made the same experiment on the tetradrachm still unpublished, bearing the same monogram , now in the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (no. 48). We have illustrated four photographs of the same coin lit from different angles. The first two photographs of the reverse of this coin lit from the right (no. 49) and from the top (no. 50) angles give the impression that the top fold of his drapery is almost linked by the nose and the beard. But the same coin lit from the left, makes us see better that, on the contrary, the nose and the fold of the deity's gown are well separated (no. 51). Once the same reverse lit from the bottom, one can distinguish the face of Zeus-Mithra with the sun-ray crown and Phrygian cap from the fold of his drapery (no. 52). When Narain's coin viewed alongside with the reverse of this tetradrachm, and the other drachms bearing the same monogram: , it can be seen that the 'elephant's trunk' effect is just an illusion but not a reality.

Upon close examination, one would also realize that the reverse type of the coins in question, other than the illusory 'elephant's trunk' effect, has no particular feature distinguishable from the type represented on the coins with the same monogram  (see nos. 53 and 54). It is the same deity shown enthroned, holding a sceptre which is reclined over his left shoulder and making a gesture with his right hand. It is now clear that the 'elephant's trunk' is an illusion resulting from the dies cut in a less sophisticated manner, by an unskilled engraver of the officina represented by the monogram .

For these reasons, I believe that it is extremely dangerous to interpret the confusing 'elephant's trunk' effect involuntarily created by an inexperienced

die engraver, as the most ancient representation of a deity of whose existence is only attested six centuries after the issuing of these isolated coins.

## POSTSCRIPT

The observations made in this article are still valid, and the new discoveries of hundreds of coins in recent years struck in the name of Hermaios bearing the monogram in question only reinforce them. For a detailed analysis of the coins in the name of Hermaios issued during his lifetime and posthumously, see O. Bopearachchi, 'The Posthumous Coinage of Hermaios and the conquest of Gandhara by the Kushans', *Gandharan Art in Context. East-West Exchanges at the Crossroads of Asia*, ed. R. Allchin, B. Allchin, N. Kreitman & E. Errington, 1997, Cambridge, pp. 189-213.

## REFERENCES

- Audouin, R. and P. Bernard (1973, 1974), 'Trésor de monnaies indiennes et indo-grecques d'Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan)', *Revue numismatique*, 1973: 238-89; 1974: 8-41.
- Barrandon, J.N. (1982), 'Méthodes nucléaires d'analyse et numismatique', *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Numismatics, Berne September 1979*, T. Hackens & R. Weiller, Louvain-la-Neuve, pp. 3-15.
- (1989), 'Les analyses en numismatique. Quelles méthodes ? et pourquoi ?', *Les Nouvelles de l'Archéologie*, 33: 12-15.
- Bernard, P. (1985), *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum. IV. Les Monnaies hors trésors. Questions d'histoire gréco-bactrienne*, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, 27, Paris.
- Bhandarkar, R.G. (1913), *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and Minor Religious Systems*, Strasburg.
- Bivar, A.D.H. (1979), 'Mithraic Images of Bactria: Are they Related to Roman Mithraism?', *Mysteria Mithrae, E.P.R.O.*, vol. 80, Rome, pp. 741-52.
- Bopearachchi, O. (1989), 'Roi-cavalier ou Reine-amazone?', *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique*, November, pp. 453-6.
- (1990a), 'Ménandre Sôter, un roi indo-grec. Observations chronologiques et géographiques', *Studia Iranica*, 19: 39-85.
- (1990 b), 'Graeco-Bactrian coins issued by the later Indo-Greek kings', *Numismatic Chronicle*, pp. 79-103, pl. 7-9.
- (1991), *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (hereafter: *BN*).
- (1992), 'Elephant-Headed Gaṇeśa or Zeus Mithra', *Yavanika* 2 (1992) (now in print).
- Coomaraswamy, A.K. (1931), *Yaksas*, Washington.
- (1978), 'Gaṇeśa', *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, pp. 30-1.
- Cribb, J., 1982, 'The Earliest Gaṇeśa: A Case of Mistaken Identity', *Numismatic Digest*, pp. 30-2.
- Curiel, R. and D. Schlumberger (1953), *Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan*, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, 14, Paris.
- Dhavalikar, M.K. (1990), 'The Elephant-Headed Gana at Mihintale', *Ancient Ceylon*, 7, vol. 2: 38-46.
- , 1991, 'Gaṇeśa: Myth and Reality', *Ganesh: Studies of an Asian God*, ed. R.L. Brown, New York, pp. 49-68.

- Dobbins, K.W. (1970), 'The Question of the Imitation Hermaios Coinage', *East and West*, 20: 307-26.
- Filliozat, J. (1973), 'Représentation de Vāsudeva et Saṃkarṣaṇa au II<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.- C.', *Arts Asiatiques*, 26: 113-21.
- Gardner, P. (1886), *A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum: The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, London, rpt. 1968.
- Getty, A. (1936), *Gaṇeśa: A Monograph on the Elephant-faced God*, Oxford.
- Holt, Fr. (1981), 'The Euthydemid Coinage of Bactria: Further Hoard Evidence from Aï-Khanum', *Revue numismatique*, pp. 7-44.
- Jenkins, G.K. (1955), 'Indo-Scythic Mints', *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, pp. 1-26.
- Kirkpatrick, C. (1973), 'Some New Barbarous Coins of Eucratides I of Lahiri Type 21', *Numismatic Circular*, 81 (November): 423.
- Lahiri, A.N. (1965), *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, Calcutta.
- MacDowall, D.W. (1985), 'The Successors of the Indo-Greeks at Begram', in *South Asian Archaeology 1983*, ed. J. Schotmans and M. Taddei, Naples, pp. 555-66.
- Masson, C. (1834), 'Memoir on the Ancient Coins Found at Beḡhrām in the Kohistan of Kéabul', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 3: 152-75.
- (1836) 'Second Memoir on the Ancient Coins Found at Beḡhrām in the Kohistan of Kéabul', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 5: 1-28.
- (1836 a), 'Third Memoir on the Ancient Coins Found at Beḡhrām in the Kohistan of Kéabul', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 5: 537-47.
- Mitchiner, M. (1975, 1976), *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, vols. 1-8, London.
- Narain, A.K. (1957), *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford.
- (1978), 'On the Earliest Gaṇeśa', *Senerat Paranavitana Commemorative Volume*, Leiden, pp. 142-4.
- (1982), 'On the Earliest Gaṇeśa', *Numismatic Digest*, pp. 26-9.
- (1984), 'Some Brahmanical Divinities on the Indo-Greek Coinage revisited', *Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Inaugural Seminar, 8th to 10th January 1984*, Nasik, pp. 9-14.
- (1988), 'Iconographic Origins of Gaṇeśa and the Evidence of the Indo-Greek Coinage', in *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicta*, ed. G. Gnoli and L. Lanciotti, *Serie Orientale Roma*, LVI, 3: 1007-19.
- (1991) 'Gaṇeśa: A Protohistory of the Idea and the Icon', in *Ganesh. Studies of an Asian God*, ed. R.L. Brown, New York, pp. 19-48.
- Newell, E.T. (1938), *Miscellanea Numismatica: Cyrene to India*, ANS, Numismatic Notes and Monographs, 82, New York.
- Petitot-Biehler, C.Y. (1975), 'Le trésor d'Aï Khanoum', *Revue numismatique*, pp. 23-57.
- Rapin, Cl. (1983), 'Les inscriptions économiques de la trésorerie hellénistique d'Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan)', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 107: 315-81.
- (1987) 'La trésorerie hellénistique d'Aï Khanoum', *Revue Archéologique*, pp. 41-70.
- (1992), *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum. VII. La Trésorerie du palais hellénistique d'Aï Khanoum*, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, 33, Paris.
- Shah, Agha Inayat Ali (1955), 'A Notable Numismatic Discovery', *The Museums Journal, Organ of the Museums Association of Pakistan*, August: 16-17.
- Tarn, W.W. (1951), *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 2nd edn. Cambridge, rpt. Chicago 1984.
- Whitehead, R.B. (1923), 'Notes on Indo-Greek Numismatics', *Numismatic Chronicle*: 294-34.
- (1947), 'Notes on the Indo-Greeks: Part II', *Numismatic Chronicle*: 28-51.

## ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Agathocles. AR. (enlargement). Ai Khanum hoard I, P. Bernard, 1974, pl. VII, 1-6. *BN*, série 9.
2. Agathocles. AE. *BN*, no. 14.
3. Alexander. AR. Tetradrachm. Bibliothèque Nationale.
4. Heliocles I. AR. Tetradrachm. Bibliothèque Nationale. *BN*, no. 23.
5. Antialcidas. AR. Tetradrachm. Bibliothèque Nationale. *BN*, no. 1.
6. Antialcidas. AR. Tetradrachm. Bibliothèque Nationale. *BN*, no. 2.
7. Amyntas. AR. Tetradrachm. Fr. Widemann collection. *BN*, pl. 47, D.
8. Eucratides I. AR. Tetradrachm. Bibliothèque Nationale. *BN*, no. 3.
9. Eucratides I. AV. Stater. Bibliothèque Nationale. *BN*, no. 26.
10. Eucratides I. AE. Bibliothèque Nationale. *BN*, no. 90.
11. Eucratides I. AE. Bibliothèque Nationale. *BN*, no. 92.
12. Eucratides I (posthumous). AE. Bibliothèque Nationale. *BN*, no. 122.
13. Eucratides I (posthumous). AE. Bibliothèque Nationale. *BN*, no. 103.
14. Eucratides I (posthumous). AE. Bibliothèque Nationale. *BN*, no. 102.
15. Eucratides I (posthumous) over Spalirises with Spalagadames. AE. Smithsonian Institution.
16. Apollodotos I. AE. British Museum. *BN*, série 6, F.
17. Apollodotos I. AE. British Museum. *BN*, série 6, F.
18. Apollodotos I (posthumous). AE. British Museum. *BN*, série 6, Q.
19. Apollodotos I (posthumous). AE. British Museum. *BN*, série 7, D.
20. Hermaios. AR. Tetradrachm (enlargement). Bibliothèque Nationale. *BN*, no. 1.
21. Hermaios. AR. Tetradrachm. Bibliothèque Nationale. *BN*, no. 2.
22. Hermaios. AR. Tetradrachm. British Museum. *BN*, pl. 53, H.
23. Hermaios. AR. Tetradrachm. State Hermitage, St. Petersburg. *BN*, séries 4, D.
24. Hermaios and Calliope. AR. Tetradrachm. British Museum. *BN*, pl. 52, F.
25. Hermaios. AE. British Museum (BMC, no. 55). *BN*, série 9, A.
26. Hermaios. AE. British Museum (BMC, no. 54). *BN*, série 9, A.
27. Hermaios. AE. British Museum (inv. no. 1888. 12.8.404). *BN*, série 9, A.

## HERMAIOS (POSTHUMOUS IMITATIONS)

28. AR. Tetradrachm (enlargement). Bibliothèque Nationale. *BN*, no. 19.
29. AR. Tetradrachm (enlargement). Bibliothèque Nationale. *BN*, no. 20.
30. AR. Tetradrachm (enlargement). Bibliothèque Nationale. *BN*, no. 23.
31. AR. Drachm (enlargement). Bibliothèque Nationale. *BN*, no. 43.
32. AR. Drachm. American Numismatic Society (ex-R.F. Kelley), *BN*, série 11, C.
33. AR. Drachm (enlargement). Bibliothèque Nationale. *BN*, no. 37.
34. AR. Drachm (enlargement). Bibliothèque Nationale. *BN*, no. 40.
35. AR. Drachm (enlargement). Bibliothèque Nationale. *BN*, no. 39.
36. AR. Drachm (enlargement). Bibliothèque Nationale. *BN*, no. 41.
37. AR. Drachm (enlargement). Bibliothèque Nationale. *BN*, no. 34.
38. AR. Drachm (enlargement). Bibliothèque Nationale. *BN*, no. 35.
39. AR. Drachm (enlargement). Bibliothèque Nationale. *BN*, no. 42.
40. AR. Drachm. American Numismatic Society (ex-W.F. Spengler). *BN*, série 11, C.

41. AR. Drachm (enlargement). Bibliothèque Nationale. *BN*, no. 33.
42. AR. Drachm (enlargement). Bibliothèque Nationale. *BN*, no. 36.
43. AR. Drachm (enlargement). Bibliothèque Nationale. *BN*, no. 38.
44. AR. Drachm (enlargement). British Museum (*BMC*, 14). *BN*, série 11, C.
45. AR. Drachm (enlargement). Coll. H. Fowler (ex-R.C. Senior). *BN*, série 11, C.
46. AR. Drachm . British Museum (inv. no. 1961.3.2.1). *BN*, série 11, C.
47. Enlargement of the previous coin.
48. Hermaios. A.R. Tetradrachm (enlargement). State Hermitage, St. Petersburg. *BN*, série 10.
49. Same coin (1 × 1) lit from the top.
50. Same coin (1 × 1) lit from the left.
51. Same coin (1 × 1) lit from the right.
52. Same coin (1 × 1) lit from the bottom.
53. A.R. Drachm (enlargement). British Museum (inv. no. 1961.3.2.1 ). *BN*, série 11, C.
54. Drawing of the same coin by G. Lecuyot.





1



2



3



4



5



6





7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



15



16



17





18



19



20



21



22



23



24



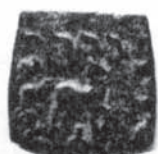
25







26



27



28



29



30



31





32



33



34



35



36





37



38



39



40



41





42



43



44



45



46



47



48



49



50



51



52



53



54

## Indian Brahman on a Coin of Indo-Greek Telephus\*

The aim of this paper is to present an interesting bronze coin of the Indo-Greek Telephus found recently in Pakistan. Firstly, it enables us to answer the question concerning the chronology of Telephus because it is an overstrike, and secondly to understand the iconography of this coin, since it is mint condition and all the details of the types are legible.

It was found in Shaikhani Dheri, the site that A.H. Dani considered as Pushkalavati. It was in a terracotta casket, containing a bead and some ashes. The coin is now in the private collection of Riaz Babar and I am most grateful to him for authorizing me to publish it.

We know so far three series struck in the name of Telephus (cf. *BN*, series 1-3). He is the second Indo-Greek king, next to Antimachus Nikephorus, whose portrait is still unknown to us. The fact that Telephus depicted on his coinage some types unknown on any known Greek king, made W.W. Tarn (pp. 496-8), consider him a usurper.

Perhaps so far the most interesting coin types are the ones depicted on his silver drachms, cf. *BN*, s. 1.

### INDIAN-STANDARD DRACHM



*Obv.* Fantastic creature with human bust, facing. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΤΗΛΕΦΟΥ.

*Rev.* Helios radiate and Selene, standing facing. *Maharajasa kalanakramasa Teliphasa.*

\*Reprinted from *ONS Newsletter*, no. 145, Summer 1995, pp. 8-9. Paper presented at the Indian Coin Study Day, organized by the Oriental Numismatic Society, on 3 June 1995, in London.



Riaz Babar has assured me that he has seen an Indian standard tetradrachm of this series found along with coins of the Sarai Saleh hoard.

Cunningham (p. 285) identified correctly the two divinities on the reverse as Helios with solar rays and Selene with the luna crescent. Apart from W.W. Tarn, all the other numismatists have accepted his identification. W.W. Tarn (p. 333) saw them as 'a radiate king or god facing a male figure with horns' and attributed this couple to Iranian mythology. Sun God and Moon goddess were popular types in the coinage of the Indo-Scythian Maues.

W.W. Tarn (p. 333) argued that the obverse type, though strange in the Indo-Greek iconography, derived directly from the frieze of the Pergamum altar. He concluded that the artist responsible for this coin had personally seen the Pergamene frieze. I have shown elsewhere (*BN*, pp. 133-4) that contrary to what has been assumed by many numismatists like Cunningham (p. 285), Tarn (p. 33), A.N. Lahiri (p. 184) and Mitchiner (s. 451), that this fantastic creature with a human bust is not a serpent-footed giant, but rather a creature associated with water, a sea god or river god. This monster with half human and half fish body, does not have snake-like legs, but vegetal stems, each terminating in a floral form held in either hand. The tail of the other two stems is fishlike. This creature is certainly linked with the Triton holding dolphin and rudder depicted on the bronze coins of Hippostratus, his close contemporary (*BN*, s. 12).

The iconographic features of this series, a monster associated with water on the obverse and Helios and Selene on the reverse, reminiscent of similar monetary types of the Indo-Greek Hippostratus and the Indo-Scythian Maues, was one of the reasons which caused me to consider Telephus as their contemporary. These types were not attested on the coins of his Indo-Greek predecessors.

A. Cunningham (p. 296) placed him c. 135 BC, immediately after Hippostratus and before Hermaeus. W.W. Tarn (p. 316) thought that Telephus reigned c. 60 BC, before Hippostratus, Hermaeus and Maues. R.B. Whitehead (*PMC*, p. 80) followed by A.K. Narain (*IG*, p. 147) also considered him as contemporary of Maues. A.K. Narain argued in a curious manner: 'It is generally agreed that he was associated with Maues in time and place. Since there seems to be no possibility of his being the successor of Maues, he must have been his predecessor.' M. Mitchiner placed him c. 80-75 BC and labelled him as a junior colleague of Hippostratus until defeated by Maues.

I have shown in my previous studies that Telephus should be considered as a successor of Maues and a close contemporary of Apollodotus II, who had a short reign between 75-70 BC (cf. *BN*, pp. 133-4). Other than the iconography of his coins being closely linked with his contemporaries, the two monograms depicted on his coins fit correctly in the monogram pattern that I have established for the Greek successors of Indo-Scythian Maues. Three principal monograms of Maues were taken by Apollodotus II, who overstruck the coins of Maues. Telephus, who was a close contemporary of Apollodotus II, borrowed the other two monograms of Maues:  & .



	Western Punjab					Eastern Punjab	
Kings	Monograms						
Maues	Ⲕ	ⲕ	ⲙ	ⲛ	ⲛ		
Telephos	Ⲕ	ⲕ					
Apollodotus II			ⲙ	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ	ⲛ

This chronological sequence is now confirmed beyond doubt by the new coin, overstruck on a coin of Archebius who in turn was the immediate predecessor of Maues. The obverse has some traces but it does not help us to identify the undertype. When the coin is turned 45° one can see on the reverse quite clearly part of the legend of the bronze series of Archebius: Diademed bust of Zeus/Palms and pilei of the Dioscuri (cf. *BN*, s. 13). Of the reverse legend of Archebius one reads *Maharajasa dhra/mikasa [Jayadha]ra/sa Arkhebiyasa*. Thanks to this overstrike the question of the chronology of Telephus is now solved.

The obverses of both of Telephus' bronze series have the same design as the reverse type of Hermaeus' silver coins: Zeus enthroned and half-turned to left, holding a sceptre in the left hand, and making a gesture with his outstretched right. This same type is also depicted on some coins of Maues. The bronze series of Telephus depicting the squatting figure on its reverse poses a number of questions. The main reason for this was that none of the four coins so far known to us was in good condition. W.W. Tarn (p. 333) described him as 'Indian fakir squatting'; R.B. Whitehead (p. 80): 'a crouching figure, possibly a city-goddess'; M. Mitchiner (s. 453): 'Male squatting right'; A.N. Lahiri (p. 185): 'figure apparently male, naked except for some sort of headdress, squatting on Lotus, right arm outstretched'. I described him as an Indian ascetic (*BN*, p. 135).

What do we see on this new coin? He is naked. He is squatting not on a lotus but on round rocks. He is bearded. A part of his long hair falls on his back and the rest is tight on the top of his head like a chignon. He holds a tree branch over his shoulder, not a javelin or spear. He also seems to hold an unidentified object which looks like a water pot. In front of him is a fire. It seems that he holds this pot against the flames jutting out of the fire. The rocky ground on which he is seated, the tree branch that he holds and the fire, are all associated with nature.

The first observation to make about this exceptional personage is that he is neither Greek nor Zoroastrian, because of his posture, nudity and long hair. He is certainly Indian: a fakir, an ascetic or most probably a Brahman.

Why a Brahman? Megasthenes who was the ambassador of Seleucus I in India during the reign of Chandragupta (292 BC), reported that as the same way Jews were philosophers to Syrians, Brahmans were to the Indians (F. Gr. H. 715 f. 3 Jacoby). As Arnold Momigliano (p. 85) has correctly pointed out that Clearchus of Soli, pupil of Aristotle, who must have read Megasthenes, went a step further and suggested that the Jews were in fact the descendants



of the philosophers of India whom he called *Kalanoi*. The *Kalanoi* in their turn were descended from the Persian *Magi* (Fr. 5-13 Wehrli). Today we know more about Clearchus of Soli, thanks to an inscription with a series of Delphic wisdom sayings found in the excavations conducted by the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan, at Ai Khanum. An introductory epigram states that Clearchus copied the sayings exactly in Delphi and brought them to this remote place in Bactriana. Louis Robert (p. 229) correctly identified this Clearchus with the pupil of Aristotle. Clearchus in an extract from the *Peri*; *paideiva* has spoken about gymnosophists as descendants of *Magi*. Perhaps we can say that the naked Brahman depicted on this coin reflects the acquaintance of the Greeks with the gymnosophists of India?

#### POSTSCRIPT

I believe that the reverse type of the bronze series discussed in this article depicts a Brahman or ascetic performing with the right hand a fire ritual involving oblations (the *Agnihotra* or oblation to Agni, a Sun charm), holding a sacred water pot in the left hand. We have also given better photographs and drawings of the same coin (fig. 1) discussed in the present article. We have added two more coins, where we can clearly see these elements (figs. 2 & 3). I have also referred in this article to a tetradrachm found in the Sarai Saleh hoard. At the time this article was written, the dealer of Taxila who had many unique coins refused to show us the coin. It was sold later with a second specimen. We are now certain that Telephos also issued tetradrachms of Indian standard. On these two coins (figs. 4 & 5) we can see that the description we have given is accurate.

#### ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Bronze coin of Telephos illustrated in this article.
2. Bronze coin of Telephos (cf. BN, series 3), ref. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Telephos.jpg>
3. Bronze coin of Telephos (cf. BN, series 3), ref. *CNG Triton* XII, Lot 414.
4. AR, tetradachm, 26 mm, 8.94 g. Instead of EYEPΓETOY we have here EYEOΓETOY. Ref. *CNG* 91, Lot 419.
5. AR, tetradachm, 26 mm, 9.02 g. Ref. *CNG Triton* XII, Lot 413.

#### REFERENCES

- Bopearachchi, O. (1991), *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques*, Catalogue raisonné, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, abbreviated *BN*.
- Cunningham, A. (1884), *Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East*, London, rpt. Delhi-Varanasi, 1970, rpt. Chicago, 1969, series of articles appeared in *NC* 1868, 1870, 1872, 1873.
- Mitchiner, M. (1975-6), *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, 9 vols., London.

- Momigliano, A. (1975), *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization*, Cambridge.
- Lahiri, A.N. (1965), *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, Calcutta.
- Narain, A.K. (1957), *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford.
- Robert, L. (1973), in *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum I*, MDAFA, tome XXI, Paris.
- Whitehead, R.B. (1914), *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum. Lahore*, vol. 1, *Indo-Greek Coins*, Oxford.



FIG. 1



FIG. 2





FIG. 3



FIG. 4





FIG. 5

## Bactrian and Indo-Greek Coins\*

Compared to previous years, the publications on Bactrian and Indo-Greek coinages from 1990 to 1995 have increased considerably. The two main reasons for this are the discovery during the last five years of a large number of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins along with early Indian (bent-bars and punch-marked), Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and Kushan coins in Afghanistan and Pakistan; and the active and productive research carried out by several numismatists in this field, especially O. Bopearachchi, J. Cribb and R.C. Senior. The publications of these five years comprise three major catalogues, accompanied with historical commentaries, two exhibition catalogues and number of research articles.

Bopearachchi published three catalogues, one with Rahman. The first was the catalogue of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (1991) [reviews by Chuvin (1994), Cribb (1993), Holt (1992) and Pieper (1994)]. This book takes the form of a comprehensive catalogue of the 1,227 relevant coins in the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Types not represented in the Paris collection are illustrated from specimens in other collections; unrepresented varieties are listed in the text. In this way the catalogue is also intended to serve as a comprehensive type listing.

Bopearachchi's second book is a catalogue of the *Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian Coins in the Smithsonian* (1993) [review by Singh (1993)]. This volume catalogues the National Numismatic Collection of the Smithsonian Institution formed by the Raymond J. Hebert, W.F. Spengler and Markoff-Mogahadam collections and termed as the General Collection, and the Malakand hoard donated by Harvey and Norman Stack. The Malakand hoard throws considerable light on the history of the Indo-Scythian and the Indo-Parthian kings who succeeded the Indo-Greeks in Gandhara. Its composition recalls that of the Peshawar hoard published by Cribb in 1977. The Peshawar hoard contained coins of Azes I, Azilises, Azes II and Gondophares; the five coins of Azes II and the single coin of Gondophares were of debased silver similar to the ones in the Malakand hoard. These six coins were no doubt the most recent inclusions of the hoard before it was buried. With regard to the chronological order of the issues, the coins in the Malakand hoard begin exactly where the ones in the Peshawar end. The composition of the Malakand hoard adds further evidence to the chronological order proposed by Cribb, when

\*Reprinted from *A Survey of Numismatic Research 1990-1995*, Barlin, 1995, pp. 137-41.

publishing two Indo-Parthian coin hoards. Cribb proposed the following chronological order: Gondophares, Abdagases and Aspavarma.

With the discoveries of recent coin hoards from Pakistan and Afghanistan, the number of Indo-Greek coins has increased by thousands. Bopearachchi (1993, 1994A, 1994B, 1994C, 1994D, 1995) and Senior (1991A, 1991B, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995) have published a series of articles giving details about the circumstances of the discoveries and describing new types, monograms and overstrikes.

Bopearachchi and Rahman have published the catalogue of all the Greek, Bactrian, Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian coins and selected Achaemenid and early Indian coins in the Rahman private collection (1995). These are supplemented by a selection of some rare and unique coins of this category in the Peshawar Museum (supplement I) and the private collection of Khurshid Ahmad Khan (supplement II). Apart from some early acquisitions made from various sources, most of the coins in the Rahman collection were purchased during recent years and their provenance is known. A large majority of the coins (418 out of 1,071) in his collection are from the second Mir Zakah deposit. More than one-third of Graeco-Bactrian tetradrachms are from the recent Ai Khanum hoard IV. Most of the Indo-Greek coins are from the Sarai Saleh, and a few others from Daska (Sialkot), Swat, Wesa and Jammu hoards. Apart from the coins found in hoards, the collection is composed of stray finds from ancient sites such as Begram, Shaikhan Dheri, Pushkalavati and Charsadda.

Two major exhibitions were organized in England. The first, held in Cambridge, was entitled *Crossroads of Asia: Transformation in Image and Symbol in the Art of Ancient Afghanistan and Pakistan*, and accompanied by a catalogue by Errington and Cribb (1992) [reviews by Bates (1993-4), Quagliotti (1992)]. The second, concerning *Silk Road Coins*, was held in the British Museum, and was based mainly on the magnificent Hirayama private collection. The catalogue by Tanabe (1993) narrates the history of Silk Road from the Achaemenid dynasty to the late Sasanian period, through coins of different dynasties and kingdoms.

As well as new discoveries, the old collections of the pioneers of Indo-Greek coinage have been studied by Lafont, Errington, and MacDowall. Lafont (1992, 1994) has given the results of his own research on the provenance of the ancient coins of the Indo-Greeks and their successors acquired by the former officers of Napoleon in Punjab during the first half of the nineteenth century. The discovery in March 1994 by Douglas Saville of three albums entitled *La collection numismatique du General Court*, now in the British Museum, enabled Errington (1995) to undertake a systematic study of the ancient coins purchased by Court, and now dispersed in several coin cabinets in England and France. MacDowell (1991) has reconstituted a part of the Hazarajat hoard procured by Ch. Masson at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and given further

evidence to support the chronological framework proposed by A.D.H. Bivar for Apollodotus I, Antimachus II and Menander.

Other articles on Indo-Greeks and/or associated subjects have appeared during the last five years. According to P. Bernard (in 1985) and Bopearachchi (1990), the Greeks had no further control at all over the provinces north of the Hindu Kush after they had been completely overpowered by the Yuezhi around 130 BC. This hypothesis was contested by Fussman (1993) who, when publishing the Qunduz hoard in 1965, supported A.K. Narain's point of view, according to which the Indo-Greek rulers exercised political control over some part of the regions north of the Hindu Kush, even after 130 BC. Fussman's position is quite ambiguous, and the present author has already dealt with it in the paper presented at the international colloquium held in Vienna (11-13 April 1994) on *Weihrauch und Seide. Münzen, Kunst und Chronologie. Ein Symposium des Kunsthistorischen Museums, der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Universität, Wien* (forthcoming).

Holt (1992) reviewing *Monnaies greco-bactriennes et indo-grecques: catalogue raisonné*, made an important objection to the chronology that Bopearachchi (1991) had proposed for the second group of Eucratides coins with the helmeted bust. In his chronology, Eucratides introduced these coins after the conquest of Indian territories, to the detriment of Menander I, c. 155-150 BC. Holt has correctly contested this chronology, by arguing that since Eucratides' *megas* type with charging Dioscuri was imitated by the rebel Seleucid satrap Timarchus in Media and Babylonia whose coinage has been well dated to 162 BC, the introduction of the second group of Eucratides' coins cannot be dated any later than this year.

A tax receipt, most probably found at Sangcharak in Afghanistan, has drawn the attention of several scholars, such as Bernard and Rapin (1994), Hollis (1994), Rea (1994) and Senior (1994). According to the restored translation proposed by Rea, it reads: 'In the reign of God Antimachus and Eumenes and Antimachus . . . year 4, month of Olöus, . . .'. Antimachus Theos differentiates himself from the rest of his predecessors by introducing unprecedented types in his Bactrian coinage: on the obverse his portrait, wearing the Macedonian *kausia*, and on the reverse, Poseidon standing facing, holding in his right hand a long trident, and in his left, a palm with ribbon. It is interesting to note that contrary to some other types, his reverse type was never reproduced on the coinage of his successors. It seems as if each of the great Graeco-Bactrian kings attempted to create his own era, but without success.

However, one objection regarding the chronology proposed by Bopearachchi was made by Hollis (1994), in his historical interpretation of this tax receipt. If the third Antimachus mentioned in the document is Antimachus Nikephoros, known from coins, then one has to consider, as Hollis correctly points out, either: 'the regnal year of all three kings, supposing that they all started to reign at the same time', or 'the regnal year of the king mentioned first (Theos

Antimachus), who was the senior and most important ruler, but not of his junior partners'. In either case, the reigns of both kings should be considered as overlapping, and Antimachus II should be considered as a contemporary of the first. So ten to fifteen years that separate them according to my chronology should be reduced.

In publishing the hoard from Akhnoor, Senior (1992, 1993) has contested the classification proposed by Lahiri and followed by Mitchiner, Boppearachchi (1991) and many other scholars. According to Senior's new classification, the coins of the second group, with the old portrait and simple legend were the first issues of Strato II, followed by the coins with name of his son. Although there is an element of truth in Senior's hypothesis, one can contest all four of his principal arguments.

Boppearachchi's articles on the Euthydemus' imitations and the date of Sogdian independence (1991/2) deserve some attention. In his article on the so-called earliest representation of Ganesa (1993), he shows, in support of Cribb's criticism of Narain's hypothesis, that it is dangerous to interpret the confusing 'elephant's trunk', involuntarily created by an inexperienced die engraver on some posthumous coins of Hermaeus, as the most ancient representation of a deity of whose existence is only attested six centuries after the issue of these isolated coins.

Grierson, in editing the posthumous book by Mørkholm (1991), added a short chapter on the Bactrian Greeks (pp. 195-6). Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993) in their chapter on 'Eastern frontiers' (pp. 91-113) discussed the imperial policy of the Seleucids *vis-à-vis* Bactria and India and the chronology of the Bactrian independence. Their observations and conclusions are correctly criticized and contested by Bernard (1994), Boppearachchi (1994) and Salles (1994). Nothing exceptional or new is said about the coinage of Indo-Greeks and their portraits by Mukherjee in an article (1994) that seems to ignore the contributions made by various scholars in this field in recent years.

The results obtained by the French archaeologists at Ai Khanum are extremely important in the reconstruction of the Graeco-Bactrian history. After the remarkable book by P. Bernard on the coins from the same site published in 1985, Rapin (1992) has published in detail all the material found in the treasury of the Palace. Among the discoveries, the inscriptions hold a important place. They enable us to understand, to a certain extent, political and economic aspects of this Greek city and to solve some of the chronological problems of Bactrian history.

Very little material has been published from museum collections or excavations in the republics of former Soviet Union. The articles by Rtveadze (1984-92, 1995) on the excavations of Kampyr-Tepe give a list of coins found in the site. Smirnova's article (1992) is limited to the coins of Eucratides in the museum collections of the former Soviet Union.

The book *Graeco-Bactrian and Indian Coins from Afghanistan*, edited and compiled by Guillaume (1991), covers most of the contributions made by



French scholars, like R. Audouin, P. Bernard, R. Curiel, G. Fussman, O. Guillaume, Cl. Y. Petitot-Biehler and D. Schlumberger on the history and coinage of Graeco-Bactrians and their successors. The English translation of these important French contributions is a welcome addition.

## REFERENCES

- Bates, M. (1993-4), 'Review of Errington and Cribb (1992)', *AJN*, pp. 269-71.
- Bernard, P. (1994), 'L'Asie centrale et l'empire seleucide', *TOIIOI* 4/2: 473-511.
- Bernard, P., Cl. Rapin (1994), 'Un parchemin Greco-bactrien d'une collection privée', *CRAI*, pp. 261-94.
- (1990), Ménandre Sôter, un roi indo-grec. Observations chronologiques et géographiques, *Studia Iranica* 19: 39-85.
- (1990), 'Graeco-Bactrian Issues of Later Indo-Greek Kings', *NC*, pp. 79-103.
- (1991), *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné*, (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).
- (1991), 'Les derniers souverains indo-grecs: une autre hypothèse', in *Histoire et cultes de l'Asie Centrale préislamique. Sources écrites et documents archéologiques* (CNRS, Paris), pp. 235-42.
- (1991), 'The Euthydemus' Imitations and the Date of Sogdian Independence', in *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 2 (Kamakura), pp. 1-21.
- (1992a), 'Coins from Mir Zakah in Private Collections', *Indian Numismatics, History, Art and Culture. Essays in Honour of Dr. P.L. Gupta*, ed. D.W. MacDowall, S. Sharma and S. Garg, vol. I, pp. 87-94.
- O. (1992b), 'Was Sagala Menander's Capital?', *South Asian Archaeology 1989. Papers from the Tenth International Conference of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe, Musée national des Arts asiatiques-Guimet, Paris, France, 3-7 July, 1989*, ed. C. Jarrig (Paris), pp. 327-37.
- (1993a), *Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian Coins in the Smithsonian Institution* (Smithsonian Institution, Washington).
- (1993b), 'On the So-called Earliest Representation of Ganesa', *TOIIOI* 3/2: 425-53.
- (1993c), 'Nasten, un prince iranien inconnu entre Grecs et Kouchans', *CRAI* (juillet-octobre), pp. 609-11.
- (1994a), 'Grands trésors récents de monnaies pré-sasanides trouvés en Afghanistan et au Pakistan', *International Numismatic Newsletter* 24 (Printemps), pp. 2-3.
- (1994b), 'Recent Discoveries: Hoards and Finds of Ancient Coins from Afghanistan and Pakistan', *Yavanika, Journal of the Indian Society for Greek and Roman Studies* 4: pp. 3-30.
- (1994c), 'Récents découvertes de trésors de monnaies pré-sasanides trouvés en Afghanistan et au Pakistan', *CahN* 121 (Septembre), pp. 7-14.
- (1994d), 'L'indépendance de la Bactriane', *TOIIOI* 4/2: 513-19.
- (1995), 'Indian brahman on a coin of Indo-Greek Telephus', *ONSN* 145: 8-9.
- Bopearachchi, O. and Fr. Grenet (1993), 'Nasten, un souverain iranien inconnu entre Grecs et Kouchans', *Studia Iranica* 22: 299-307.
- Bopearachchi, O. and A.U. Rahman (1995), *Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan*, Islamabad.
- Chuvin, P. (1994), 'L'histoire par les Monnaies', *TOIIOI* 4/1: 337-40.
- Cribb, J. (1992), 'Numismatic Evidence for the Date of the Periplus', in *Indian Numismatics, History, Art and Culture. Essays in Honour of Dr. P. L. Gupta*, ed. D.W. MacDowall, S. Sharma, S. Garg, vol. I, pp. 131-45.



- (1993a), 'Review of Bopearachchi (1991)', *NC*, pp. 312-14.
- (1993b), 'The "Heraus" Coins: Their Attribution to the Kushan King Kujula Kadphises', c. AD 30-80', in *Essays in Honour of Robert Carson and Kenneth Jenkins*, ed. M. Price, A. Burnett, R. Bland, London, pp. 107-34.
- Errington, E. (1995), 'Rediscovering the Coin Collection of General Claude-August Court. Preliminary Report', *TOIIOI* 5/2: 409-24.
- Errington, E., J. Cribb, with M. Claringbull, eds. (1992), *The Crossroads of Asia. Transformation in Image and Symbol in the Art of Ancient Afghanistan and Pakistan* (Ancient India and Iran Trust, Cambridge).
- Fussman, G. (1993), 'L'Indo-Grec Menandre ou Paul Demiéville revisité', *Journal Asiatique* CCLXXXI, pp. 61-137.
- Guillaume, O. (1991), *Graeco-Bactrian and Indian Coins from Afghanistan*, translated from the French by O. Bopearachchi, Delhi.
- Hollis, A.S. (1994), 'Historical and Numismatic Thoughts on the Bactrian Tax Receipt', *ZPE* 104: 268-80.
- Holt, F. (1992), 'Review of Bopearachchi (1991)', *AJN*, pp. 215-22.
- Quagliotti, A.M. (1994), 'Review of Errington and J. Cribb (1992)', *NC*, pp. 327-8.
- Lafont, J.-M. (1992), *La présence française dans le royaume sikh du Penjab 1822-1849*, (E.F.E.O., Paris).
- (1994), 'Les Indo-Grecs. Recherches archéologiques françaises dans le royaume sikh du Penjab, 1822-1843', *TOIIOI* 4/1: pp. 9-68.
- MacDowall, D.W. (1991), 'The Hazarajat Hoard of Indo-Greek Silver Drachms', *Pakistan Archaeology. Silver Jubilee Number* [ed. A.N. Khan] (Karachi), pp. 188-98.
- Mielczarek, M. (1993), 'Some Remarks about the Coinage of Euthydemus I and Demetrius, Kings of Bactria', *Actes Congr. Num. Bruxelles*, pp. 299-303.
- Mørkholm, O. (1991), *Early Hellenistic Coinage. From the Accession of Alexander to the Peace of Apamea (336-188 BC)*, ed. P. Grierson, U. Westermark, Cambridge.
- Mukherjee, B.N. (1992), 'Ob odnoj nadpisi iz Matxury i o ee znaczenii dlja problemy Javanov i vsaka-paxlavov', *VDI*, Moscow, pp. 87-8.
- (1994), 'Artistry and Realism. Coinage of the Indo-Greeks and Scytho-Parthians', in *A Treasury of Indian Coins*, ed. M.L. Carter, Bombay, pp. 19-28.
- Pieper, W. (1994), 'Osmund Bopearachchi's Catalogue of Indo-Greek/Graeco-Bactrian Coins', *ONSN* 140, pp. 3-4.
- Rapin, Cl. (1992), *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum, VIII. La trésorerie du palais hellénistique d'Aï Khanoum. L'Apogée et la chute du royaume grec de Bactriane, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan*, XXXIII, Paris.
- Rea, J.B. (1994), 'A Tax Receipt from Hellenistic Bactria', *ZPE* 104: 261-7.
- Rtveladze, E.V. (1984-92), 'Kuvanskja krepst' Kampyr-Tepe', *VDI*, pp. 87-106.
- (1995), 'Découvertes en numismatique et épigraphie gréco-bactriennes à Kampyr-Tepe (Bactriane du Nord)', *RN*, pp. 20-4 (translator's name not given).
- Salles, J.-F. (1994), 'Le Golfe arabo-persique entre Séleucides et Maurya', *TOIIOI* 4/2: 597-610.
- Senior, R.C. (1991), 'The Coinage of Strato III, Last of the Indo-Greeks Identified', *ONSN* 128: 45.
- (1991), 'The Indo-Greek/Scythian Succession and Coin Types', *NCirc* (October), pp. 261-2.
- (1992), 'An Indo-Greek Hoard from Akhnoor', *NCirc* (November), p. 299.
- (1993), 'The Father-loving Strato', *ONSN* 138: 5-6.
- (1994), 'The Discovery of the Document', *ZPE* 104: 267-8.
- (1995), 'Some Rare Indo-Greek Coins', *ONSN* 143: 7-9.

- Sherwin-White, S., A. Kuhrt (1993), *From Samarkhand to Sardis. A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire*, London.
- Singh, A.K. (1993), 'Review of Bopearachchi (1993)', *Yavanika. Journal of the Indian Society for Greek and Roman Studies*, pp. 104-5.
- Smirnova, N. (1992), 'Coins of Eucratides in Museum Collections', *EW* 42: pp. 85-102.
- Tanabe, K. (1993), *Silk Road Coins. The Hirayama Collection, A Loan Exhibition at the British Museum Gallery 69A, 1st April to 31st May, 1993*, Institute of Silk Road Studies, Kamakura.

## Coin Production and Circulation in Central Asia and North-West India (before and after Alexander's Conquest)\*

### INTRODUCTION

In the last few years, because of accidental finds and illegal excavations, a large number of hoards that included a really colossal amount of Graeco-Bactrian, Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and Kushan coins have been discovered in Afghanistan and Pakistan.<sup>1</sup> The numbers themselves lead us to modify the idea that we could have had of the monetary mass that has circulated in these regions. The present paper aims at tracing the rough outlines and the various decisive stages of production and circulation in Central Asia and north-west India in the light of older coin hoards and newer ones that were discovered recently.

### PRESENTATION OF THE CATALOGUES

#### GENERAL CATALOGUE

In the General Catalogue, abbreviated henceforth as G.C., we have regrouped a certain number of coins that represent the series to which we allude very frequently in the historical commentary. This catalogue includes some coins that have already been published elsewhere and a large number of unpublished coins. Thanks to the authorization generously given by Michel Amandry, Director General, and Fr. Thierry, keeper of oriental coins, in the Cabinet des Médailles of Paris, we have been able to include many coin series of this collection from Afghanistan and Pakistan that are still unpublished, i.e. local coins from the Achaemenid period (G.C., nos. 5, 7, 9, 10, 13); short punch-marked bars (G.C., nos. 14-16); long punch-marked bars (G.C., nos. 17-39); coins with a single punch-mark (G.C., nos. 50-51) and bronze coins attributed to Taxila (G.C., nos. 68-93, 95). We have also added some coins from the private collections of Mr. Aman ur Rahman (Pakistan), Prof. Ikuo Hirayama (Japan), Mr. R.C. Senior (U.K.) and above all Mr. Muhammad Riaz Babar (Pakistan).

\* Reprinted from *Indologica Taurinensia*, Official Organ of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies, vol. 25, 1999-2000, pp. 15-121.

<sup>1</sup> See O. Bopearachchi and W. Pieper, 1998, pp. 183-7.

## CATALOGUE OF THE KULIAB HOARD

We have further catalogued 205 coins from the Kuliab Hoard, abbreviated henceforth as K.H., that entered the private collection of Mr. Riaz Babar, to whom we express our sincere thanks for having allowed us to study them. We were informed of this find in January 1996 thanks to Mr. Babar, who was kind enough to send us photographs of the very first coins that he bought in the bazaar of Peshawar (nos. 22, 29 and 194). After this, he frequently sent us series of photographs of the coins that entered his collection. We were able to personally examine part of his collection during our recent mission to Pakistan in 1998. According to Mr. Babar, the hoard was composed of 800 coins, mostly Graeco-Bactrian obols. He bought only 205 coins. Of this lot he then resold about twenty coins for which we only possess the photographs and the notes that he gave us himself. These photographs are in colour and do not respect the 1:1 scale. However, we give the exact dimensions for each coin. Our inventory is thus founded either on the photographs and notes taken by ourselves or on a series of photographs that were given to us by Mr. Babar. Concerning the photographs taken by ourselves, the illustrations follow the 1:1 scale.

## CRITERIA OF CLASSIFICATION

## A. THE DEFINITION OF THE SERIES

In the presentation of the coins, the catalogue follows the chronological order of a succession of reigns established in our annotated Catalogue of the Cabinet des Médailles (*BN*). This classification is only valid for the Graeco-Bactrian coins. Concerning the other series, we have adopted a chronological order that we have partially justified in the historical commentary that follows. The series are also set out according to the following criteria:

1. **The metal:** Gold, silver and bronze. The metal is given first, just after the name of the series.
2. **The denomination:** The denomination and the standard relative to each series appear after the metal.
3. **The types of the obverse and the reverse:** The characteristic differences of the types of the obverse and the reverse are obviously taken into account to distinguish the series. These types are mentioned on the line that follows the metal and the denomination. Concerning their description, we have sought to be precise without being prolix.
4. **The legends and their disposition:** For the series that have legends, the legend and its particular disposition are the criteria for their classification. The disposition of the legends is indicated by a graphic.

When the same monetary type is found on many denominations, the different series are classed by descending order, with, instead of a description, a reference:

‘Types and legends as on the preceding series’. If the type or the legend is different only on one side compared to the preceding series, we simply describe the side that is different. However, for certain series, we did not hesitate to repeat the complete description of both sides so as to avoid repeated references to the type described above.

#### B. THE SUBDIVISIONS OF THE SERIES

For the Greek, Seleucid and Graeco-Bactrian coins, every series contains a certain number of subdivisions in which the coins are grouped by monogram.

In the interior of the inventory the coins corresponding to every monogram are classed by decreasing order of weight.

- The dimensions of the coins are also given.
- Then the name of the collection, public or private, the number of the inventory for the coins of the Cabinet des Médailles (abbreviated Cab. des Méd. Paris), accompanied, when it is known, by the provenance. For the coins from the hoard of Kuliab, the indications of the month and year that we give correspond to the various sets of photographs by R. Babar.
- The orientation of the dies is indicated only for the coins that are not oriented to 12:00. For the rest of the coins, the orientation is given at the end of the line with an arrow that indicates the axis of the reverse in relation to that of the obverse.

#### C. THE ILLUSTRATIONS

All the coins of the general catalogue and of the Kuliab hoard are illustrated with photographs of the obverse and the reverse; these were taken either by the collectors or by the author. All the photographs taken by the author follow the 1:1 scale, while the others are of different scales. However, we provide, as we have said, the exact dimensions of all the coins.

### GENERAL CATALOGUE

#### LOCAL COINS OF THE ACHAEMENID PERIOD

**AR – Local Weight. Double unit: ave. weight. 11 g.**

**Obv.** Heads of two bulls.

**Rev.** Deer to r., in front of it an undulating line.

1. 10.05 g 22.5 mm Kabul Hoard. *Trésors monétaires*, pl. IV, no. 23.
2. 9.05 g 21 mm Kabul Hoard. *Trésors monétaires*, pl. IV, no. 31; D. Schlumberger (*Trésors monétaires*, p. 38, no. 23 & p. 39, no. 31), wrongly described the obverse type

as a 'head of an elephant (?)'. The obverse of this coin is read and illustrated head to tail.



**Obv.** Vermiform motif in an irregular frame.

**Rev.** Quadruped to r. in an incuse circle. Its curved spine bristles. The head seems to be represented facing. The tail is curved behind the hind legs.

3. 11.65 g 25 mm Kabul Hoard. *Trésors monétaires*, pl. III, no. 16.



**Obv.** Indistinct geometrical motif.

**Rev.** Oval punch-mark with a fish or scarab surrounded by dots.

4. 11.45 g 25.5 mm Kabul Hoard. *Trésors monétaires*, pl. V, no. 17.

**Obv.** Geometric symbol formed with lines.

**Rev.** Within an incuse circle: a symbol formed of a network of radial criss-crossed lines arranged around a central ring. The central disc, encircled by dots, is placed within a square whose corners are palletized.

5. 8.84 g 22 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R. 3681.653.1963. M. Le Berre.

**AR – Local weight. Unit. ave. weight 5.50 g.**

**Obv.** As previous series (no. 5).

**Rev.** As previous series (no. 5).

6. 4.70 g 18 mm Kabul Hoard. *Trésors monétaires*, pl. IV, no. 38.



**AR – Local Weight. Double unit: ave. weight 11 g.**

**Obv.** Geometric motif formed of three faint lines

**Rev.** Within an incuse circle: a symbol formed of a network of radial criss-crossed lines arranged around a central ring. On one side, tangent to the central ring, a serrated line forming a sort of comb.

7. 9.72 g 20 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R. 3681.654.1963. M. Le Berre.

8. 9.45 g 20 mm Kabul Hoard. *Trésors monétaires*, pl. IV, no. 29.

9. 9.50 g 21 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R. 3681.655.1963. M. Le Berre.



**Obv.** Geometric motif formed of three parallel lines.



**Rev.** Within an incuse circle: a symbol formed of a network of radial criss-crossed lines arranged around a central ring.

**10.** 8.53 g 21 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R. 3681.651.1963. M. Le Berre.

**Obv.** Indistinct and indefinable motif.

**Rev.** Three punch-marks of which one is similar to the fish or scarab motif surrounded by dots of coin no. 4.

**11.** 11.35 g 23 mm Kabul Hoard. *Trésors monétaires*, pl. III, no. 19.



**Obv.** Indistinct and indefinable motif.

**Rev.** Three punch-marks: one is indistinct; the second rectangular, partially obliterated by the previous punch-mark, shows a flower or star; the third is similar to the quadruped with the curved spine of coin No. 3.

**12.** 12.15 g 23 mm Kabul Hoard. *Trésors monétaires*, pl. III, no. 15.

**AR – Local weight. Half-unit: ave. Weight 2.75 g.**

**Obv.** Geometric motif and a serrated line forming a sort of comb.

**Rev.** Three punch-marks: the one is indistinct; the second is a symbol formed of a network of radial criss-crossed lines arranged around a central ring; the third is an animal, probably a horse.

**13.** 2.84 g 17 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R. 3681.652.1963. M. Le Berre.

#### SHORT BARS WITH PUNCH-MARKS SERIES ATTRIBUTED TO THE PAROPAMISADAE

**AR – Local weight. Double unit: ave. weight 11 g.**

**Obv.** Convex side. No motif.

**Rev.** Concave side. Two similar punch-marks punched on each extremity of the bent bar. The motif is formed of a network of radial lines arranged around a central ring; at the extremity of each line there is a circle. CF. O.B. & A.u.R., nos. 17-25.

**14.** 11.19 g 30 × 15 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. 1970.166. M. Le Berre, Kabul, January 1966.

**15.** 11.06 g 28 × 15 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. 1970.167. M. Le Berre, Kabul, January 1966. An additional mark in the centre.

**16.** 8.83 g 29 × 15 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. 1974.423. M. Le Berre.

LONGS BARS WITH COUNTERMARKS COUNTERMARKS  
SERIES ATTRIBUTED TO GANDHĀRA

**AR – Local weight. Double unit: ave. weight 11 g.**

**Obv.** No motif.

**Rev.** As the previous series, but with one or more additional marks. Cf. O.B. & A.u.R., nos. 26-35.

17. 11.58 g 43 × 9 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. 1965.335. R. Curiel.
18. 11.52 g 37 × 9 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. 1974.419. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
19. 11.50 g 41 × 9 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. 1974.421. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
20. 11.40 g 41 × 9 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. 1974.418. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
21. 11.40 g 46 × 9 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. 1974.417. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
22. 11.39 g 42 × 9 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. 1974.420. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
23. 11.38 g 42 × 9 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R. 3681.647.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
24. 11.38 g 43 × 9 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. 1965.332. R. Curiel.
25. 11.30 g 37 × 9 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. 1974.422. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
26. 11.29 g 36 × 11 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R. 3681.649.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
27. 11.26 g 42 × 10 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R. 3681.650.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
28. 11.24 g 36 × 9 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. 1965.336. R. Curiel.
29. 11.23 g 56 × 9 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. 1974.416. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
30. 11.22 g 37 × 10 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R. 3681.648.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
31. 11.21 g 37 × 12 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R. 3681.646.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
32. 11.17 g 36 × 11 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. 1965.334. R. Curiel.
33. 11.16 g 40 × 11 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. 1965.333. R. Curiel.
34. 11.01 g 37 × 11 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R. 3681.644.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.

35. 10.94 g 38 × 10 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R. 3681.645.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
36. 10.81 g 47 × 10 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. 1965.331. R. Curiel.
37. 10.59 g 42 × 15 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R. 3681.642.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
38. 10.57 g 38 × 10 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R. 3681.643.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
39. 2.32 g 13 × 10 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. No inventory number. The coin is broken.

## COINS WITH SINGLE PUNCH-MARK

## SERIES ATTRIBUTED TO THE PAROPAMISADAE AND TO GANDHĀRA

**AR – Local weight. Quarter of unit: ave. weight 1.40 g.****Obv.** No motif.**Rev.** A punch mark with a motif formed of a network of six radial lines placed around a central ring; at the extremity of each line there is a circle.

Cf. O.B. &amp; A.u.R., nos. 37-46.

40. 1.43 g 21 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R. 3681.659.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
41. 1.37 g 15 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R. 3681.660.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
42. 1.37 g 15 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R. 3681.657.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
43. 1.36 g 15 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R. 3681.654.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
44. 1.30 g 15 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R. 3681.658.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
45. 1.28 g 14 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R. 3681.661.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.

**AR – Local weight. Sixth of the unit: ave. weight 0.90 g.**

46. 0.95 g 14 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R. 3681.662.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
47. 0.87 g 14 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R. 3681.665.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
48. 0.82 g 14 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R. 3681.667.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.



**AR – Local weight. Eighth of unit: ave. weight 0.70 g.**

- 49.** 0.72 g 12 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R. 3681.656.1963. M. Le Berre.  
Mir Zakah I.
- 50.** 0.64 g 12 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R. 3681.663.1963. M. Le Berre.  
Mir Zakah I.
- 51.** 0.55 g 12 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R. 3681.666.1963. M. Le Berre.  
Mir Zakah I.

## ROYAL COINS OF THE ACHAEMENIDS

**AV – Double Daric.**

**Obv.** The king running r., holding a bow in his l. hand and a javelin in the r.

**Rev.** Indistinct design.

Cf. M. Mitchiner (1975), series 15.

- 52.** 17.00 g 20 mm Private coll. (Peshawar). Afghanistan. To l.  $\Lambda \Phi$ .
- 53.** 16.80 g 19 mm Private coll. (Peshawar). Mir Zakah II.

## COINS IN THE NAME OF ALEXANDER

**AR – Stater.**

**Obv.** Laureate head of Zeus to r.

**Rev.** Eagle standing on thunderbolt to r., its head turned l.

Legend:  $\Sigma$  (AΛEΞA)/NΔPOY.

- 54.** 13.24 g 26 mm Private coll. (Peshawar). Mir Zakah II. This coin in C.N.G. Sale 45, March 1998, no. 181. It resembles the series M.J. Price, 1991, no. 142, but on ours the legend is divided AΛEΞA/NΔPOY while on the other it is AΛEΞ/ANΔPOY. The additional symbols (i.e. the thunder-bolt, the olive-twigg and the satrapal bonnet) that appear on the hitherto known series are absent on our coin.

**AR – Tetradrachms of Attic weight.**

**Obv.** Head of beardless Heracles r. wearing lion-skin tied under his chin.  
Beaded border.

**Rev.** Enthroned Zeus to l., holding an eagle in his outstretched r. hand and a sceptre in his l. hand, his legs crossed in an X shape. Legend:  $\downarrow$  AΛEΞANΔPOY.

On the Rev. to the l. TE, bust of horse to l. Termessos mint (cf. M.J. Price, 1991: no. 2986).

- 55.** 16.00 g 33 mm Private coll. of Mr. Aman ur Rahman, Afghanistan.  
See also O.B. & A.u.R., no. 57.

On the Rev. II. Perge Mint (cf. M.J. Price, 1991: No. 2925).

- 56.** 16.80 g 29 mm Private coll. Of Mr. Aman ur Rahman, Afghanistan.  
See also O.B. & A.u.R., no. 58.

On the Rev. to the l. , , anchor, horse to l. at the feet of Zeus and under his throne: ΣΩ. Mint of Ecbatana (cf. M.J. Price, 1991: No. 3931 b).

- 57.** 16.75 g 26 mm Private coll. Of Mr. Aman ur Rahman, Afghanistan.  
↗ See also O.B. & A.u.R., no. 59.

#### COINS IN THE NAME OF SOPHYTOS

##### **AR – Tetradrachm of Attic weight.**

**Obv.** Helmeted head of a ruler named Sophytos in the legend.

**Rev.** Cock standing to r. Caduceus l. Legend: ↓ ΣΩΦΥΤΟΥ.

- 58.** 17.20 g 25 mm Private coll. of Prof. Hirayama. Afghanistan. See O. Bopearachchi, 1996: 31, no. 1. ↓

##### **AR – Didrachm of local weight.**

- 59.** 7.40 g 19 mm Numismatic coll. of the Alpha Credit Bank (Athens). Afghanistan. ↓ See O. Bopearachchi, 1996: 31, no. 2. Under the neck, the letters MNA.



##### **AR – Drachm of local weight.**

- 60.** 3.60 g 15 mm Private coll. Mr. Riaz Babar. Balkh (Bactra). ↓ Cf. M. Mitchiner (1975), series 29. Under the neck the letters MNA.

#### IMITATIONS OF ATHENIAN OWLS

##### **AR – Tetradrachm of Attic weight.**

**Obv.** Head of Athena to r. wearing an Attic helmet.


**Rev.** Owl to r. with an olive twig, crescent moon and vine shoot with two bunches of grapes. Legend: ↓ ΑΘΕ.

- 61.** 17.05 g 24.5 mm Private coll. of Mr. Aman ur Rahman. Afghanistan.  
↓ See O.B. & A.u.R., no. 63. To r. the letters MNA.




##### **AR – Didrachm of local weight.**

**Obv.** As previous series (no. 61).

**Rev.** As previous series (no. 61), with no olive twig and crescent moon, but with prow of ship and vine shoot with two bunches of grapes. On **Obv.** to l. .

- 62.** 7.90 g 18 mm Private coll. of Mr. Aman ur Rahman. Afghanistan.  
↓ See O.B. & A.u.R., no. 66.

On Obv. to l. .

- 63.** 7.95 g 19 mm Private coll. of Mr. Aman ur Rahman. Afghanistan.  
↓ See O.B. & A.u.R., no. 67.



#### **AR – Hemidrachm of local weight.**

**Obv.** As coin no. 61.

**Rev.** As coin no. 61.

- 64.** 1.74 g 9 mm Private coll. of Mr. Riaz Babar. Balakh (Bactra). ↓  
Cf. H. Nicolet-Pierre & M. Amandry, 1994, pl. VI,  
nos. 30-33.

#### COINS WITH EAGLE

#### **AR – Drachm of local weight.**

**Obv.** Head of Athena to r. wearing Attic helmet.

**Rev.** Eagle to l., its head turned r. with vine shoot bearing a bunch of grapes and a leaf.

- 65.** 3.35 g 14 mm Private coll. of Mr. Riaz Babar. Balkh (Bactra). ↓  
See O. Bopearachchi, 1996: 31, nos. 11 and 12.

**Obv.** As previous series (no. 65).

**Rev.** Eagle to r., its head turned to l. with vine shoot bearing a bunch of grapes and a leaf.

- 66.** 3.30 g 13.5 mm Private coll. of Mr. Riaz Babar. Balkh (Bactra).  
Unpublished series. ↓



#### **AR – Diobol of local weight.**

**Obv.** Head of Zeus r.

**Rev.** Eagle to l., its head turned r. with vine shoot bearing a bunch of grapes and a leaf.

- 67.** 1.00 g 9 mm Private coll. of Mr. Riaz Babar. Balkh (Bactra). ↓  
Cf. Nicolet-Pierre & M. Amandry, 1994, pl. VII,  
no. 65.

#### BRONZE COINS ATTRIBUTED TO TAXILA

#### **AE – Local weight. Double unit: ave. weight 11 g.**

**Obv.** No motif.

**Rev.** Within an incuse square a hill with a crescent and an indistinct symbol.  
Cf. *BMC India*, pl. XXXII, no. 1.



- 68.** 9.03 g 26 × 17 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. C. 891.7. B. Allard (1843).

—•—

**Obv.** No motif.

**Rev.** Within an incuse square a hill with a crescent, an architectural plan and an undulating line. Cf. *BMC India*, pl. XXXII, no. 11.

- 69.** 10.85 g 22 × 19 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R.3681.814.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.

- 70.** 9.15 g 19 × 17 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. M. 9399. Paul et Guillemin (1903).

—•—

**Obv.** No motif.

**Rev.** Within an incuse square a hill with a crescent, a person dressed and standing, holding an object (flower?) in his r. hand and a symbol composed of six dots. Cf. *BMC India*, pl. XXXII, nos. 5 and 6.

- 71.** 9.83 g 24 × 19 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. 1970.652. M. Le Berre.

- 72.** 9.39 g 22 × 18 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. No inventory number.

- 73.** 7.46 g 23 × 19 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R. 3681.813.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.

- 74.** 7.28 g 19 × 18 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. C. 891. 1. B. Allard (1843).

—•—

**Obv.** No motif.

**Rev.** Within an incuse square a hill with a crescent, a symbol composed of nine dots, an undulating line and a vine shoot bearing four bunches of grapes. Cf. *BMC, India*, pl. XXXII, no. 10.

- 75.** 9.45 g 23 × 20 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. M. 9396. Paul et Guillemin (1903).

- 76.** 8.02 g 20 × 18 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R.3681.817.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.

- 77.** 7.96 g 23 × 19 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R.3681.811.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.

—•—

**Obv.** Elephant walking r., with hill and crescent.

**Rev.** Within an incuse square: lion walking l, with hill, crescent and *swastika*. Cf. *BMC, India*, pl. XXXII, no. 21.

- 78.** 12.32 g 24 × 17 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R.3681.803.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.

79. 12.30 g 20 × 19 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R.3681.798.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
80. 12.29 g 19 × 19 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R.3681.796.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
81. 12.27 g 20 × 20 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R.3681.797.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
82. 12.23 g 25 × 19 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R.3681.800.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
83. 12.18 g 21 × 19 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R.3681.802.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
84. 12.03 g 23 × 15 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. 1972.18.14. A. Maricq.
85. 12.00 g 21 × 21 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R.3681.805.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
86. 11.75 g 22 × 19 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. 1969.563.40. ex coll. Sperry.
87. 11.33 g 20 × 18 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R.3681.801.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
88. 11.14 g 26 × 22 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R.3681.799.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
89. 10.96 g 22 × 18 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R.3681.804.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
90. 9.38 g 25 × 19 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R.3681.806.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.

—•—

- Obv.** Elephant walking l. with hill and crescent.
- Rev.** Within an incuse square a lion walking r. with hill, crescent and *swastika*. Cf. *BMC, India*, pl. XXXII, no. 22.
91. 11.67 g 20 × 20 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. R.3681.807.1963. M. Le Berre. Mir Zakah I.
92. 11.36 g 24 × 19 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. No inventory number.
93. 11.14 g 20 × 19 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. 1969.563.41. ex coll. Sperry.

—•—

- Obv.** Elephant walking r.
- Rev.** Within an incuse square a horse leaping l., star above. Cf. *BMC, India*, pl. XXXII, nos. 2-4.
94. 13.60 g 20 × 15 mm Peshawar bazaar (1995). Swat.
95. 12.02 g 17 × 16 mm Cab. des Méd. Paris. Seymour de Ricci (1943).

96. 12.00 g 10 × 15 mm Private coll. of Mr. R.C. Senior (1994).

#### AGATHOCLES

##### **AE – Quadrangular flan. Weight from approx 10 g to 17 g.**

**Obv.** Goddess wearing headwear of Indian fashion, dancing l. and holding a flower in her r. hand.

**Rev.** Within an incuse square a lion standing r.

Legend: ⚡ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ

BN, series 10.

97. 14.25 g 27 × 20 mm Private coll. of Mr. Aman ur Rahman. Mir Zakah II. See O.B. & A.u.R., no. 156.
98. 14.00 g 20 × 19 mm Private coll. of Mr. Aman ur Rahman. Mir Zakah II. See O.B. & A.u.R., no. 157.
99. 11.65 g 26 × 18 mm Private coll. of Mr. Aman ur Rahman. Mir Zakah II. See O.B. & A.u.R., no. 158.
100. 8.80 g 22 × 19 mm Private coll. of Mr. Aman ur Rahman. Mir Zakah II. See O.B. & A.u.R., no. 160.



##### **AE – Quadrangular flan. Weight from approx. 4 g to 6 g.**

**Obv.** Hill surmounted by star. Legend: ← *Akathukreyasa*

**Rev.** Tree within enclosure. Legend: ← *Hirañasame*.

BN, series 11.

101. 5.05 g 19 × 18 mm Private coll. of M. Aman ur Rahman. Mir Zakah II. See O.B. & A.u.R., no. 162.



##### **AR – Rectangular flan. Weight from approx. 2.32 g to 3.30 g.**

**Obv.** The Indian god Balarāma-Saṃkarṣaṇa, standing facing, wearing earrings, carrying a sheath on his l. side, brandishing the pestle with his r. hand, and the plough with the l. He is dressed in a loincloth and a shawl, and on his feet he wears curved slippers.

Legend: ↓↓ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

**Rev.** The Indian god Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, standing facing, dressed as previous, holding in his l. hand the disc (*cakra*) which has the form of a wheel bristling with small protrusions, and in his r. hand a conch.

Legend in Brāhmī: ↓↓ Rajane / Agathuklayasa.

BN, series 9.

102. 3.24 g 17 × 15 mm Aī Khanoum. Cf. R. Audouin and P. Bernard, 1974: No. 3.

## COMMEMORATIVE SERIES

**AR – Tetradrachms of Attic weight.****Obv.** Diademed head of the sovereign r. Beaded border.**Rev.** Naked Zeus walking r., brandishing a thunderbolt with his r. hand and holding the aegis over his outstretched l. arm. Next to his l. foot an eagle l.

Legend: ↓↓ ANTIOXOY / NIKATOPOS.

On the reverse to l. .**103.** 16.50 g 29 mm Private coll. of Mr. Aman ur Rahman. Aï Khanoum IV. See O.B. & A. u. R., no. 1057; O. Bopearachchi, 1995: 622, no. 7.**104.** 16.40 g 30 mm Private coll. of Mr. Riaz Babar. Aï Khanoum IV. Unpublished. Nos. 103 and 104 have the same obverse die.**Obv.** As the two previous coins.

Legend: ↓↓ ANTIOXOY / NIKATOPOS.

**Rev.** As the two previous coins.

Legend: ↓↘↓ : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ / ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

BN, Series 13.

On the reverse to r. .**105.** 16.45 g 30 mm Private coll. of Mr. Riaz Babar. Aï Khanoum IV. Unpublished.

## EUCRATIDES I

**AV – Stater of Attic Weight.****Obv.** Diademed bust of sovereign r., mantle pinned on r. the shoulder. The two fanons fall obliquely, diverging slightly. Bead and reel border.**Rev.** Dioscuri on prancing horses r., holding spear in r. hand and a palm branch against the l. shoulder. They wear a breastplate, tall boots, are draped in a mantle and have a conical bonnet surmounted by a star.

Legend: ↗ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

On Rev. to r. .**106.** 8.45 g 20.5 mm Private coll. of Mr. Aman ur Rahman. Mir Zakah II. See O.B. & A.u.R., no. 1063.

**AR – Tetradrachms of Attic weight.**

**Obv.** Diademed bust of sovereign r., wearing a crested helmet decorated with the horn and ear of a bull. The two fanons of the diadem fall obliquely, the one folded on itself near the knot. Bead and reel border.

**Rev.** As the previous series (no. 106).

Legend: ⚡ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ / ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

On the rev. to l. ⚡.

**107.** 16.65 g 34 mm Private coll. of Mr. Aman ur Rahman. Aï Kanoum IV. See O.B. & A.u.R., no. 329; O. Bopearachchi, 1995: 623, no. 8.

**108.** 15.60 g 32 mm Private coll. of Mr. Riaz Babar. Aï Khanoum IV. Unpublished.

**AR – Tetradrachms of Attic weight.**

**Obv.** As the previous series (nos. 107 and 108).

**Rev.** As the previous series (nos. 107 and 108).

Legend: ⚡ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ / ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

On the Rev. to r. ⚡.

**109.** 15.70 g 32 mm Private coll. (Peshawar). Aï Khanoum IV.

Monogram: to r. [A]. BN Eucratides I, series 6. W.

**110.** 16.10 g 33 mm Private coll. (Peshawar). Aï Khanoum IV.

\*

\*      \*

KULIAB HOARD  
COINS IN THE NAME OF ALEXANDER

**AR – Drachms of Attic weight.**

**Obv.** Head of beardless Heracles to r. wearing the lion skin fastened under the chin. Beaded border.

**Rev.** Enthroned Zeus l., holding an eagle in his outstretched r. hand and a sceptre in his l. hand.

Legend: ↓ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

**1.** 4.25 g 17.5 mm June 1996.

**2.** 4.20 g 12.5 mm June 1996. →

**3.** 4.15 g 17.5 mm June 1996.

**4.** 4.15 g 13 mm June 1996. ↓

**5.** 4.10 g 17.5 mm June 1996.

**6.** 3.90 g 17 mm June 1996. All six of these coins are worn and the monograms are illegible.

## SELEUCOS I

**AR – Tetradrachms of Attic weight.**

**Obv.** Head of beardless Heracles to r. wearing the lion skin fastened under the chin. Beaded border.

**Rev.** Enthroned Zeus l., holding an eagle in his outstretched r. hand and a sceptre in his l. hand.

Legend: ↓↓ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ.

7. 16.25 g 25 mm March 1997. ↓ The monogram is illegible.

## ANTIOCHOS I

**AR – Drachm of Attic weight.**

**Obv.** Diademed head of the sovereign r. Beaded border.

**Rev.** Bust of horned horse r. Beaded border.

Legend: ↓↓ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ANTIOXΟΥ.

On the Rev. to r. ⊕. Bactra mint, cf. *ESM*, no. 680; pl. LI, no. 7.

8. 2.30 g 12.5 mm April 1997. ↓

**AR – Tetradrachms of Attic weight.**

**Obv.** Diademed head of the sovereign to r. Beaded border.

**Rev.** Apollo sitting to l. on the *omphalos*, naked except for a drape on his r. thigh, holding an arrow in his r. hand, his l. hand resting on his bow, which is held upright on the ground.

Legend: ↓↓ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ANTIOXΟΥ.

On the Rev. to l. ⊕, below AB. Mint of Bactra. *ESM*, no. 697, pl. LII, no. 6, but with Α.

9. 16.20g 26 mm February 1996. ↓

On Rev. to l. ⊕, to r. Α. Bactra mint. *ESM*, no. 697, pl. LII, no. 6, but with ⊕.

10. 16.30 g 24 mm January 1998. ↓

On Rev. to l. ⊕ or ⊕. Bactra mint.

11. 16.10 g 23 mm January 1998. ↓

**AR – Drachms of Attic weight.**

On Rev. to l. ⊕. Bactra mint. *ESM*, no. 698, pl. LII, no. 7.

12. 3.90 g 15 mm April 1996. ↓

On Rev. to l. ⊕, to r. ⊕. Bactra mint. *ESM*, no. 698, pl. LII, no. 7.

13. 3.80 g 15.5 mm January 1998. ↓



## ANTIOCHOS II

**AR – Drachms of Attic weight.**

**Obv.** Diademed head of the sovereign to r. Beaded border.

**Rev.** Apollo sitting to l. on the *omphalos*, naked except for a drape on his r. thigh, holding an arrow in his r. hand, his l. hand resting on his bow, which is held upright on the ground.

Legend: ↓↓ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ANTIOXOY.

On the Rev. to r. . Bactra mint, cf. *ESM*, no. 710; pl. LII, no. 2.

14. 4.10 g 16 mm June 1996. ↓

Illegible monogram.

15. 4.25 g 18 mm June 1996. ↓

16. 4.10 g 17 mm June 1996. ↓

DIODOTOS  
IN THE NAME OF ANTHIOCHOS

**AR – Tetradrachms of Attic weight.**

**Obv.** Diademed head of the sovereign to r. Beaded border.

**Rev.** Naked Zeus walking r., brandishing a thunderbolt with his r. hand and holding the aegis over his outstretched l. arm. Next to his l. foot an eagle l. Beaded border.

Legend: ↓↓ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ANTIOXOY.

On the Rev. to l. . *BN*, series 2. E.

17. 16.10 g 24.5 mm January 1998. ↓

On the Rev. to r. . *T BN*, series 2. Unpublished.

18. 15.90 g 24.5 mm December 1996. ↓



On the Rev. to r. . *O.B. & A.u.R.*, no. 92.

19. 15.80 g 24 mm January 1998. ↓

On the Rev. to r. . *BN*, series 2. Unpublished. For a drachm with the same monogram, see *BN*, series 3. F.

20. 16.20 g 25.5 mm December 1998. ↓

**AR – Drachms of Attic weight.**

On the Rev. to l.  to r. . *BN*, series 3. Unpublished.

21. 4.25 g 17 mm June 1996. ↓



On the Rev. to r. . *BN*, series 3. The second monogram is off flan.


22. 4.15 g 16 mm January 1996.

On the Rev. to l. . *BN*, series 3. Unpublished.

23. 4.00 g 17 mm June 1996. ↓

24. 3.90 g 17 mm January 1998. ↓ Nos. 23 and 24 are from the same obverse die.

On the Rev. to r. , , *BN*, series 3. Unpublished.

25. 4.35 g 17 mm June 1996. 

On the Rev. to r. . *BN*, series 3. Unpublished.

26. 4.15 g 17.5 mm January 1998. ↓

On the Rev. to l. N, *BN*, series 3. Unpublished.

27. 4.20 g 17.5 mm June 1996. ↓ For a tetradrachm bearing the same monogram, see *BN*, series 2. H.

—•—

#### AR – Hemidrachm of Attic weight.

Illegible monogram. *BN*, series 4.

28. 3.80 g 15 mm January 1998. ↓

—•—

#### IN THE NAME OF DIODOTOS

#### AR – Tetradrachms of Attic weight.

**Obv.** Diademed head of the sovereign to r. Beaded border.

**Rev.** Naked Zeus walking l., brandishing a thunderbolt with his r. hand and holding the aegis over his outstretched l. arm. Next to his l. foot an eagle l. Beaded border.

Legend: ↓↓ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ / ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

No monogram. *BN*, series 6. B.

29. 16.15 g 25 mm January 1996. ↓

On the Rev. to the l. , to r. . *BN* series 6. Unpublished.

30. 16.05 g 25 mm March 1997.

#### AR – Drachms of Attic weight.


On the rev. to l. . *BN*, series 7. E.

31. 4.20 g 17 mm June 1996. ↓

32. 4.15 g 17 mm June 1996. ↓

33. 4.15 g 16.5 mm June 1996. ↓

34. 4.05 g 17 mm January 1998.

On the Rev. to r. . *BN*, series 7. F, but the second monogram is off flan.

35. 4.25 g 17 mm June 1996. ↓  
 36. 4.25 g 17 mm June 1996.  
 37. 4.15 g 16.5 mm January 1998.

On the Rev. to r. , Γ. BN, series 7. Unpublished.

38. 4.10 g 17.5 mm September 1996. ← The disposition of the legend is reversed, to l. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ and to r. ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

#### EUTHYDEMOS I

##### AR – Tetradrachms of Attic weight.

**Obv.** Diademed head of the sovereign to r. Beaded border.

**Rev.** Heracles seated to l. on rocks on which he is supporting himself with his l. hand. In his r. hand he holds a club which lies obliquely on three rocks piled in front of him.

Legend: ↓↓ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ.


On Rev. To l. . BN, series 2. C.

39. 16.50 g 28 mm September 1997. ↓

—•—

**Obv.** As the previous series (no. 39), but the head of the sovereign has harder, heavier features.

**Rev.** Type and legend as previous series (no. 39), but Heracles is thinner and the club that he holds is placed vertically. Beaded border.

On the Rev. to r. . BN, series 4. A.

40. 16.30 g 26.5 mm January 1998.


—•—

**Obv.** As the two previous series (nos. 39 and 40), but the head is youthful.

**Rev.** Type and legend as the previous series (no. 40), but with some slight variations of the rock on which Heracles is seated.

With no monogram. BN, series 5. A.

41. 16.60 g 32 mm April 1997.

On the Rev. to r. . BN, series 5. B.

42. 16.45 g 29 mm January 1998.  
 43. 16.40 g 29 mm January 1998. Nos. 42 and 43 are from the same obverse die.  
 44. 16.40 g 29 mm January 1998.  
 45. 16.40 g 30 mm January 1998.

**46.** 16.35 g 30 mm January 1998. Nos. 45 and 46 are from the same obverse die. No beaded border on the reverse on these two coins.

**47.** 16.30 g 28.5 mm January 1998.

On the Rev. below , N. *BN*, series 5. Unpublished.

**48.** 16.25 g 29 mm January 1998.

On the Rev. below , to r. I A. *BN*, series 5. Unpublished.

**49.** 16.30 g 29 mm March 1998.

On the Rev. below T I, , *BN*, series 5. Unpublished.

**50.** 16.30 g 29 mm March 1998.

**51.** 16.30 g 29 mm March 1998. Nos. 49 and 50 are from the same obverse die.

On the Rev., below A N, , *BN*, series 5. Unpublished.

**52.** 15.90 g 29 mm April 1997. No beaded border on the reverse.

On the Rev., below T A. *BN*, series 5. Unpublished.

**53.** 16.30 g 29 mm January 1998. No beaded border on the reverse.

**Obv.** As previous series (nos. 41-53), but with bead and reel border.

**Rev.** Type and legend as previous series (Nos. 41-53), but the club lies on a pile of three rocks ending below in the form of a comma; the ground line is oblique. Beaded border.

On the Rev., below N , Unpublished series.


**54.** 16.60 g 29 mm May 1997.

**55.** 16.40 g 32 mm May 1997.

—•—

**Obv.** Diademed head of the sovereign to r. with soft, idealized facial features. Beaded border.

**Rev.** Type and legend as previous two series (nos. 41-55), but Heracles is seated on a rock covered with the skin of a lion and the club that he holds stands on a support barely distinguishable from his leg. No beaded border.


On the Rev., below to r. , *BN*, series 9. A.

**56.** 16.30 g 29 mm January 1998.

—•—

**Obv.** As previous coin (no. 56).

**Rev.** Type and legend as previous series (no. 56), but Heracles holds a club in his r. hand and supports it on his r. thigh.


On the Rev., below to r. . *BN*, series 10. A.

**57.** 16.40 g 29 mm January 1998.

—•—

**Obv.** Diademed head of aged sovereign to r. Beaded border.

**Rev.** Type and legend as nos. 54-5. Beaded border.

On the Rev., below to r. . Unpublished series.

**58.** 16.50 g 29 mm September 1997.



**59.** 16.40 g 30 mm September 1997.

**60.** 16.20 g 30 mm January 1998.

—•—

**Obv.** Diademed head of sovereign r. His hair is represented with fine locks. The fanons of this diadem are represented in incuse and the band is double. Beaded border.

**Rev.** The type of Heracles of the previous series (nos. 58-60) is modified here: the bust and the head are represented facing and the club rests on a pile of five rocks placed in front of the demi-god. Beaded border. Legend as on previous series.

On the Rev., below  . *BN*, series 9. Unpublished.

**61.** 16.80 g 31 mm September 1997.

#### **AR – Drachms of Attic weight.**

**Obv.** As no. 39.

**Rev.** As no. 39.

On the Rev. 1. . *BN*, series 3. B.

**62.** 4.00 g 19 mm September 1997. ↓

On the Rev. 1. . *BN*, series 3. Unpublished.

**63.** 3.90 g 17 mm January 1998. ↓

—•—

**Obv.** As nos. 54 and 55.

**Rev.** As nos. 54 and 55.

No monogram. *BN*, series 7. A.

**64.** 4.00 g 19 mm January 1998.

Monogram illegible. *BN*, series 7.

**65.** 3.90 g 18 mm January 1998.

**66.** 3.80 g 18 mm January 1998.

## DEMETRIOS I

**AR – Tetradrachms of Attic weight.**

**Obv.** Bust of diademed sovereign wearing elephant scalp r, his cloak pinned at the r. shoulder. Beaded order.

**Rev.** Youthful, beardless Heracles standing facing, crowning himself with r. hand; from his l. arm hangs a lion skin and he holds a club in his l. hand.

Legend: ↓↓ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ.

On the Rev. to l.  Cf. *BN*, série 1. C.

**67.** 16.50 g 33 mm April 1996.

On the Rev. to l.  Cf. *BN*, série 1. F.

**68.** 16.40 g 31 mm April 1996.


On the Rev. to l.  Cf. *BN*, série 1. D.

**69.** 15.90 g 31 mm January 1996.

—•—

**Obv.** As previous series (nos. 67-9), but bead and reel border.

**Rev.** As previous series (nos. 67-9).


On the Rev. to l.  Similar to *BN* série 1. D, if not for the bead and reel border on the **obv.**

**70.** 16.40 g 32 mm April 1996.

—•—

**Obv.** As previous series (no. 70).

**Rev.** As previous series (no. 70), but bead and reel border.

On the Rev. to l.  Unpublished.

**71.** 16.40 g 32 mm April 1996.

—•—

**AR – Drachm of Attic weight.**

**Obv.** As no. 70.

**Rev.** As no. 70.

On the Rev. to l.  Cf. *BN*, série 2. A.

**72.** 3.90 g 19 mm January 1998.

—•—

**AR – Obols of Attic weight.**


**Obv.** Head (not the bust) of diademed sovereign wearing elephant scalp r. Beaded order.

**Rev.** Youthful, beardless Heracles standing facing, crowning himself with r.



hand; from his l. arm hangs a lion skin and he holds a club in his l. hand.

Legend: ↓↓ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ.

On the Rev. to l. . Cf. *BN*, Démétrios, no. 8, pl. 5, no. 8; O.B. & A.u.R., nos. 126-7.


- 73. 0.95 g 12.5 mm June 1996.
- 74. 0.90 g 13.5 mm June 1996.
- 75. 0.80 g 12.5 mm June 1996.
- 76. 0.70 g 12 mm June 1996.
- 77. 0.70 g 12 mm September 1996.
- 78. 0.70 g 12 mm September 1996.
- 79. 0.70 g 12 mm September 1996.
- 80. 0.70 g 12.5 mm September 1996.
- 81. 0.70 g 13 mm September 1996.
- 82. 0.70 g 12.5 mm September 1996.
- 83. 0.70 g 11 mm September 1996.
- 84. 0.70 g 12.5 mm September 1996.
- 85. 0.60 g 13 mm September 1996.
- 86. 0.50 g 12 mm September 1996.
- 87. 0.50 g 11.5 mm September 1996.
- 88. 0.50 g 11 mm January 1998.
- 89. 0.50 g 12 mm January 1998.
- 90. 0.50 g 12.5 mm January 1998.


**Obv.** Bust of diademed sovereign wearing elephant scalp r, his cloak pinned at the r. shoulder. Beaded order.

**Rev.** As previous series (nos.73-90).

On the Rev. to l. . *BN*, series 3. A.

- 91. 0.90 g 12 mm September 1996.
- 92. 0.80 g 12.5 mm September 1996.
- 93. 0.70 g 12.5 mm September 1996.
- 94. 0.70 g 12.5 mm September 1996.

On the Rev. to l. . *BN*, series 3. B.

- 95. 0.95 g 12.5 mm September 1996.
- 96. 0.90 g 12 mm September 1996. On this coin the monogram has the form .
- 97. 0.90 g 12.5 mm September 1996.
- 98. 0.80 g 12 mm September 1996.

- 99.** 0.80 g 12 mm September 1996.  
**100.** 0.80 g 11 mm September 1996.  
**101.** 0.80 g 12 mm September 1996.  
**102.** 0.70 g 12 mm September 1996.  
**103.** 0.70 g 12 mm September 1996.  
**104.** 0.70 g 12.5 mm September 1996.  
**105.** 0.70 g 12 mm September 1996.  
**106.** 0.70 g 12 mm September 1996.  
**107.** 0.70 g 12 mm September 1996.  
**108.** 0.70 g 12.5 mm September 1996.  
**109.** 0.70 g 12.5 mm September 1996.


On the Rev. to l. . *BN*, series 3. C.

- 110.** 0.80 g 12.5 mm September 1996.  
**111.** 0.80 g 12 mm September 1996.  
**112.** 0.70 g 12 mm September 1996.  
**113.** 0.70 g 12 mm September 1996.  
**114.** 0.70 g 12 mm September 1996.  
**115.** 0.70 g 12 mm September 1996.  
**116.** 0.70 g 12 mm September 1996. Nos. 111 and 116 are from the same obverse die.

#### IMITATIONS

On the Rev. to l. . *BN*, series 3. Unpublished.

- 117.** 0.70 g 12.5 mm September 1996.  
**118.** 0.70 g 12.5 mm September 1996.  
**119.** 0.60 g 12.5 mm September 1996.

On the Rev. to l. . *BN*, series 3. Unpublished.

- 120.** 0.70 g 12 mm September 1996.

No monograms. *BN*, series 3. Unpublished.

- 121.** 0.50 g 11.5 mm September 1996. The legend is erroneous. Coins nos. 117-21 are roughly struck and the style is very poor.

#### EUTHYDEMOS II

##### **AR – Drachms of Attic weight.**

**Obv.** Diademed bust of the sovereign r., his mantle pinned on his r. shoulder.  
 Beaded border.

**Rev.** Youthful, beardless, crowned Heracles, standing facing, holding a crown in his outstretched r. hand, a lion-skin hanging from his l. arm, a club in l. hand. On coins nos. 123, 124 and 129 the crown that Heracles holds out is inserted between the Y and the Θ of the legend.

Legend: ↓↓ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ

On the Rev. to l. . *BN*, series 2. B.

**122.** 4.25 g 19.5 mm June 1996.

On the Rev. to l. . *BN*, series 2. C.


**123.** 4.35 g 18.5 mm June 1996.

On the Rev. to l. . *BN*, series 2. Unpublished.

**124.** 4.10 g 19.5 mm January 1998.

—•—

#### AR – Obols of Attic weight.

On the Rev. to l. . *BN*, series 4. A.

**125.** 0.80 g 11 mm September 1996.

**126.** 0.70 g 11.5 mm September 1996. Nos. 125 and 126 are from the same obverse die.

**127.** 0.70 g 11.5 mm September 1996.

On the Rev. to l. . *BN*, series 4. B.

**128.** 0.70 g 11.5 mm September 1996.

Indistinct monogram; it might be a poor engraving of  or .

**129.** 0.70 g 10.5 mm January 1998.

#### AGATHOCLES

#### AR – Drachms of Attic weight.

**Obv.** Diademed bust of the sovereign r., his cloak pinned on his r. shoulder. Beaded border.

**Rev.** Zeus standing facing, holding in his l. hand a long sceptre, and in his outstretched right hand a statuette of Hekate holding a torch in each hand.

Legend: ↓↓ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

On the Rev. to l. . *BN*, series 2. B.

**130.** 4.25 g 20.5 mm April 1996.

**131.** 4.10 g 18.5 mm June 1996.


—•—

#### AR – Tetradrachms of Attic weight.

**Obv.** As previous series (nos. 130 and 131).

**Rev.** As previous series (nos. 130 and 131).

Legend: ↓ → ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ / ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

On the Rev. to l. . *BN*, series 3. A.

- 132.** 16.60 g 30.5 mm January 1998. Struck with the same obverse die as the three other known coins of this series, namely: C.Y. Petit-Biehler, 1975, pl. IV, no. 47 (Ai Khanoum hoard II); *BN*, pl. 7, A (British Museum); O.B. & A.u.R., no. 150 (Ai Khanoum hoard IV).



#### COMMEMORATIVE SERIES


**AR – Tetradrachms of Attic weight.**

**Obv.** Diademed head of Euthydemos I to r. Beaded border.

Legend: ↓ ↓ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ / ΘΕΟΥ.

**Rev.** Heracles seated l. on a rock covered with a lion skin on which he supports himself with his l. hand; with his r. hand he holds a club which rests on his r. thigh.

Legend: ↓ → ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ / ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ / ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

On the Rev., below to r. . *BN*, series 16. A.

- 133.** 15.08 g 33 mm January 1998.



**Obv.** Diademed bust of Pantaleon r. Beaded border.

**Rev.** Zeus seated three quarters l., holding in his l. hand a long sceptre, and in his outstretched right hand a statuette of Hekate holding a torch in each hand.

Legend: ↓ → ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ / ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ / ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

On the Rev., below to l. . *BN*, series 18. Unpublished.

- 134.** 15.80 g 34 mm January 1998.



#### ANTIMACHOS I

**AR – Tetradrachms of Attic weight.**

**Obv.** Diademed bust of sovereign r., his cloak pinned on his r. shoulder. Beaded border.

**Rev.** Poseidon standing facing, the lower part of his body draped in a himation, a fold of which is wrapped around his l. shoulder; he wears a diadem whose fanons float on either side of his face, and holds a trident in his r. hand and a palm-branch decorated with a ribbon in the hollow of his l. arm.

Legend: ↓ ↓ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΘΕΟΥ / ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ.




On the Rev. to r. . *BN*, series 1. E.

**135.** 16.75 g 29 mm April 1996.

On the Rev. to l. , to r. . *BN*, series 1. Unpublished.

**136.** 16.60 g 30 mm January 1998.

On the Rev. to l. . *BN*, series 1. Unpublished.

**137.** 16.55 g 29.5 mm April 1996. The monogram resembles *BN* 1. D: . The monogram  and that  of the previous coin may the result of an accident during the engraving.

On the Rev. to r. . *BN*, series 1. Unpublished.

**138.** 16.30 g 35 mm September 1996.

—•—

**Obv.** As the previous series (nos. 135-8), but with bead and reel border

**Rev.** As the previous series (nos. 135-8).


On the Rev. to r. . Similar to *BN* series 1. A, with the exception of the bead and reel border on the **Obv.**

**139.** 16.50 g 34 mm April 1996.

#### **AR – Drachms of Attic weight.**


**Obv.** As the first series (nos. 135-8).

**Rev.** As the two previous series (nos. 135-9).

On the Rev. to r. . *BN* series 2. A.

**140.** 4.25 g 17.5 mm September 1996.


**141.** 4.15 g 18 mm January 1998.

On the Rev. to r. . *BN* series 2. C.

**142.** 4.35 g 19.5 mm June 1996.

—•—

#### **AR – Obols of Attic weight.**

On the Rev. to r. . *BN* series 4. B.

**143.** 1.00 g 11 mm September 1996.

**144.** 0.95 g 11.5 mm June 1996.

**145.** 0.95 g 11.5 mm June 1996.

**146.** 0.95 g 11.5 mm June 1996.

**147.** 0.95 g 12 mm June 1996.

**148.** 0.90 g 11 mm June 1996.

**149.** 0.90 g 11 mm June 1996.

150. 0.90 g 11.5 mm June 1996.
151. 0.90 g 11 mm June 1996.
152. 0.80 g 11 mm June 1996.
153. 0.70 g 11.5 mm June 1996.
154. 0.70 g 11.5 mm September 1996.
155. 0.70 g 13 mm September 1996. The coin was struck twice. The traces of the first striking are visible on the l. We can clearly read ANTIM[AXOY] and below part of the monogram.
156. 0.70 g 13 mm September 1996.
157. 0.70 g 13 mm September 1996.
158. 0.70 g 12.5 mm September 1996.
159. 0.70 g 12.5 mm September 1996.
160. 0.70 g 12.5 mm September 1996.
161. 0.70 g 11.5 mm September 1996.
162. 0.70 g 13 mm September 1996.
163. 0.70 g 11 mm September 1996.
164. 0.70 g 12.5 mm September 1996.
165. 0.70 g 12.5 mm September 1996.
166. 0.70 g 12.5 mm September 1996.
167. 0.70 g 11 mm September 1996.
168. 0.70 g 12.5 mm September 1996.
169. 0.70 g 12 mm September 1996. The coin was struck twice. The traces of the first striking are visible on the l. and we can read ANTIMA[XOY].
170. 0.70 g 12.5 mm September 1996.
171. 0.70 g 12.5 mm September 1996.
172. 0.70 g 12 mm September 1996.
173. 0.70 g 12.5 mm September 1996.
174. 0.70 g 12.5 mm September 1996.
175. 0.70 g 12 mm September 1996.
176. 0.70 g 12 mm September 1996.
177. 0.70 g 12.5 mm September 1996.
178. 0.70 g 12 mm September 1996.
179. 0.70 g 12.5 mm September 1996.
180. 0.70 g 12 mm September 1996.
181. 0.70 g 12.5 mm September 1996.



## IMITATION

No monogram. Unpublished.

- 182.** 0.50 g 11.5 mm September 1996. The legend is erroneous. The coin is roughly struck and the style is very poor.

## EUCRATIDES I

**AR – Tetradrachms of Attic weight.**

**Obv.** Diademed bust of the sovereign r., his cloak pinned on the r. shoulder. Bead and reel border.

**Rev.** Dioscuri on prancing horses r., holding spear in r. hand and a palm branch against the l. shoulder. They wear a breastplate, tall boots, are draped in mantles and have a conical bonnet surmounted by a star.

Legend: ⤴ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

On the Rev. to r. ⚭. *BN* series 1. A.

- 183.** 16.60 g 34 mm September 1996.

On the Rev., below ⚭, to r. Δ. *BN* series 1. C.

- 184.** 16.60 g 34 mm September 1996. On the two other known coins bearing the same monograms, the ⚭ appears above to l. (cf. *BN* series 1. C).

**AR – Drachms of Attic weight.**

On the Rev. to l. ⚭. *BN* series 2. B.

- 185.** 4.20 g 18.5 mm June 1996.

On the Rev., above to l. Α, below, to r. ⚭. *BN*, series 2. D.

- 186.** 4.20 g 19 mm June 1996.

- 187.** 4.20 g 23 mm June 1996.

- 188.** 4.00 g 22 mm June 1996.

On the Rev., above, to l. Α, below, to r. ⚭. *BN*, series 2. E.

- 189.** 4.30 g 22 mm September 1997.

- 190.** 4.20 g 20 mm September 1997.


- 191.** 4.10 g 18.5 mm April 1996.

**AR – Tetradrachms of Attic weight.**

**Obv.** Diademed and helmeted bust of the sovereign seen from behind to l., brandishing a spear. The crested helmet is decorated with the horn and ear of a bull. Bead and reel border.

**Rev.** As the two previous series (Nos. 183-191).

Legend:  ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ / ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

On the Rev., below to r. . *BN*, series 8. B.

**192.** 17.02 g 32.5 mm CNG Sale, March 1998, no. 771.

On the Rev., below to r. . *BN*, series 8. Unpublished.

**193.** 16.55 g 30 mm March 1997.



#### AR – Drachm of Attic weight.

**Obv.** Diademed bust of the sovereign r., wearing a crested helmet decorated with a bull's horn and ear. Beaded border.

Legend:  ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ / ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ

**Rev.** Twin busts of Heliocles without a diadem and Laodike with a diadem to r. Beaded border.

Legend:  ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ / ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ

On the Rev. to l. . *BN* series 14. A.

**194.** 4.10 g 21 mm January 1996.



#### AR – Obols of Attic weight.


**Obv.** Diademed bust of the sovereign r., his cloak pinned on his l. shoulder. The two fanons fall obliquely, separating slightly. Beaded border.

**Rev.** Bonnets of the Dioscuri surmounted by a star and flanked with a palm branch r.

Legend:  ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

On the Rev., below to l. . *BN* series 3. B.

**195.** 0.60 g 12 mm January 1998.

On the Rev., below to r. . *BN* series 3. C.

**196.** 0.70 g 12.5 mm September 1996.

**197.** 0.70 g 11.5 mm September 1996.

**198.** 0.70 g 12 mm September 1996.


On the Rev., below to r. . *BN* series 3.D.

**199.** 0.70 g 12 mm September 1996.

**200.** 0.70 g 12 mm September 1996.

**201.** 0.70 g 11.5 mm June 1996.

**202.** 0.70 g 12 mm September 1996. The monogram has the form .

On the Rev., below to r. . *BN* series 3. E.

**203.** 0.70 g 11 mm September 1996.

On the Rev., below  $\Xi$ . *BN* series 3. Unpublished.

**204.** 0.70 g 11 mm January 1998. The *sigma* of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is written  $\Sigma$ .

Monogram off-flan. *BN* series 3.

**205.** 0.70 g 11.5 mm September 1996.

\* \* \*

The geographical area of Central Asia and north-west India incorporate what on a modern political map are the republics of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, as well as Afghanistan and north-west Pakistan. By Central Asia we mean the ancient regions of Sogdiana, of Ferghana and Bactria situated to the north of the mountain range of the Hindu Kush. This geographical zone is surrounded by the Eurasian steppes to the north, the Iranian plateau to the west, the Indo-Balochian plains to the south, the Tarim Basin and the Gobi desert to the east. These territories are composed of large oases, narrow, deep valleys, such as the valley of the Farkhar and the high valley of the Kokcha, of high plateaux such as the plains of Samti, Bangi or Kunduz, and of great basins such as the one in the central part of the Oxus River (Amu Darya). These regions are dominated by mountain ranges, the Hindu Kush and the Pamir, where snow accumulates and great rivers flow down towards the Aral sea, the Amu Darya, the ancient Oxus, with its tributary the Kokcha, and the Syr Darya, the ancient Iaxartes.

North-western India encompasses the ancient regions of the Paropamisadae, Arachosia, Gandhāra and the Punjab, situated to the south of the Hindu-Kush. It is bordered by the Thar desert and the upper Ganges plain to the east, the Hindu Kush mountains to the west and the mountainous barrier of the Himalayas to the north, hiding within its narrow valleys numerous small regions such as the Hunza and the Chitral. Large basins occupy lower lying areas such as those of Bannu and Peshawar. The Peshawar valley is situated on the lower course of the Kabul River, at the foot of the famous Khyber pass (1,607 m), which has always provided a major passage for the invasion of India. The Punjab region, the country of five rivers, is an immense piedmont built up by the Indus and its four tributaries. These strong rivers mark the *do-ab*, the mesopotamias, whose earth is so favourable to agriculture. It must not be forgotten that the provinces of the north-west, and of the Indus valley especially, belonged, linguistically and politically, to ancient India, and that they were formed into the territory of Pakistan only in 1947.

In Central Asia the continental climate, clearly influenced by the relief, is semi-arid. The lack of sufficient rains requires artificial irrigation systems in order to cultivate the fertile land of the plains. The agricultural riches of the grand oases of pre-Achaemenid Bactria are well illustrated by gigantic irrigation works. The Greeks settled in well-populated areas. During this occupation

they, in their turn, developed the irrigation system, but utilised techniques inherited from earlier times.<sup>2</sup> North-west India, on the other hand, benefits much more from the continental climate of the neighbouring mountains that causes copious amounts of rain on the Punjab and the southern foothills of the Pir-Panjal. These regions, protected and made fertile by the snow-covered mountains, are very rich. The mountainous barrier of the Hindu Kush, many of whose summits exceed 7,000 m, considered the frontier of ancient India, divides this area into two large zones, each of which is marked by clearly distinct geographical, climatic, political and cultural characteristics.

In the present article we will have to cite repeatedly a certain number of hoards discovered in Central Asia. In order to provide a better understanding of this study, they are briefly described in the following pages.

#### HOARDS FROM THE REGIONS TO THE NORTH OF THE HINDU KUSH

##### HOARD FROM THE NORTH OF AFGHANISTAN (BACTRA?)

This hoard was found in the north of Afghanistan, possibly in Bactra. H. Nicolet-Pierre and M. Amandry<sup>3</sup> published 65 coins of which the 51 are imitations of Athenian owls of the head of Athena/owl type,<sup>4</sup> 13 of the head of Athena/eagle type<sup>5</sup> and one with the head of Zeus on the obverse and an eagle on the reverse.<sup>6</sup> Five other coins that probably come from the same hoard are in the private collection of Aman ur Rahman.<sup>7</sup> We were able to examine ten more specimens in the Peshawar bazaar, of which one was an Attic standard tetradrachm (now in the private collection of Prof. Hirayama)<sup>8</sup> and a didrachm of the local weight standard (in the Numismatic Collection of Alpha Bank, Athens),<sup>9</sup> struck in the name of Sophytos. Apart from these we also recorded five other unpublished coins that are kept in the private collection of Muhammad Riaz Babar (Peshawar).<sup>10</sup> According to him these, as well as all the other coins to which we alluded, come from Bactra, the ancient capital of Bactria. There is no reason to doubt this information. The fact that the hoard was apparently found in Bactra gives us an indication, if not about the place of striking, at least about the zone of circulation of these coins.

<sup>2</sup> On the survey campaigns carried out in this region to bring to light works of ancient irrigation, see J.-C. Gardin and P. Gentelle, 1976 and 1979.

<sup>3</sup> H. Nicolet-Pierre and M. Amandry, 1994.

<sup>4</sup> For similar types, see G.C., nos. 61-4.

<sup>5</sup> For similar types, see G.C., no. 65.

<sup>6</sup> For similar types, see G.C., no. 67.

<sup>7</sup> See O.B. & A.u.R., nos. 63-7 & G.C., nos. 61-3.

<sup>8</sup> O. Bopearachchi, 1996, p. 31, no. 1. See also G.C., no. 58.

<sup>9</sup> O. Bopearachchi, 1996, p. 31, no. 2. See also G.C., no. 59.

<sup>10</sup> See also G.C., nos. 60, 64-7.

## FOUR HOARDS FROM AĪ KHANOUM

The ancient site of Aī Khanoum on the confluent of the Oxus (Amou Daria) and the Kokcha was excavated between 1965 and 1978 by archaeologists of the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan (French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan), under the direction of Paul Bernard.

I. *Aī Khanoum I*

A hoard comprising 677 coins with multiple punches and 6 bilingual drachms struck in the name of Agathocles,<sup>11</sup> found in 1970 in Room 20 of the palace which occupied the centre of the lower city.<sup>12</sup>

II. *Aī Khanoum II*

This hoard was discovered in 1973 during the excavation of a house outside the walls of the Aī Khanoum site. It includes 63 silver tetradrachms of Attic standard.<sup>13</sup>

III. *Aī Khanoum III*

This hoard was found by chance by a field hand in the Spring of 1974 in the northern suburb of the city and sold in a clandestine manner in the bazaar of Kabul. It appeared on the market of New York in 1975 and 1976 and was examined by N. Waggoner. Basing himself on the notes taken by the late numismatist and a set of photographs that were given to him by an antique dealer, Frank Holt published the hoard.<sup>14</sup> The hoard was originally composed of 142 drachmas and tetradrachms. Of the 139 coins Holt published, we must, as the author correctly noted, subtract, on the one hand, a fake Antigonus Doson and a drachma of Lysias obviously foreign to the hoard, and, on the other hand, add five commemorative tetradrachms of Agathocles which had been removed from the hoard when it arrived in the antiquities market of Kabul.<sup>15</sup>

IV. *Aī Khanoum IV*

This hoard that was originally composed of almost 1,500 coins was discovered recently, according to our information, during illegal excavations. Unfortunately our information about the composition of the hoard is limited to some 500

<sup>11</sup> For a drachma of this series, see G.C., no. 102.

<sup>12</sup> R. Audouin and P. Bernard, 1973.

<sup>13</sup> C.Y. Petitot-Biehler, 1975.

<sup>14</sup> Frank Holt, 1981.

<sup>15</sup> These are five commemorative tetradrachms of Agathocles struck in honour of Diodotos (BN, series 14), of Euthydemus I (BN, series 16) and of Pantaleon (BN, series 18), published by H.P. Francfort, 1975 and P.L. Gupta, 1976.

specimens.<sup>16</sup> Its composition is analogous to that of Aï Khanoum II and III hoards which had been discovered on the same site. We know that the death of Eucratides I coincided with the destruction of the treasury and of other edifices of the city of Aï Khanoum and with it being abandoned by the Greek population. This abandonment was dated to approximately 145 BC thanks to an economic inscription on a vase in the treasury of Aï Khanoum, dated to the year 24, that, as P. Bernard has proposed, corresponds to an era of Eucratides I.<sup>17</sup> The absence in this new hoard of any issues of the successors of Eucratides I in Bactria and especially of Heliocles I, confirms the correctness of the date of 145 BC proposed for the end of Aï Khanoum.

Concerning the origin of the hoard, apart from the details coming from informants, a corroborating indication is given by what we have learned about the pillaging of the excavation site. The site was systematically turned over by illegal diggers, who were obviously armed with metal detectors brought into the country to detect Russian mines. The photographs taken by a Japanese archaeologist show the lunar aspect that the surface of the site had taken on, literally riddled with craters dug by the looters.<sup>18</sup> It is thus not surprising that they also managed, following the archaeologists, to get their hands on one or more coin hoards.

The oldest coins in the hoard are issues of the towns of Akanthos and Paros.<sup>19</sup> We find here also, as in previous hoards, tetradrachms struck in the name of Alexander and of Lysimachos. Thanks to new finds the commemorative coins struck by Agathocles in honour of the previous kings are no longer rarities. Apart from the coins that we have already published,<sup>20</sup> we publish here in the General Catalogue other issues, until now unpublished,<sup>21</sup> and we discuss the importance of these coins in the historical commentary.

#### QUNDUZ HOARD

This hoard, called the Qunduz, was discovered in 1946 not far from the village on the site of Khisht Tepe on the left bank of the Oxus, near the confluent of the Qunduz River. It was composed of 627 Graeco-Bactrian silver coins, of which 602 were tetradrachms, 17 drachms and 2 double decadrachms.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>16</sup> For further information on the circumstances of the discovery of this hoard, see O. Bopearachchi, 1994a, 1994b, 1994c, 1994d and 1995.

<sup>17</sup> P. Bernard, 1985, pp. 97-105; see also Cl. Rapin, 1992, pp. 281-94.

<sup>18</sup> For a recent update concerning this destruction of Afghan heritage, see P. Bernard, 1995.

<sup>19</sup> O.B. & A.u.R., nos. 55 and 56.

<sup>20</sup> O.B. & A.u.R., nos. 163-7, 1057.

<sup>21</sup> See G.C., nos. 104, 105, 109 and 110.

<sup>22</sup> R. Curiel and G. Fussman, 1965.



## OXUS HOARD

The exact find spot of this hoard is not known, but there can be no doubt that it was discovered somewhere in Bactria on the bank of the middle section of the Oxus. Since its discovery in 1877-8 Percy Gardner<sup>23</sup> and Alexander Cunningham<sup>24</sup> have recorded a number of coins that are supposed to have come from the hoard.<sup>25</sup> According to Alexander Cunningham, the hoard was made up of 150 gold coins and between 1,000 and 2,000 silver coins, of which the majority were tetradrachms. Of these coins he was able to examine 64 gold and 459 silver coins.

## KABUL HOARD

This is a treasure discovered by chance in 1933 in the area called Tchamañ-i Hazouri, in the eastern part of Kabul. It was found by a team of workers digging the foundations of a house and contained coins and fragments of jewellery. According to a passage in a letter sent by Joseph Hackin, then director of the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, to Henri Seyrig, the hoard contained 1,000 silver coins. Fifteen years later D. Schlumberger published a certain number of these coins kept in the Kabul museum. Others entered the collection of the British Museum and the Museum of Calcutta and Lahore. To these must be added another eight coins from the same hoard that entered the Cabinet des Médailles via Marc Le Berre, an architect with the DAFA, and which we have catalogued here.<sup>26</sup> The part of the hoard published by D. Schlumberger was made up of 30 coins of various Greek cities; a lot of 34 coins of Athens including a barbarian imitation; 9 silver royal Achaemenid coins (sicles); 14 curved punch-marked ingots of a unique type called 'bent bars'; 29 coins of a new kind.<sup>27</sup>

## BUKHARA HOARD

This hoard was discovered fortuitously in the Spring of 1983 in the vicinity of Bukhara, during the construction of the Sverdlov canal. The hoard might have arrived at this find spot in a truck carrying earth taken from the archaeological site near Taxmačtepe, to the south-west of Bukhara. It was made up of 50 Graeco-Bactrian coins of Diodotos, Euthydemus and Agathocles.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>23</sup> P. Gardner, 1879, 1880 and 1881.

<sup>24</sup> A. Cunningham, 1881 and 1883.

<sup>25</sup> See also the lists composed by A.R. Bellinger, 1962, pp. 51-67 and E.V. Zejmal, 1979, pp. 73-4.

<sup>26</sup> See G.C., nos. 5, 7, 9, 10, 13-15 and 16.

<sup>27</sup> *Trésors monétaires*, pp. 31-40.

<sup>28</sup> E.V. Rtyeladze and M. Nijazova, 1984/86; E. Rtyeladze, 1984.

## KULIAB HOARD

The discovery of the Kuliab hoard was the result of clandestine excavations on an ancient site in the region of Kuliab.<sup>29</sup> We have listed here 205 of the 800 coins that came from this hoard. The region of Kuliab is situated in Tadjikistan, 8-10 km from Qizil Mazar, in the valley of the Qizil Su, on the right bank of the Oxus. It is sufficient to consult the recent publication by Bertille Lyonnet to understand that the valley of Qizil Su is of exceptional archaeological interest.<sup>30</sup> The comparative studies that she carried out concerning Hellenistic ceramics made her realise that a large number of sites of the Qizil Su valley contained material dated from the fourth to the second centuries BC, i.e. a period from the time of Seleucid domination to the fall of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. She rightly concluded that there were no cultural differences between the left bank and the right bank of the Amu Daria.<sup>31</sup> We will return, in the historical commentary, to the importance of this hoard for the better understanding of coin production in Central Asia. Apart from the presence of a very important number of obols, it revealed to us new coin types of known rulers<sup>32</sup> and enriched the series of monograms that are characteristic of these issues.<sup>33</sup> As would be expected, the composition of the Kuliab hoard reminds us of three hoards of Āi Khanoum (II, III and IV). The oldest coins in the hoard are represented by issues struck in the name of Alexander<sup>34</sup> and the most recent are those of Eucratides I.<sup>35</sup> It is also noteworthy that the coins in the name of Alexander, Seleucos I,<sup>36</sup> Antiochos I<sup>37</sup> and Antiochos II<sup>38</sup> are more worn than those of Eucratides I, who was the last Graeco-Bactrian king to reign over western Bactria. It was during his reign, or shortly after, that the hoard was hidden.

<sup>29</sup> Very few monetary discoveries have been made in the region of Kuliab; for an overview of these discoveries, see P. Bernard, 1985, pp. 163 and 164.

<sup>30</sup> B. Lyonnet, 1997, especially pp. 123, 127, 140-1, 144-5, 153.

<sup>31</sup> B. Lyonnet, 1997, p. 153. For example, the site of Tepe-i-Diniston produced "grey-black" fragments, which the author dated between the second century and the first half of the first century BC. B. Lyonnet (1997, p. 123, no. 147) correctly observed that the data from the Āi Khanoum excavations point to an earlier date for this site than that proposed by E.P. Denisov (1985). According to B. Lyonnet, it is probable, taking into consideration the material published by Denisov, that Tepe-i-Diniston is contemporary to periods VII and VIII of Āi Khanoum (approximately the second half of the second century BC).

<sup>32</sup> For example nos. 54, 55, 58-60, 71.

<sup>33</sup> For example nos. 18, 20, 21, 23, 25-7, 30, 38, 48-53, 61, 63, 117-21, 124, 134, 136, 137, 138, 182, 193, 204.

<sup>34</sup> T.K., nos. 1-6.

<sup>35</sup> T.K., nos. 183-205.

<sup>36</sup> T.K., no. 7.

<sup>37</sup> T.K., nos. 8-13.

<sup>38</sup> T.K., nos. 14-16.

## HOARDS FROM THE REGIONS TO THE SOUTH OF THE HINDU KUSH

## DEPOSIT OF MIR ZAKAH I

A first monetary deposit was discovered in May 1947 by the inhabitants of the village of Mir Zakah on Afghan territory, in a valley of the Province of Pakhita, not far from the Pakistani border. At that time the Afghan authorities, with the aid of the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, managed to intervene and carry out an emergency excavation. More than 10,000 coins were thus recovered from the inhabitants of the region or collected during an excavation carried out by the French archaeologists.<sup>39</sup> R. Curiel gave a summarized description in *Trésors monétaires* (pp. 67-98). The aim declared by the author of the publication was not to give an exhaustive study, which he could not do with the meagre bibliographical resources that he had at his disposal, but to make this extraordinary discovery of more than 10,000 coins known without delay and give a rough idea of its composition.

Among the coins still unpublished that came from the hoard and that entered the collection of the Cabinet des Médailles through the intermediary of Marc Le Berre, we have catalogued here the following: long punch-marked bars;<sup>40</sup> coins with a single punch<sup>41</sup> and bronze coins attributed to Taxila.<sup>42</sup>

## DEPOSIT OF MIR ZAKAH II

One of the largest known hoards in the history of coinage was discovered fortuitously, six years ago, in the same locality of Mir Zakah. According to our investigations and our speculations, this deposit contained more than 4 tons of coined metal, meaning approximately 550,000 coins, essentially of silver and bronze, as well as 120 kg of gold objects, the majority of which have already entered Japanese and American collections. Almost 5,000 coins were bought by antique dealers in London and New York. During our visit to the Peshawar bazaar in Pakistan in February 1994, we were able to rapidly examine six sacks that represented more than 300 kg of metal, or about 38,000 coins

<sup>39</sup> *Trésors Monétaires*, pp. 67-99.

<sup>40</sup> G.C., nos. 18-23, 25-7, 29-31, 34, 35, 37 and 38.

<sup>41</sup> G.C., nos. 40-51.

<sup>42</sup> G.C., nos. 69, 73, 76-83, 85, 87-91. We have explained in our catalogue of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins of the Cabinet des Médailles of Paris (*BN*, pp. 37-8) that, for the majority of the coins of the Le Berre collection that entered the Cabinet des Médailles, we do not have any indication of the place of purchase, but that a particularity of the material does, however, permit us to detect the coins that come from the Mir Zakah I. As we know, this deposit had been gathered in water cisterns; the silver coins that remained in water for over 2,000 years took on a characteristic red-black patina, while the bronzes a yellowish patina with no oxidation. Even in the drawers of the Cabinet des Médailles the bronzes of the Le Berre collection from the Mir Zakah I deposit are plain to see thanks to this golden patina. In the catalogue all the coins that have this characteristic patina are followed by the name of the site: Mir Zakah I.

that came from this hoard. The number of coins is so great that they are stored in bulk, in large plastic sacks used for the transport of goods. We were also able to study numerous coins of the same provenance that are now kept in private collections.<sup>43</sup>

It goes without saying that this find is of prime importance numismatically and historically. Its composition is analogous to the first deposit discovered by the inhabitants of the same village of Mir Zakah in May 1947. In the new deposit of Mir Zakah II, vastly larger than that of 1947, the oldest coins are also Achaemenid darics as well as curved, punch-marked bars called "bent bars" and Indian coins with multiple punches, which are not dated earlier than the fifth century BC. The Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins number in the hundreds, but more than 40 per cent of the hoard is constituted of issues of the Indo-Scythian king Azes II and by posthumous imitations of Hermaios. These coins in the name of Hermaios that we have dated to the four last decades before our era, are characterized by a considerable number of monograms associated with the Kharoṣṭhī *akṣara* in groupings never before attested on these issues. Their number itself underlines even more forcefully the importance, already recognized, of these posthumous issues of Hermaios. We also note the presence in the thousands of bronzes of the Indo-Parthian kings and the first Kushan sovereigns, such as Kujula Kadphises, Wima Kadphises and Kanishka, who reigned during the first and second centuries of our era. As with the first deposit, their Kushan successors Huvishka and Vasudeva are the last sovereigns that are present in the second.

The discovery of such a considerable mass of coins leads to questions about why such an accumulation of coined metal exists. We must start with a basic piece of evidence: the two deposits of Mir Zakah I (1947) and Mir Zakah II (1992-3) come from the same site and the brownish accretions that the coins of both finds have attest that they were all removed from a watery environment. This is confirmed by the archaeologists that carried out the small excavation in 1947 on the find spot of Mir Zakah I and by the information, though vague, that we possess on the recent find, said to have been found in a well. The explanation that will be proposed must be valid for both finds. Thanks to the excavation of 1947 carried out by R. Curiel and M. Le Berre, we know that the deposit of Mir Zakah I came from a group of basins made of rough stone reinforced by wooden beams, constructed around springs flowing directly from the ground.<sup>44</sup> It seems reasonable to assume that we are dealing with the product of a long hoarding, with one or many hoards of secular or religious origin, and which someone tried during a time of trouble in the third century AD, the date of the latest coins, to hide by throwing them into the basins that had been built around the springs. The hypothesis could be reinforced if the fibres of vegetable origin that are preserved on certain coins, could be analysed and

<sup>43</sup> See O. Bopearachchi, 1994 A, 1994 B, 1994 C, 1994 D, 1995 and 1999; O.B. & A.u.R., 1995, pp. 10-14.

<sup>44</sup> *Trésors monétaires*, pp. 93-106.

identified as the remains of the canvas sacks in which they and the other objects had been heaped and transported before being immersed.<sup>45</sup>

Among the coins that are of special interest for this study, we have catalogued here the following: a royal Achaemenid coin, a double daric,<sup>46</sup> a silver stater struck in the name of Alexander,<sup>47</sup> bilingual bronzes of Agathocles<sup>48</sup> and a gold stater of Eucratides I.<sup>49</sup>

More than thirty pre-Sassanid hoards have been discovered in Pakistan during the last fifteen years and we give below a brief description of those that are related to our study. With the exception of a single hoard, that of Aziz Dheri in the Swabi district, which was found in a legal excavation and which is composed of Kushano-Sassanian coins, all the others are the products of clandestine digging or accidental finds or both at the same time. The influx into the region of Afghan refugees who established themselves on terrains that had previously been unoccupied and especially on the summits of archaeological tells, the excavations carried out to dig foundations, to obtain soil for the manufacture of bricks baked or unbaked, and those, less innocent, undertaken to feed the international market with Buddhist statues, have multiplied the cases of discoveries. Thanks to the help of enlightened Pakistani friends, who were interested in protecting the historical heritage of their country as much as possible, during the four missions carried out in 1993, 1994, 1995 and 1998, we were able to visit all the sites where clandestine discoveries had been made and to study a number of these hoards.

#### MANKARA HOARD

One of the most spectacular finds was that made in February 1994, in the village of Mankara, between the site of Bala Hisar and Shaikhan Dehri, on

<sup>45</sup> Concerning the first deposit of Mir Zakah, French archaeologists put forward the hypothesis that the place had been a sacred basin, situated right next to a busy road connecting the Afghan plateau and the Indus valley, where passing travellers had thrown coins to ensure a safe journey. 'Assuredly these basins do not have the cemented or paved bottom that we would expect. But this can be explained if we accept that they are not reservoirs, but rather the result of adapting a natural pond or of the capturing of the water of a source': R. Curiel, *Trésors monétaires*, p. 99. This explanation faces a number of difficulties. How can we imagine that the silver tetradrachms that were amassed in their thousands, and even more the gold coins, such as Darics, could have been jettisoned as if they were common/worthless small change thrown into a fountain? How can we believe that this was done over eight centuries, without the priests responsible for the sacred basin having ever tried to clean them? Finally we know that the two deposits, and especially Mir Zakah II, included various objects in gold and silver mixed with the coins, some of which were quite heavy: statuettes, vases, jewellery. How can we believe that objects of such value could have been left in the basins century after century without anyone having recuperated them?

<sup>46</sup> G.C., no. 53.

<sup>47</sup> G.C., no. 54.

<sup>48</sup> G.C., nos. 97-101.

<sup>49</sup> G.C., no. 106.

the territory of the ancient town of Pushkalavati, where illegal excavators discovered a large ceramic vase containing twenty kilos of coins welded into a solid block. Hoping to find gold hidden in the interior, they broke the block apart with a pick. Disappointed to have found only bronze coins, they sold their find for a handful of rupees. This hoard, of more than 20,000 Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian coins, was bought and cleaned by Aman ur Rahman. He is currently studying it.

#### PUSHKALAVATI HOARDS

In January 1998 M.R. Babar showed us four coin hoards similar to the one just mentioned from the ancient town of Pushkalavati. They are intact and two of them are still in the pots in which they had been hidden. One is, it would seem, composed of Kushano-Sassanian coins (15 kg) and the other three (20 kg) of Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian coins. These four hoards are available to us to carry out an in-depth study.

#### WESA HOARD

At Wesa, in the Chah region, a villager came across a hoard of more than 1,000 Indo-Greek drachms and 220 tetradrachms. We observe in this hoard for the first time the presence of a bilingual drachm of Eucratides I associated with issues of Apollodotos I, Antimachos II and Menander I.

#### KHAUZIKHELAI HOARD

In the village of Khauzikhelai in the Swat valley, a peasant discovered by chance a hoard of 800 Indo-Greek coins in the bed of the river Swat. It was in this same village that a few years previously the unique tetradrachm of Attic weight of Diomedes had been found.<sup>50</sup> The presence of these coins in this place can without doubt be explained by the presence of an archaeological site at the top of the hill that dominates the land above the river.

#### SWABI HOARD

In Swabi, not far from the site of Aziz Dheri, excavated by the University of Peshawar, a peasant working in his fields brought to light three years ago a hoard of 75 Indo-Greek coins of Apollodotos I, Antimachos II and Menander I.

#### MIAN KHAN SANGHOU HOARD

This hoard, composed of 83 Indo-Greek coins (8 tetradrachms and 75 drachms), was uncovered by another peasant working his field in the village of Mian

<sup>50</sup> *BN*, pl. 45, A.



Khan Sanghou, in the Mardan region. It is composed of drachms of Apollodotos I, Antimachos II, Menander I and Zoilos I.<sup>51</sup>

#### SIRANWALI HOARD

In 1989, near the village of Siranwali in the area of Daska, between Gujranwala and Sialkot, a peasant discovered in similar circumstances a hoard of 400 Indo-Greek coins, mainly composed of coins of Menander. Four years later, a few meters away, the same peasant dug up another hoard of 300 coins. The presence of hundreds of ceramic fragments dated to the third century BC shows that we are here on an antique site. It is the first time that the presence of coins of Menander has been attested in the region of Sialkot. Amyntas is represented by 13 drachms in the first hoard and by 17 in the second. The most striking characteristic of the majority of the hoards we have mentioned, as well as that of many others in other parts of Pakistan, is the extraordinary abundance of the coins of Menander, which are counted in the thousands. Thus the reputation of this king in classical and Indian texts that present him as the greatest Greek sovereign to have ruled over territories to the south of the Hindu Kush<sup>52</sup> is forcefully confirmed.

#### SARAI SALEH HOARDS

The hoard that is richest in historical implications is that which was discovered by accident in January 1994 in the village of Sarai Saleh, between Haripur and Bagra in the district of Abbotabad. A bulldozer flattening the land for the construction of the tomb of the spiritual chief of a local village, unearthed a bronze vase filled with Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coins that were immediately sold in the bazaars of Peshawar, Islamabad and Haripur, from where the rarest pieces made their way into private collections in Pakistan, the USA and the UK. We were able, by tracing them to different collections, to reconstruct more than half the hoard. It must have contained approximately 500 Indo-Greek tetradrachms and 1,500 drachms. Its primary interest resides in its composition. It brings together coins of Menander and his Indo-Greek successors, such as Strato, Lysias, Antialcidas, Heliocles II, Polyxenos, Philoxenos, Diomedes, Amyntas, Menander II, Artemidoros, Archebios,

<sup>51</sup> We did not have access to the eight tetradrachms of this hoard. We did, however, study the 75 drachms of the Indo-Greek sovereigns. We provide here a brief inventory of these coins: Apollodotos I, 5 drachms: (*BN*, series 4. A, C, F, G); Antimachos II, 12 drachms: (*BN*, series 1. A, B, C, D, F, G); Menander I, 1 drachm (*BN*, series 2. C), 1 drachm (*BN*, series 3. E), 5 drachms (*BN*, series 6. A, C), 5 drachms (*BN*, series 9. A, B, C), 6 drachms (*BN*, series 7. B, E), 11 drachms (*BN*, series 13. A, B, H, O), 1 drachm (*BN*, series 15. A), 5 drachms (*BN*, series 14. O, N), 15 drachms (*BN*, series 16. C, D, I, J); and Zoilos I, 5 drachms (*BN*, series 3. B), 2 drachms (*BN* series 4. A), 1 drachm (*BN*, series 5. A).

<sup>52</sup> O. Bopearachchi, 1990 B.

Hermaios, Telephos, Apollodotos II and Hippostratos. Among the Indo-Scythians, the following sovereigns are represented by dozens of coins: Maues, who tore the Greek kingdom of Taxila from Archebios, Azes I, who put a permanent end to Greek power in the whole of the Taxila-Pushkalavati region, Vonones associated with Spalahores, Vonones associated with Spaladagames, Spalirises associated with Azes I, all contemporaries of Azes I (between 70 and 40 BC).

Two months after the discovery of this hoard we visited the find spot. After having noted that the site has a certain archaeological value, we alerted the authorities of the department of archaeology of the University of Peshawar. The first excavations started in 1995.<sup>53</sup> During our visit to the site in January 1998 with Shah Nazar Khan, one of the excavators of the University of Peshawar, we realized that this was a veritable Indo-Greek town, comparable to Taxila.

#### CENTRAL ASIA AND NORTH-WEST INDIA UNDER THE ACHAEMENID EMPIRE

In the light of the hoards, both ancient and recent, just discussed, we can turn without further delay to the problem of coin production in Central Asia after the conquest of Alexander.

To begin with: was there an abundant coin production in Central Asia under the Achaemenid Empire before the conquest of Alexander?

We well know that Central Asia and north-west India were part of the Achaemenid Empire before the arrival of Alexander. The Achaemenid foundation of Bhir Mound at Taxila clearly shows the expansion of the great Persian Empire that stretched beyond the Indus.<sup>54</sup> Herodotus (III, 90-4) gives a list of financial circumscriptions, indicating with precision which people were grouped together as well as the amount of the tribute that was demanded of each. Among the people of Bactria and ... (?) pay 360 talents and the Indians 360 talents as a tribute to the Great King.<sup>55</sup> As P. Briant<sup>56</sup> emphasized, we have in the inscriptions and the sculptures that Darius and his successors engraved on the façades of their tombs, on the walls of their palaces, or on Egyptian steles and on a statue of Darius in Susa, a documentation that allows us to reconstruct an ideal image of the Persian world. First of all there is what is called the *lists of the Empire*, included in a series of royal inscriptions, of

<sup>53</sup> For a preliminary report, see F.A. Durani, M.S. Qamar and S.N. Khan, 1997.

<sup>54</sup> J. Maeshall, 1951.

<sup>55</sup> Herodotus (III, 94). According to Pierre Briant 'this passage of Herodotus has caused and continues to cause diverging analyses among historians. It has been advocated that this list offers no credible information, because its composition is modelled on a literary and poetic Greek tradition that can be traced to the Catalogue of Boats of Homer' (P. Briant, 1996, p. 403).

<sup>56</sup> P. Briant, 1996, pp. 185-6.

which most date to the reign of Darius: the inscription of Behistoun (*DB*); one of the four inscriptions on the southern façade of the terrace of Persepolis (*Dpe*); one of the two inscriptions found on the tomb of the king at Naqš-e Rostam (*Dna*); an inscription of Susa (*Dse*); one of the versions of the charter of the foundation of Susa (*Dsaa*).<sup>57</sup> All five of these inscriptions cite Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Drangiana, Arachosia and Gandhāra. On the other hand, among the twenty-three peoples that are represented as delegations on the façade of the stairs of Apadana in Persepolis, reliefs that were probably created in the reign of Xerxes, we find the Bactrians and the Gandharians.<sup>58</sup> P. Bernard, publishing a series of bronze coins bearing a person in Persian habit (maybe the satrap of the region) struck in India 100 or 150 years after the destruction of the Achaemenid Empire, correctly recognized that 'the official image of the person exercising the supreme authority in the province was still that of a satrap in the Persian style'.<sup>59</sup>

Some royal Achaemenid coins were found in the territories to the north and the south of the Hindu Kush.<sup>60</sup> However, we have no proof that they were struck in the area. It is more probable that these Achaemenid darics and sicles were imported from the western regions, as were the coins of the Greek cities found in the Kabul hoard.<sup>61</sup> As we shall see later, the regions *to the north* of the Hindu Kush did not start striking coins before the last decade of the fourth century BC, that is at least twenty years after the death of Alexander, despite that fact that there was a well developed monetary system in the regions *to the south* of the Hindu Kush even before the arrival of Alexander.

#### COIN PRODUCTION IN NORTH-WEST INDIA UNDER THE ACHAEMENIDS

Quintus Curtius tells that in the Spring of 327, while Alexander was moving towards Taxila, Taxiles, king of Taxila, let the conqueror know, by the intermediary of a messenger, that he was prepared to offer him his kingdom. Alexander, satisfied by the attitude of the Indian king, confirmed him in his rights, titles and functions (VIII, 12, 4-14). We learn that later Taxiles offered

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> See E.F. Schmidt, 1953, pl. 40 for the Gandharians and Pl. 41 for the Bactrians.

<sup>59</sup> See P. Bernard, 1987, pp. 188-90.

<sup>60</sup> For example eight darics and six sicles in the hoard of Oxus (cf. A.R. Bellinger, 1962, pp. 53 and 54); eight sicles in the hoard of Kabul (cf. *Trésors monétaires*, pp. 32 and 36); a sicle in a hoards uncovered near Bhira Mound at Taxila (cf. J. Marshall, 1951, p. 795) and two sicles from Afghanistan (cf. O.B. & A.u.R., nos. 15 and 16). We add to this list two unpublished double darics, one from the north of Afghanistan (G.C., no. 53) and the other from the deposit of Mir Zakah II (G.C., no. 54).

<sup>61</sup> The following cities and Greek states were found in the Kabul hoard: Aigina, Melos, Akanthos, Thasos, Lamsakos, Erythrai, Chios, Samos, Lykia, Aspendos, etc.: cf. *Trésors monétaires*, pp. 32-6.

Alexander eighty talents of coined silver ‘*signati argenti LXXX talenta*’.<sup>62</sup> The *argentum signatum* to which Quintus Curtius alludes must certainly have consisted of bent and punch-marked bars of the type that are today known as “bent bars”. We have discovered thousands of these in the regions of the Paropamisadae and of Gandhāra,<sup>63</sup> especially in the deposits of Mir Zakah. In the Kabul hoard there were 14 of them.<sup>64</sup> The burial of this hoard is dated by D. Schlumberger to approximately 380 BC, because of an imitation of Athens found in the hoard.<sup>65</sup> We are thus certain that these coins were in circulation in these regions of Indian culture well before the arrival of Alexander.

The bent and punch-marked bars cannot be isolated from the local coins of the Achaemenid period that D. Schlumberger named “coins of a new kind” found in the same hoard. These are of great interest for our understanding of the striking of coins in these regions, as we can show that they precede the bent and punch-marked bars.<sup>66</sup> The coins are divided into two groups according to their weight, the one representing the weights of Achaemenid sicles or about 5.50 g,<sup>67</sup> and the second the double or 11 g.<sup>68</sup> They can also be divided into three groups according to the striking technique used. The first are coins struck with two different dies,<sup>69</sup> the second struck with a single punch on rounded flans,<sup>70</sup> while the third is marked by many independent punches.<sup>71</sup> So as to better explain the evolution of this coinage, we have chosen eight pieces from the Kabul hoard<sup>72</sup> already published by D. Schlumberger<sup>73</sup> and a further five

<sup>62</sup> ‘After this, having offered the king the honours of hospitality during three days, on the fourth he showed him how much wheat he had provided the troops brought by Hephestion with and gave him and all his courtiers golden crowns, and, apart from this, eighty talents of coined silver: but Alexander, extremely satisfied by the generosity of the prince, left him everything that he had received, and he added one thousand talents of loot that he had brought with him, with many gold vases, and others of silver . . .’ (Quintus Curtius, VIII, 12, 15-16, for the French translation see N. Beauzée, 1810).

<sup>63</sup> At Bhīr Mound (Taxila), in a hoard composed of 1,667 pieces, discovered in 1924, there were 33 curved bars.

<sup>64</sup> *Trésors monétaires*, pp. 32 and 37.

<sup>65</sup> ‘If it had not been for the presence in the hoard of coin No. 64, we could have placed the burial to about 400. But the aforementioned coin which is a copy with an aberrant legend of a tetradrachm of Athens, obliges us to lower this estimate somewhat: the style, the eye in profile of the goddess, indicate a model later than 394-393 and if we take into account the time that it took for this model to spread and be imitated, and for our coin to reach distant Afghanistan, we should agree that a date later than 380 is not unreasonable’ (*Trésors monétaires*, p. 4).

<sup>66</sup> O.B. & A.u.R., pp. 55-6.

<sup>67</sup> G.C., no. 6.

<sup>68</sup> G.C., nos. 1-5, 7-12.

<sup>69</sup> G.C., nos. 1-3.

<sup>70</sup> G.C., nos. 5-10.

<sup>71</sup> G.C., nos. 11-13.

<sup>72</sup> G.C., nos 1-4, 6, 8, 11, 12.

<sup>73</sup> These eight coins were chosen among 13 pieces that came from the hoard of Kabul

unpublished coins in the collection of the Cabinet des Médailles of Paris.<sup>74</sup> According to the classification that we propose, the coins of the first group struck with an obverse die and a reverse die can be considered the first that were struck. Of course, because of their technique and their iconography, these coins cannot fail to evoke the golden staters of Croesus struck in Lydia around the middle of the sixth century BC with the types representing busts of a lion and a bull.<sup>75</sup> But is it really necessary to search so far away for iconographic prototypes, when the same motifs are present in Persian art? On the famous reliefs of Persepolis, we find in the central section of the stairs of Apadana, a bull that resembles the one on our coins.<sup>76</sup> Starting with the series represented by the fourth coin of our catalogue, the obverse die starts to play a less important role and disappears toward the end of the coinage,<sup>77</sup> while the reverse is transformed into a punch-mark. The flans of the second group are more or less rounded and struck with a single punch.<sup>78</sup> The animal motifs of the first group cede their place to a symbol formed of a rayed network with crossed lines disposed around a central ring. As we shall see later, this design will again be used for the striking of the bent bars. The third group, represented here by three coins,<sup>79</sup> is of especial interest, as the coins are marked with three punches, each presenting a different motif. Certain motifs already used for the striking of the issues of the first group are now transformed into punches, especially the quadruped with the curved spine of coin no. 3<sup>80</sup> and a fish or a scarab surrounded by beads on coin no. 4.<sup>81</sup> The use of independent punches is at the origin of the striking of Indian 'coins with multiple punch-marks'. These last, that the English have called 'punch-marked coins', are stamped with many marks added separately using distinct punches, which is where their name comes from.<sup>82</sup>

We have seen that the local coins of the Achaemenid era named 'of a new kind' were the precursors of the bent and punch-marked bars. Among them those found in the Kabul hoard are short (28 × 15 mm)<sup>83</sup> compared to the bars

---

which were bought, without having realised their provenance, by Aman ur Rahman in the Peshawar bazaar (cf. O.B. & A.u.R., nos. 1-13). They, as well as all the others in the coin collection of the Kabul Museum, were pillaged in the Spring of 1993, during the clashes between rival factions disputing the control of the capital, a pillage that had been preceded by the bombing of the Museum. Mr. Rahman wanted to offer them to the UNESCO.

<sup>74</sup> G.C., nos. 5, 7, 9, 10 and 13.

<sup>75</sup> G.K. Jenkins, 1990, nos., 28, 29 and 136.

<sup>76</sup> E.F. Schmidt, 1953, pl. 20. In Persepolis the bull is represented being attacked by a lion. See G.C., nos. 1 and 2.

<sup>77</sup> G.C., nos. 7-10.

<sup>78</sup> G.C., nos. 5-10.

<sup>79</sup> G.C., nos. 11-13.

<sup>80</sup> Compare with coin G.C., no. 12.

<sup>81</sup> Compare with coin G.C., no. 11.

<sup>82</sup> On the dating of these coins see J. Cribb, 1985.

<sup>83</sup> See G.C., nos. 14-16.

found in the excavations of Taxila ( $42 \times 10$  mm),<sup>84</sup> but the floral motif, formed by a rayed network of lines placed around a central ring is the same. It is interesting to note that this motif had already been used, as already mentioned, in the second group of coins called 'of a new kind'.<sup>85</sup>

While underlining the importance of the discovery of the short bars in the Kabul hoard, D. Schlumberger comes to the correct conclusion:

The punch-marked bars were up to now considered to be Indian: not only their nature of ingots cut and stamped relates them to the vast family, assuredly Indian, of ingots with multiple punch-marks, for which we have reserved the name "punch-marked coins", but furthermore, they have always been found in the North-West of India, especially at Taxila, and are frequently associated with those coins. However the weight standard is considered by some experts to be Persian, and now that we see them also being uncovered in the soil of Afghanistan, we must take into account the possibility that their country of origin should not be sought beyond the Indus, but rather in the oriental provinces of the Achaemenid Empire.<sup>86</sup>

In the first deposit of Mir Zakah there were 50 bars<sup>87</sup> and in the second more than 2,000.<sup>88</sup> To the south of the Hindu Kush in the Indian territories numerous fractions of these bars have been discovered that we can consider to be half-sicles (2.75-2.80 g), quarter-sicles (1.40 g),<sup>89</sup> sixths of a sicle (0.90 g),<sup>90</sup> eighths of a sicle (0.70 g),<sup>91</sup> twentieths of a sicle (0.27 g) and even fortieths of a sicle (0.13).<sup>92</sup> These pieces are round and frequently scyphate. The floral motif is the same as that of the counter-marked bars. This motif, composed of a sort of star with six branches, systematically returns to the royal series of coins with multiple punch-marks that numismatists call the 'six-armed symbol'.<sup>93</sup> The number of these fractions of punch-marked bars in circulation was certainly considerable, as in the first deposit of Mir Zakah alone there were 560 such pieces.<sup>94</sup> Hundreds of them have been discovered all over Pakistani territory.<sup>95</sup> The inescapable conclusion is that even before the arrival of Alexander there was in the regions to the South of the Hindu Kush an abundant and systematic coin production.

<sup>84</sup> See G.C., nos. 17-39.

<sup>85</sup> G.C., no. 10.

<sup>86</sup> *Trésors monétaires*, p. 42.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>88</sup> This is a rapid estimate made when we examined the six sacks of coins from this hoard in the bazaar of Peshawar.

<sup>89</sup> G.C., nos. 40-5.

<sup>90</sup> G.C., nos. 46-8.

<sup>91</sup> G.C., nos. 49-51.

<sup>92</sup> O.B. & A.u.R., nos. 36-50.

<sup>93</sup> R. Audouin and P. Bernard, 1973, and P.L. Gupta and T.R. Hardaker, 1985.

<sup>94</sup> *Trésors monétaires*, p. 73.

<sup>95</sup> In the Bhira Mound hoard found in 1924, these coins that Walsh describes as 'minute coins' were represented by 79 pieces: cf. J. Marshall, 1951, pp. 843-52.



# COIN CIRCULATION IN CENTRAL ASIA AFTER THE CONQUEST OF ALEXANDER

As far as Central Asia proper is concerned, the conquest of Alexander the Great, although it profoundly modified the political map, had no effect on the monetary practices of this region of the Empire, neither when Alexander was still living nor in the years immediately following his death.

Under Achaemenid rule Central Asia does not really seem to have had mints and A.D.H. Bivar (1971 and 1982) thinks that at this time, despite the existence of royal coins that penetrated these regions, it was precious metals exchanged at their weight's worth that were used as the real means of exchange in this part of the empire.

We have no proof that Alexander created mints in Bactria. Concerning coin production throughout the territories conquered by Alexander, G. Le Rider, in a recent study, rightly concluded: 'Alexander, at the beginning of his reign, in 333/2, does not seem to have considered turning his tetradrachms and his staters into a "coinage of an empire", or at least, if this idea presented itself to him, he renounced it later.'<sup>96</sup> The same author makes some remarks that we cannot but agree with:

He (Alexander) preferred to use the funds that his victories caused to flow into his coffers, and he thus continued the use of the coins of the Persian era, especially the darics. After his return from India at the end of 325, the energetic measures he was forced to take concerning his army, as well as other circumstances (one being that the Persian coinage belonged more and more to the past), caused a massive production of his coinage in the western part of his empire, from Babylon to Amphipolis. In this area, the alexanders would henceforth become the coins of inter-regional exchange. But in June 323 this coinage was still not established in the vast territories that covered the oriental provinces to the east of the Tigris.<sup>97</sup>

All the coins struck in the name of Alexander that have so far been found in Aī Khanoum which were struck at the mints of Marathos, Termessos,<sup>98</sup> Perge,<sup>99</sup> Lampsakos, Amphipolis, Babylon and Ecbatana,<sup>100</sup> are in fact posthumous issues struck by the successors of Alexander. We can only obtain from them a negative idea about the spread of Alexander's coinage during the conqueror's lifetime to the east of his empire.<sup>101</sup> They were only imported later, when Bactria was attached to the Seleucid Empire.

<sup>96</sup> G. Le Rider, 1996, p. 860.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> G.C., no. 55.

<sup>99</sup> G.C., no. 56.

<sup>100</sup> G.C., no. 57. Marathos (C.Y. Petitot-Biehler, 1975, no. 58); Termessos (O.B. & A.u.R., no. 57); Perge (O.B. & A.u.R., no. 58; C.Y. Petitot-Biehler, 1975, no. 60); Lampsakos (O.B. & A.u.R., no. 61); Amphipolis (C.Y. Petitot-Biehler, 1975, no. 62); Babylon (C.Y. Petitot-Biehler, 1975, no. 57) and Ecbatana (O.B. & A.u.R., no. 59).

<sup>101</sup> These coins were discovered with coins from the towns of Akanthos in the Chalkidike and of Paros: Akanthos, O.B. & A.u.R., no. 55; Paros, O.B. & A.u.R., no. 56. These two coins appear to come from the Aī Khanoum IV hoard.

About twenty years after the death of the conqueror in June 323, the former Achaemenid territories of the Oxus valley passed to the control of Seleucos I, while the territories to the south of the Hindu Kush were conquered very early on by Chandragupta, founder of the Indian Mauryan Empire. By the treaty concluded in 303 BC, Seleucos I officially recognized the sovereignty of the Mauryan Empire over this geographical area. Under Chandragupta the coinage with multiple punch-marks is presented differently from what we have known up to now. These coins take the form of small flat, rectangular ingots of silver, more or less regular in shape, cut out of bands of metal, from which one or more corners have sometimes been cut off to adjust the weight. This is no longer the same as that of the punch-marked bars, i.e. the Persian weight. From now on we are dealing with an Indian weight. These imperial coins weigh approximately 3.62 g, which represents 32 *rattis* of the theoretic Indian weight (one *ratti* = 0.11 g). The coins circulated in the regions to the south of the Hindu Kush until the decline of the Mauryan Empire, that is until about 180 BC. The discovery of a great number of coins with multiple punch-marks in hoards uncovered in the regions to the south of the Hindu Kush shows that their production was massive and corresponded to the prosperity that India enjoyed under the Mauryan Empire and especially during the reign of Asoka.<sup>102</sup>

What do we know of the monetary production in the regions to the north of the Hindu Kush during this same period? The earliest coins struck in Bactria did not, in our opinion, appear before about 305 BC. These were three series that only circulated to the north of the Hindu Kush and whose dating has caused much ink to flow; we speak of the imitations of Athenian owls (G.C., nos. 61-4),<sup>103</sup> the coins with the eagle (G.C., nos. 65-7),<sup>104</sup> and the coins struck in the name of Sophytos (G.C., nos. 58-60),<sup>105</sup> These coins, without exception,

<sup>102</sup> In the first deposit of Mir Zakah, the imperial series of coins with multiple punch-marks is represented by 4905 examples.

<sup>103</sup> On the obverse helmeted head of Athena to r. and on the reverse an owl r. with the legend in Greek ΑΘΕ. Cf. M. Mitchiner, 1975-6, series 24 and 25; H. Nicolet-Pierre and M. Amandry, 1994, p. 35, nos. 1-51 and O. Bopearachchi, 1996, p. 31, nos. 5-9. To this series we must add the silver coins, with no legend, bearing an owl with two bodies and an undetermined object, cf. H. Nicolet-Pierre, 1973, p. 36, no. 8 and O. Bopearachchi, 1996, p. 31, no. 10. For the bronze coins, with no legend, bearing the helmeted head of Athena and an owl, cf. P. Bernard, 1985, p. 19, nos. 1-9.

<sup>104</sup> On the obverse helmeted head of Athena to r. and on the reverse an eagle to r., turning its head and no legend; cf. M. Mitchiner, 1975-6, series 26 and 27; H. Nicolet-Pierre and M. Amandry, 1994, p. 38, nos. 52-64 and O. Bopearachchi, 1996, p. 31, nos. 11 and 12. We must also add to this category the series of coins with the bearded head of Zeus on the obverse and the same eagle on the reverse: cf. M. Mitchiner, 1975-6, series 28; H. Nicolet-Pierre and M. Amandry, 1994, p. 38, no. 65 and O. Bopearachchi, 1996, p. 31, no. 13.

<sup>105</sup> On the obverse the helmeted head of a dynast named Sophytos by the legend and on the reverse a cockerel to r. and the Greek legend ΣΩΦΥΤΟΥ: cf. M. Mitchiner, 1975-6, series 29-30, 32 and O. Bopearachchi, 1996, p. 31, nos. 1-3. We must also include in this group the series in which the head of the dynast is replaced by the head of a helmeted Athena: cf. M. Mitchiner, 1975-6, series 31 and O. Bopearachchi, 1996, p. 31, no. 4.

were all found to the north of the Hindu Kush, and more precisely in the Oxus Valley. They were struck following two weight standards, one Attic and one local.

Certain historians attribute them to Greek colonists who had settled in Central Asia before Alexander, at the time of the Achaemenid Empire.<sup>106</sup> Based on the arguments put forward by P. Bernard,<sup>107</sup> we have shown elsewhere that all these coins were in fact struck after the conquest of Alexander, toward the end of the fourth century BC, at the time of the re-conquest of the satrapies in Central Asia by Seleucos I (306-5), in other words just before the introduction of proper Seleucid coinage in Bactria.<sup>108</sup>

#### CENTRAL ASIA UNDER THE SELEUCIDS

According to E.T. Newell the very first Seleucid issues in Bactria do not start before approximately 285 BC.<sup>109</sup> The great American numismatist based his reasoning on the fact that the head of Zeus represented on a series of tetradrachms attributed to Bactria<sup>110</sup> is imitated by the one found on the issue of Seleuceia on the Tigris<sup>111</sup> which he dated to 300. However, later, Nancy Waggoner,<sup>112</sup> using solid arguments, contested the dating proposed by Newell for the first issues of Seleuceia on the Tigris and proposed a date up to 305, after the return of Seleucos I from the expedition Upper Asia. If this is the case, we must in consequence, as P. Bernard suggested,<sup>113</sup> date the beginning of the coinage of Bactria to about 295 BC. Still according to P. Bernard, the issues in the joint names of Seleucos and Antiochos (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ANTIOXΟΥ), that are connected to those that Newell<sup>114</sup> dated to 285-280 BC, must be dated to the period 290-285 BC. These first Bactrian issues thus coincide with the nomination of Antiochos as an associate to the throne co-ruler in charge of the upper satrapies. These coins are not struck in the Attic standard but follow a weight system that is lighter, whose drachm does not exceed 3.5 g. This is precisely the same standard that we find in certain series that we believe preceded the Seleucid minting in Bactria, meaning the imitations of Athens, the series with the eagle and the coins in the name of Sophytos, of which we spoke earlier. The second characteristic of the coins in the joint names of Seleucos and Antiochos is that the majority of them bear variants of

<sup>106</sup> Notably A.K. Narain, 1957, pp. 1-5.

<sup>107</sup> P. Bernard, 1985, pp. 20-8.

<sup>108</sup> O. Bopearachchi, 1996.

<sup>109</sup> *ESM*, nos. 657-60.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 657, pl. L, no. 2.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 69 and 71, pl. IX, nos. 3 and 5.

<sup>112</sup> N.M. Waggoner, 1969.

<sup>113</sup> P. Bernard, 1985, pp. 37-8.

<sup>114</sup> *ESM*, nos. 664-73; pl. L, nos. 9-22.

a monogram composed of a *delta* and an *iota*, usually within a circle:  $\Delta I$ ,  $\Delta$ ,  $\oplus$ ,  $\otimes$ ,  $\ominus$ ,  $\otimes$ , and  $\oplus$  (see T.K. nos. 8-14). They are followed by series of Antiochos I in the name and with the portrait of the king with the same type of monogram  $\otimes$ , and struck on the reverse with the head of a horned horse (T.K., no. 8).<sup>115</sup>

With this last group of coins the Bactrian mint returns to the Attic standard never to abandon it again. Newell also observed on the coins of Antiochos a change in the disposition of the diadem, whose fanons fall straight down at the beginning of the series,<sup>116</sup> while towards the end one falls straight down while the other rises in an undulating fashion.<sup>117</sup> We find this characteristic on the coins of his successors such as Antiochos II (see T.K., no. 15) and Diodotos (see T.K., nos. 17-38). Antiochos I later adopted the usual form for the Seleucids' reverse type showing an Apollo seated on the *omphalos* (see T.K., nos. 9-13). The attribution of this series to a Bactrian mint is justified by the presence of the monogram  $\otimes$  and its variants.<sup>118</sup>

#### COIN PRODUCTION IN CENTRAL ASIA UNDER THE GRAECO-BACTRIAN EMPIRE

The coins struck by the Greeks to the north of the Hindu Kush were thus minted following the Attic standard, with legends only in Greek: this was the nature, for example, of all the coins of the Kuliab hoard. They were, generally speaking, destined to circulate to the north of the Hindu Kush, in the basin of the middle Oxus, the cradle of Greek power in Central Asia.

On the coinage struck in Bactria in the name of Antiochos II, we can observe the first manifestations of a will to be emancipated on the part of the local satrap, Diodotos. Beside the normal issues of Antiochos II with his usual types—the portrait of the king and Apollo seated on an *omphalos* for the gold and silver coins and the name of the king, without an epithet, as a legend (see T.K., nos. 14-16)—the main mint of Bactria started striking series which, while preserving the name of Antiochos II,<sup>119</sup> substitute the portrait of the Seleucid sovereign and Apollo tutelary of the Seleucid dynasty, with the portrait of the satrap Diodotos himself and his personal type, a thundering Zeus (see T.K., nos. 17-28).<sup>120</sup> The last step was taken and the succession consummated when in the legend the name of Diodotos replaced that of Antiochos (see T.K., nos. 29-38).<sup>121</sup> Thus it is in the reign of Antiochos II, about 250 BC, that the satrapies

<sup>115</sup> *ESM*, pl. LI, nos. 1-22 and LII, nos. 1-3.

<sup>116</sup> *ESM*, pl. LI, nos. 1 and 2.

<sup>117</sup> *ESM*, pl. LI, no. 18.


<sup>118</sup> *ESM*, pl. LII, nos. 4 – LIII, nos. 1-3.

<sup>119</sup> *ESM*, pl. LIII, nos. 5-16.

<sup>120</sup> *BN*, series 1-4.



<sup>121</sup> *BN*, series 5-7.

situated at the oriental extremity of the Seleucid Empire were detached from it and form, at the initiative of their satrap Diodotos, an independent kingdom.<sup>122</sup>

If it is true that the Graeco-Bactrian coinage was born from the Seleucid tradition and it continued without change under the two Diototoi', starting with the reigns of their successors, Euthydemus I<sup>123</sup> and his son Demetrius I,<sup>124</sup> a certain number of innovations were introduced. Technically speaking, the flans of the issues of silver coins become large, the coins are henceforth adjusted to 12:00 instead of 6:00 and we witness a multiplication of the monograms .

As is indicated by the finds made in Bactrian territories, with the exception

<sup>122</sup> The exact date at which Diodotos proclaimed his independence from Seleucid power is still a matter of controversy. Opinions are divided between an early date, towards the end of the reign of Antiochos II, around 230 BC and a late date during the reign of his successor, Seleukos II, around 239: see lately on this question P. Bernard, 1994. We have published a remarkable coin of the commemorative series struck in the name of Antiochos Nikator (G.C., no. 103), but whose royal portrait and reverse type (a thundering Zeus) are those of Diodotos. We publish here a second unpublished example of this series, struck with the same obverse die (G.C., no. 104). This series, now known from two coins, is distinguished from the other commemorative coins of Agathocles (*BN*, series 12-18) by the fact that it bears a single legend, that of the honoured king, the second legend that names the king responsible for the issue with the formula "in the reign of Agathocles" being absent. Other than this, it conforms to the others, that is, despite the legend in the name of Antiochos Nikator, the royal portrait of the obverse is closer to that of the rebel satrap Diodotos than to that of the legitimate sovereign Antiochos II, and the reverse type is the Zeus of the infidel satrap and not the Seleucid Apollo. It seems as if, having been charged by the Graeco-Bactrian sovereign to produce an issue to commemorate Antiochos II, the engraver used as a model one of the coins struck in the name of the Seleucid king in Bactria with the portrait and the type of the satrap Diodotos. It is additional proof that in the Bactrian mint Diodotos had always been associated with Antiochos II, never with Seleukos II. These new documents should be sufficient to erase the doubts, if any still remain, about the validity of the earlier date for the official secession of Bactria, that we must thus place at the end of the reign of Antiochos II, around 250 BC.

Another unpublished coin struck by Agathocles in honour of Antiochos Nikator that we have listed here (G.C., no. 105), permits us to attribute the first commemorative series in the name of Antiochos II, just discussed, to Agathocles, and not to Antimachos I or another sovereign. By its types this new coin (G.C., no. 105) is identical to the previous series, but it is differentiated by the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ / ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ / ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ on the reverse and ANTIOXOY / NIKATOPOΣ this time on the obverse. These three coins bear the monogram . All the commemorative coins struck by Antimachos I bear a unique monogram  (cf. *BN*, series 9 and 10). The most important element for our demonstration is that the obverse of these three coins was engraved by the same hand. It is not impossible that the obverse die used for the striking of the first issue was slightly retouched so that the legend ANTIOXOY / NIKATOPOΣ could be added. This is the absolute proof that it was Agathocles and not Antimachos I who must be considered the real initiator of the commemorative coins in Bactria.

<sup>123</sup> *BN*, series 9-12.

<sup>124</sup> *BN*, series 1.

of a few Seleucid coins, only the Graeco-Bactrian coins were valid within that kingdom. On the other hand, we observe that the hoards unearthed in Bactria are almost exclusively composed of tetradrachms.<sup>125</sup> The small denominations such as obols and hemiobols are relatively rare for some of the sovereigns, non-existent for others.<sup>126</sup> The production of bronze coins that constitute the coinage destined for everyday expenses remains modest compared to silver denominations of a high value such as tetradrachms. Can we deduce from these observations, as G. Fussman does, that 'the Graeco-Bactrian coinage is first and foremost an attribute of political sovereignty and secondarily an instrument of economic action'?<sup>127</sup> Assuredly this is the case where the political significance of the coinage is incontestable and no one, in any case, has tried to dispute it. Thus, concerning the commemorative parallel issues of Agathocles<sup>128</sup> and Antimachos I, we have ourselves tried to explain them by a rivalry between the two sovereigns trying to justify their power by the same *de facto* legitimacy of a successful usurpation.<sup>129</sup> In the same way, by issuing multiple silver series in the names of his parents, Heliocles and Laodike, on which his mother wears the royal diadem,<sup>130</sup> Eucratides I, a usurper who had torn the power from his legitimate sovereign, tried to establish his legitimacy on the throne.<sup>131</sup> The famous twenty stater medal issued by the same Eucratides I might have been destined to commemorate his victories over his adversaries.<sup>132</sup>

On this point our opinion converges with the interpretation given by G. Fussman. But we must not generalize and lose sight of the essential part, i.e. that coinage is by its nature an instrument of economic life before becoming a manifestation of political sovereignty. G. Le Rider recently provided a brilliant proof of this, showing how, in his monetary policy, Alexander himself had been guided by very concrete preoccupations about financial availabilities rather than an ideological concern to establish a unified coinage for the Empire.<sup>133</sup> In Bactria the discovery of new hoards essentially composed of Attic or light standard tetradrachms, apart from those that come from the excavations of Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan hoard, Aï Khanoum III and IV), and the importance of the monetary mass that they represent, tend to show that the primordial function of these coins was really of an economic character. Many discoveries in the Graeco-Bactrian domain of small denominations, drachms

<sup>125</sup> The hoards of Aï Khanoum II, III and IV and of Qunduz revealed more than 3,000 tetradrachms of Attic weight.

<sup>126</sup> These small denominations are only known for Euthydemos I (*BN*, series 15 and 16); Demetrios I (*BN*, series 3); Euthydemos II (*BN*, series 4); Pantaleon (*BN*, series 3); Antimachos I (*BN*, series 4) and Eucratides I (*BN*, series 3 and 9).

<sup>127</sup> G. Fussman, 1993, p. 123.

<sup>128</sup> See G.C., no. 105 and T.K., nos. 133 and 134.

<sup>129</sup> O. Bopearachchi, *BN*, p. 61.

<sup>130</sup> See T.K., no. 194.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. *BN*, series 13-16.

<sup>132</sup> *BN*, p. 85, pl. 16, no. 25.

<sup>133</sup> G. Le Rider, 1996.



and obols points us in the same direction, as they would not have a reason to exist if they were not to be understood as an instrument of exchange in small commercial transactions.

In this respect it should be recalled that the three parallel pre-Seleucid series—imitations of Athenian owls/coins with the eagle/issues in the name of Sophytos—count numerous drachms, hemidrachms, obols and even subdivisions of the obol.<sup>134</sup> The recently recognised existence, of silver plated tetradrachms in the second deposit of Mir Zakah<sup>135</sup> can only be understood as a manipulation of the value of the coin, with no connection to its political message. The series of posthumous imitations of a mediocre style struck in the names of Eucratides I and Heliocles I with their portraits should also be added.<sup>136</sup> Everybody knew that the sovereigns bearing those names had ceased to live and reign.

The Kuliab hoard that we have catalogued here originally included more than 800 coins. Of the 205 to which we had access, there were 48 drachms and 105 obols. It is even more significant that, apart from some rare cases of same dies (indicated in the catalogue), the majority of these small denominations were struck with different dies, which indicates that they were produced in very great quantities. Before the discovery of this hoard, we only knew of 37 obols of Demetrios I.<sup>137</sup> The Kuliab hoard alone contained 49 (T.K., nos. 73-121); and still this number is certainly far below the actual, as we must take into consideration the other 600 coins that were dispersed throughout the international market and for which we do not know what denominations were represented.

These observations oblige us to return to the question of the striking of coinage in Central Asia. In the current state of our knowledge we note that there is no series of obols in the name of Diodotos and of Euthydemus I, the Graeco-Bactrian predecessors of Demetrios I. With this ruler small denominations suddenly appear in large quantities. This practice continued up to Eucratides I; after this they disappear for good: they are absent from the coinages of Heliocles I and Plato, the last Greek kings to reign in Bactria.<sup>138</sup> The reigns of Demetrios I to Eucratides I (c. 200-145 BC) correspond to the period when the political and monetary sovereignty of the Graeco-Bactrian kings extended over the two watersheds, north and south of the Hindu Kush. They were the sovereigns who, like the two Diodotoi, Plato and Heliocles I, had no close relation with the territories to the south of the Hindu Kush that seem not to have issued obols, nor even, for some, drachms. It appears as if Indian monetary practices had an impact on production in Central Asia. It is

<sup>134</sup> Cf. M. Mitchiner, 1975-6, series 24-31; H. Nicolet-Pierre and M. Amandry, 1994 and O. Bopearachchi, 1996.

<sup>135</sup> See the coins illustrated in O.B. & A.u.R., nos. 124, 1007-44.

<sup>136</sup> See for example R. Curiel and G. Fussman, 1965, nos. 166, 167, 852, 853.

<sup>137</sup> Cf. *BN* Démétrios I, series 3.

<sup>138</sup> See *BN*, pp. 74-6.

without a doubt too early to draw a definite conclusion, because other coins may become known which will confirm or weaken this indication, but it is not unjustified to formulate the hypothesis of a relation between the two series of observations.

#### COIN PRODUCTION IN NORTH-WEST INDIA UNDER THE INDO-GREEKS

What happened in the regions to the south of the Hindu Kush after the death of Asoka? Taking advantage of the decadence of the Mauryan Empire, the successors to Diodotos enlarged their Bactrian possessions with an advance beyond the Hindu Kush to the South and the South-East. The coins they struck in and for the Indian territories are called Indo-Greek as they have bilingual legends, in Greek on the obverse and on the reverse in Prakrit written in an Indian alphabet, Kharoṣṭhī or Brāhmī. These Indo-Greek coins are struck following a non-Attic standard, which is conventionally called Indian.

The introduction of the Indian standard for the bilingual coins was made after a transitional period. For the striking of their bilingual issues Pantaleon and Agathocles used a weight and a technique close to the so-called coins of Taxila.<sup>139</sup> It was J. Allan who, for various reasons, attributed these bronze series to the Greek kings of Taxila, and especially to Agathocles.<sup>140</sup> It must be pointed out that their attribution to Taxila is founded on the fact that the first discovery of the bronze coins was made in the ancient town of Taxila. But already in 1891 A. Cunningham had observed that they had circulated not only in the Taxila region but also in the Kabul Valley.<sup>141</sup> Since then we have discovered them in the Paropamisadae and all over the Gandhāra. The two deposits of Mir Zakah contained hundreds of these coins. We have included in our general catalogue 27 unpublished coins of this type kept in the Cabinet de Médailles of Paris, the majority of which come from the first deposit of Mir Zakah.<sup>142</sup> So as not to complicate matters we will, however, continue to call them 'coins attributed to Taxila'.

For our part we believe that these bronze coins were Indian issues struck by Demetrios I, the first Greek sovereign to conquer Indian territories by taking advantage of the decline of the Mauryan Empire. In his description of Bactria, Strabo says that Menander and Demetrios, the son of Euthydemus, were the two main conquerors of India after Alexander (XI, 11). When Demetrios crossed the Hindu Kush between 200-190 BC, there were no new proper Indian issues, because we know that the end of the punch-marked coinage coincided with the end of the Mauryan Empire in about 180 BC.

<sup>139</sup> G.C., nos. 68-96.

<sup>140</sup> J. Allan, *BMC. India*, p. cxxxv.

<sup>141</sup> A. Cunningham, 1891, p. 62: 'These coins are very common, not only in the Western Punjab, but in the Kabul valley'.

<sup>142</sup> G.C., nos. 68-93 and 95.

We have seen that the coins with multiple punch-marks were stamped with many independent punches, each bearing a different symbol, unlike the coins attributed to Taxila which were struck using a die and not a punch. In this way the Greeks reintroduced to India the technique of striking using a die 250 years after this tradition, which the Indians had originally inherited from the Achaemenids, had totally disappeared. In fact the first local issues (cf. G.C., nos. 1-3) that we date to about the fifth century BC, were struck with two different dies. We have also seen that these local coins of the Achaemenid era or the coins called 'of a new type', were the precursors of the bent and punch-marked bars. Starting in this period the Indians continued to strike a considerable number of coins using the punch-mark technique. It is thus obvious that from the point of view of the technique of striking, the coins attributed to Taxila have nothing in common with the purely Indian tradition. Apart from that, they are found in a purely Indian context, whether as to the quadrangular form of their flans which were roughly cut from bands of metal, or as to their iconography. The first series were struck with a single die bearing two or more symbols.<sup>143</sup> The majority of these symbols are borrowed from the coins with multiple punch-marks: a hill with a crescent moon<sup>144</sup> and an undulating line.<sup>145</sup> These bronze coins with a uniface die cede their place to coins struck with two different dies. The impression of the reverse die continues to be made, as on the previous series, in an incuse square. The elephant facing right<sup>146</sup> or left<sup>147</sup> becomes the obverse type that is popular in this series. The reverse type is represented either by a lion<sup>148</sup> or a horse.<sup>149</sup> These three types are frequently associated with symbols borrowed from the coins with multiple punch-marks, a hill with a crescent moon and a *swastika*. It would be vain to try and seek at all costs in these symbols or types an influence that is purely Greek, because the horse and the lion belong to the Indian tradition as much as to the Greek, to say nothing of the elephant, which is Indian *par excellence*. But the vine branch bearing four grapes<sup>150</sup> as well as the monogram that is composed of Greek letters<sup>151</sup> Α that appear on a series, are unquestionably borrowed from the Greek world. This double reason, added to the striking using dies, makes us prefer to attribute these bronze coins to Demetrios I, the first sovereign, according to textual sources, to have been considered the 'king of the Indians'. As we shall see Pantaleon and Agathocles continued the same tradition, but adding their name to their coinages.

<sup>143</sup> G.C., nos. 68-77.

<sup>144</sup> G.C., nos. 68-77.

<sup>145</sup> G.C., nos. 69-70, 75-7.

<sup>146</sup> G.C., nos. 78-90, 94-6.

<sup>147</sup> G.C., nos. 91-3.

<sup>148</sup> G.C., nos. 78-3.

<sup>149</sup> G.C., nos. 94-6.

<sup>150</sup> G.C., nos. 75-7.

<sup>151</sup> M. Mitchiner, 1975, series 150.

It is certain that Pantaleon and Agathocles reigned over purely Indian territories, situated in the basin of the Indus. This is what is attested by their Indo-Greek coinage of silver and bronze, created for populations of Indian language and culture. The quadrangular form of the flans roughly cut from bands of metal used for the bronze coins of Agathocles<sup>152</sup> reminds us of the coins of Taxila that we have attributed to Demetrios I. These bronze coins of the same form and technique also bear bilingual legends written in Greek and Brāhmī scripts. They are elegantly struck with Indian motifs: on the reverse a female divinity holding a lotus, draped in ample veils, her hair decorated with complicated ornaments, and on the obverse a lion similar to the reverse types of the coins of Taxila.

The richest of these coinages is that of Agathocles, and within this, the most notable and revealing series is constituted of the drachms with new types known from the excavation of Aī Khanoum.<sup>153</sup> The divinities that figure on the two faces, Balarāma-Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa belong to the Vaishnavite cult<sup>154</sup> and their aspect and attributes are completely strange to the Greek way of thinking. The hieratic style in which they are presented and which reveals the hand of a local engraver, and finally the double legend, where the Greek on the obverse ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ is translated into the Indian language in Brāhmī script as *rajine Agathukleyasa*, show that this sovereign and Pantaleon, whose coinage is largely parallel to his, were the first to impose their power on India proper.<sup>155</sup>

The reigns of Pantaleon and Agathocles in connection with that of Demetrios thus mark a new stage in Graeco-Bactrian expansion to the south of the Hindu Kush. Under these two sovereigns the Greeks penetrated into the Indus basin and advanced up to Taxila, i.e. to Jhelam, which in the time of Alexander marked the western frontier of the kingdom of Poros.

Apollodotos I, the successor of Pantaleon and Agathocles, issued many bilingual series that are characterized by a phase of experimentation. The first issue of bilingual silver is struck on round flans using the Attic weight standard; the second series is of the same weight, but on square flans and associated with types usual as symbols that we find frequently on the Indian coins called 'punch-marked coins'; finally the third series is struck following a light weight standard, close to the Indian. All the successors of Apollodotos I in Indian territories, not only the Greeks, but also the Scythians and the Parthians, from now on and without exception use this new weight standard to strike their coins.<sup>156</sup>

The Greek sovereigns started to issue a considerable quantity of bilingual coins in Indian territories to replace the series with multiple punch-marks that

<sup>152</sup> G.C., nos. 97-100.

<sup>153</sup> G.C., no. 102.

<sup>154</sup> For the identifications of the types, see J. Filliozat, 1973.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. R. Audouin and P. Bernard, 1973 and 1974.

<sup>156</sup> For a detailed study of this period of transition, see O. Bopéarachchi, 1990a.

were legal tender before them.<sup>157</sup> The bilingual coinage is, moreover, represented by numerous series both for the silver and the bronze.<sup>158</sup> For example for Eucratides I, a great sovereign who reigned over the two watersheds of the Hindu Kush, we know only five unilingual bronze coins<sup>159</sup> while his bilingual bronze coins are known in the hundreds. The Indo-Scythians and the Indo-Parthians, who succeeded the Greeks, continued to strike thousands of coins multiplying the types and monograms. The hoards unearthed recently show clearly that the quantities of bilingual coins of Indian weight are vastly larger than those of the unilingual coins of Attic weight. The numbers are staggering as far as the Indo-Scythian issues are concerned. For example the Indo-Scythian Azes II is represented in the first deposit of Mir Zakah by 3,694 coins.<sup>160</sup> One of the most spectacular hoards discovered by illegal digging in February 1994, in the village of Mankara, contained 20 kg of coins welded into a solid block, i.e. more than 20,000 Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian coins. The two hoards of Pushkalavati described above also weighed almost 20 kg.<sup>161</sup>

Under the pressure of nomad invaders from the north, Greek sovereigns were progressively dispossessed of their Bactrian territories, until they were finally expelled around 130 BC. These various nomad tribes that replaced them in the Oxus basin issued series of imitations, respecting as well as they could the same Attic weight standard and the same types. These are limited to the large denominations such as tetradrachms.<sup>162</sup> The obols that had been issued in quite large numbers under the rulers that succeeded Demetrios I to Eucratides I no longer appear.

The same tribes, once they occupied the territories to the south of the Hindu Kush after the death of Hermaios, issued other imitations, as was their custom, this time following the types of Hermaios. These posthumous Hermaios coins, whose striking commences from the 70 BC, are characterized by a considerable number of monograms associated with the Kharoṣṭhī *akṣara*. When we compare the issues struck by the same nomad tribes on the two slopes of the Hindu Kush, those that were issued in Indian territories are clearly more numerous. For example, in the first deposit of Mir Zakah we count more than 700 imitations of Hermaios.<sup>163</sup> We were able to examine personally more than 4,000 coins

<sup>157</sup> The Indo-Greek issues were incomparably larger than the Graeco-Bactrian issues. We have already given the reasons for accepting a function for them that was above all economic.

<sup>158</sup> For Menander I alone we know 23 series of bronze coins: cf. *BN*, series 17-39.

<sup>159</sup> Cf. *BN*, series 10-12; O.B. & A.u.R., no. 262.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. *Trésors monétaires*, p. 79.

<sup>161</sup> Concerning the recent discoveries of other Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian hoards, see R.C. Senior, 1989.

<sup>162</sup> A certain number of Graeco-Bactrian imitations were found in the Qunduz hoard; on this subject, see O. Bopearachchi, 1990b, 1991/2.

<sup>163</sup> The first deposit of Mir Zakah gave us 928 coins in the name of Hermaios, but we do not know what, in this number, is the proportion of issues really struck by Hermaios during his lifetime. However, in the Marc Le Berre collections that came from the same

of this posthumous series that came from the second Mir Zakah deposit.

We must await the unification of the territories to the north and south of the Hindu Kush during the reign of Kanishka I to witness the appearance of a homogeneous coinage on both watersheds of the Hindu Kush. In the light of the important discoveries of the last ten years it appears, however, that, even in the era of the great Kanishka, the monetary finds made in the regions to the north of the Hindu Kush are relatively modest compared to those made in the south.

## CONCLUSION

We have seen that the Indians had started to issue coins in their territories even before the conquest of Alexander. We have also seen that the first truly local issues in Bactria were not older than the last decade of the fourth century BC and that the striking of coins to the north of the Hindu Kush had never been of the same volume as in the Indo-Greek domain.

Should we conclude from this that in the territories to the north of the Hindu Kush the economy long remained essentially a barter economy rather than a monetary economy and that coinage, dominated by high-value issues such as tetradrachms was there reserved for important commercial exchanges? The hypothesis has the merit of explaining why the production of small denominations appears in these regions to be relatively limited compared to that of the Indian territories. If this was the case, we would have to admit that the economy in the territories to the north of the Hindu Kush was effectively a lot less monetized than to the south and that the comparatively modest quantity of their coin production must be accepted as a fact and not as the result of a melting down of the coins or their disappearance due to the vicissitudes of history.

## POSTSCRIPT

Our dating of the earliest coins struck in Bactria, e.g. the imitations of Athenian owls, coins with the eagle and the coins struck in the name of Sophytos has changed, for the new hypothesis, see 'Royaumes grecs en Afghanistan. Nouvelles données', *L'art d'Afghanistan de la préhistoire à nos jours*, UNESCO, Paris, 2005, pp. 49-69, published in this volume in English: 'Greek Realms in Afghanistan: New Data', chapter 5.

The hypothesis we have developed in this article regarding the production and circulation of coins in Bactria and north-west India is still applicable. Coin finds made in these regions after the publication of this article only have

---

deposit and entered the Cabinet des Médailles of Paris, among the 112 coins in the name of Hermaios, there are 17 coins struck during the lifetime of the king, i.e. only 15 per cent of the total. If we take into account this percentage, among the 928 coins reported by R. Curiel (*Trésors monétaires*, p. 79) the imitations in the name of Hermaios represent more than 788 coins.



confirmed that the economy in the territories to the south of the Hindu Kush was more monetized.

### ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ANS, MN</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes.</i>
<i>BEFEO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient.</i>
<i>BMC. India</i>	J. Allan, <i>A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum: Coins of Ancient India</i> , Oxford, 1936, rpt. 1967.
<i>BN</i>	O. Bopearachchi, <i>Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné</i> , Bibliothèque Nationale, 1991, Paris.
<i>C.N.G.</i>	Classical Numismatic Group, Lancaster (PA) and London.
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes Rendus, Académie des Inscriptions &amp; Belles-Lettres</i> , Paris.
<i>ESM</i>	E.T. Newell, <i>The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints from Seleucos I to Antiochos III</i> , New York, 1938, rpt. 1978.
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique.</i>
<i>JNSI</i>	<i>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.</i>
<i>MADFA</i>	<i>Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan.</i>
<i>NC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle.</i>
<i>O.B. &amp; A.u.R.</i>	O. Boperachchi and A. ur Rahman, <i>Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan</i> , Karachi, 1995.
<i>RN</i>	<i>Revue Numismatique.</i>
<i>Trésors Monétaires</i>	R. Curiel and D. Schlumberger, <i>Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan (MDAFA XIV)</i> , Paris, 1953.

### REFERENCES

- Audouin, R. and P. Bernard, 'Trésor de monnaies indiennes et indo-grecque d'Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan)', *RN*, XV, 1973, pp. 238-89.
- , 'Trésor de monnaies indiennes et indo-grecque d'Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan)', *RN*, XVI, 1974, pp. 7-41.
- Bellinger, A.R., 'The Coins from the Treasure of the Oxus', *ANS, MN*, 10, 1962, pp. 51-67.
- Bernard, P., *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum IV. Les monnaies hors trésors. Questions d'histoire gréco-bactrienne (MDAFA XXVIII)*, Paris, 1985.
- , 'Les Indiens de la liste des tributes d'Hérodote', *Studia Iranica*, 16, 1987, pp. 177-91.
- , 'L'Asie Centrale et l'Empire séleucide', *TOIHOI*, 4/2, 1994, pp. 473-511.
- , 'Afghanistan: L'abolition d'une mémoire', *International Numismatic Newsletter*, 26, 1995, pp. 6-8.
- Bivar, A.D.H., 'A hoard of ingot-currency of the Median Period from Nush-i-Jan, near Malayir', *Iran*, IX, 1971, pp. 97-111.
- , 'Bent bars and straight bars: an appendix to the Mir Zakah hoard', *Studia Iranica*, 11, 1982, pp. 49-60.
- Bopearachchi, O., 'Ménandre Sôter, un roi indo-grec. Observations chronologiques et géographiques', *Studia Iranica*, 19, 1990 A, pp. 39-85.
- , 'Graeco-Bactrian issues of later Indo-Greek kings', *NC*, 1990 B, pp. 79-103.
- , 'The Euthydemus' imitations and the date of the Sogdian Independance', in *Silk Road: Art and Archaeology*, 2, Kamakura, 1991/2, pp. 1-21.

- , 'Grands trésors récents de monnaies pré-sasanides trouvés en Afghanistan et au Pakistan', *International Numismatic News Letter*, 24 Spring, 1994a, pp. 2-3.
- , 'Recent discoveries : hoards and finds of ancient coins from Afghanistan and Pakistan', *Yavanika, Journal of the Indian Society for Greek and Roman Studies*, 4, 1994b, pp. 3-30.
- , 'Récents découvertes de trésors de monnaies pré-sasanides trouvés en Afghanistan et au Pakistan', *Cahiers Numismatiques (Revue trimestrielle de la Société d'études numismatiques et archéologiques)*, 121, September 1994c, pp. 7-14.
- , 'L'indépendance de la Bactriane', *TOIIOI*, 4/2, 1994d, pp. 513-19.
- , 'Découvertes récentes de trésors indo-grecs: nouvelles données historiques', *CRAI*, 1995, pp. 611-30.
- , 'Sophytes, the enigmatic ruler of Central Asia', *nomismatika Khronika*, 15, 1996, pp. 19-32.
- , 'Le dépôt de Mir Zakah. Le plus grand trésor du monde, son destin et son intérêt', *Dossiers d'Archéologie*, 248, November 1999, pp. 36-43.
- O. Bopearachchi & W. Pieper, *Ancient Indian Coins*, Turnhout, 1998.
- Briant, P., *Histoire de l'empire perse. De Cyrus à Alexandre*, Paris, 1996.
- Cribb, J., 'Dating India's Earliest Coins', in *South Asian Archaeology 1983*, ed. J. Schotsmans and M. Taddei, Naples, 1985, pp. 535-54.
- Cunningham, A., 'Relics from Ancient Persia in Gold, Silver and Copper', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1881, pp. 151-86.
- , 'Relics from Ancient Persia in Gold, Silver and Copper, 2nd Notice', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1883, pp. 64-7.
- , 'Relics from Ancient Persia in Gold, Silver and Copper, 3rd Notice', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1883, pp. 258-60.
- , *Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East*, 1884 (Collection of articles that were published in *NC* 1868, 1870, 1872, 1873 reprinted in a volume London, 1884; Chicago, 1969; Delhi and Varanasi, 1970).
- , *Coins of Ancient India from the Earliest Times down to the 7th century AD*, London, 1891, rpt. Varanasi, 1963, Delhi, 1971.
- Curiel, R and G. Fussman, *Le trésor monétaire de Qunduz (MDAFA XX)*, Paris, 1965.
- Denisov, E.P., 'Otchet o rabote Dangarinskogo otrjada c 1974 g', in *Arkheologichskie Raboty v Tadzhikistane*, XIV (1975 g), Donish, Dushanbe, 1980, pp. 96-109.
- Durani, F.A., M.S. Qamar and S.N. Khan, 'Preliminary Report on Excavations at Manek Rai Dheri off Panian Sarikot Road, Haripur Valley', *Athariyyat (Archaeology)*, *A Research Bulletin of the National heritage Foundation*, Peshawar, 1, 1997, pp. 213-32.
- Filliozat, J., 'Représentations de Vāsudeva et Saṃkarṣaṇa au IIe siècle av. J.-C.', *Arts Asiatiques*, 26, 1973, pp. 113-21.
- Francfort, H.P., 'Deux nouveaux tétradrachmes commémoratifs d'Agathocle', *RN*, XVII, 1975, pp. 19-22.
- Fussman, G., 'L'Indo-Grec Ménandre ou Paul Demiéville revisité', *JA*, CCLXXXI, 1993, pp. 61-137.
- Gardin, J.-C. and P. Gentelle, 'Irrigation et peuplement dans la plaine d'Ai Khanoum de l'époque achéménide à l'époque musulmane', *BEFEO*, 63, 1976, pp. 59-99.
- , 'L'exploitation du sol en Bactriane antique', *BEFEO*, 66, 1979, pp. 1-29; pp. 20-6.
- Gardner, P., 'New coins from Bactra', *NC*, 1879, pp. 1-12.
- , 'On Some Coins from Syria and Bactra', *NC*, 1880, pp. 181-91.
- , 'Coins from Central Asia', *NC*, 1881, pp. 8-12.

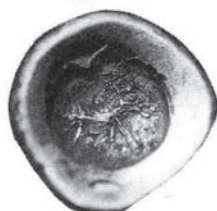
- , *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum: Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India*, London, 1886.
- Gupta, P.L., 'Three commemorative tetradrachms of Agathocles', *JNSI*, XXXVIII, 1976, pp. 92-4.
- Gupta, P.L. and T.R. Hardaker, *Ancient Indian Silver Punch-Marked Coins of the Magadha-Maurya Karshapana Series*, Nasik, 1985.
- Holt, Fr., 'The Euthydemid Coinage of Bactria: Further Hoard Evidence from Ai Khanoum', *RN*, XXIII, 1981, pp. 7-44.
- Jenkins, G.K., *Ancient Greek Coins*, 2nd edn., London, 1990.
- Justin, M., *Iuniani Iustini. Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi. Accedunt prologi in Pompeium Trogum*, ed. O. Seel, Leipzig, 1935.
- Le Rider, G., 'Histoire économique et monétaire de l'Orient hellénistique', *Annuaire du Collège de France 1995-1996: Résumé des Cours et Travaux*, 1996, pp. 829-60.
- Lyonnet, B., *Prospections archéologiques en Bactriane orientale (1974-1978)*, vol. 2: *Céramique et peuplement du Chalcolithique à la conquête arabe*, sous la direction de J.-C. Gardin, Paris, 1997.
- Marshall, J., *Taxila*, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1951.
- Mitchiner, M., *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, 9 vols., London, 1975-6.
- Narain, A.K., *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford, 1957.
- Nicolet-Pierre, H. and M. Amandry, 'Monnaies grecques trouvées en Afghanistan', *RN*, XV, 1973, pp. 35-42.
- Nicolet-Pierre, H. and M. Amandry, 'Un nouveau trésor de monnaies d'argent pseudo-athéniennes venu d'Afghanistan (1990)', *RN*, XXXVI, 1994, pp. 34-54.
- Petitot-Biehler, C.Y., 'Trésor de monnaies grecques et gréco-bactriennes trouvé à Ai Khanoum (Afghanistan)', *RN*, XVII, 1975, pp. 23-57.
- Price, M.J., *The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus: A British Museum Catalogue*, vols. I and II, 1991, London.
- Rapin, Cl., *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum, VIII. La trésorerie du palais hellénistique d'Ai Khanoum. L'Apogée et la chute du royaume grec de Bactriane*, MDFAFA, XXXIII, 1992, Paris.
- Rtveladze, E.V. and M. Nijazova, 'Premier trésor de monnaies gréco-bactriennes provenant de Bukhara', *Obščestvennye Nauki v Uzbekistane*, Tachkent, 1984/86, pp. 54-8.
- , 'La circulation monétaire au nord de l'Oxus à l'époque gréco-bactrienne', *RN* 1984, pp. 61-76 (tr. G. Fussman).
- Schmidt, E.F., *Persepolis. I. Structures. Reliefs. Inscriptions*, Chicago, 1953.
- Senior, R.C., 'Indo-Scythic Hoards', *Numismatic Circular*, XCVII, 1989, pp. 44-5.
- Zeimal, E.V., *Amudar'inskij Klad. Katalog vystavki*, Leningrad, 1979.



1



2



3



4





5



6



7



8



9



10



11







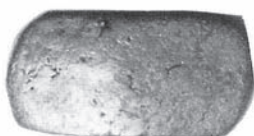
12



13



14



15



16



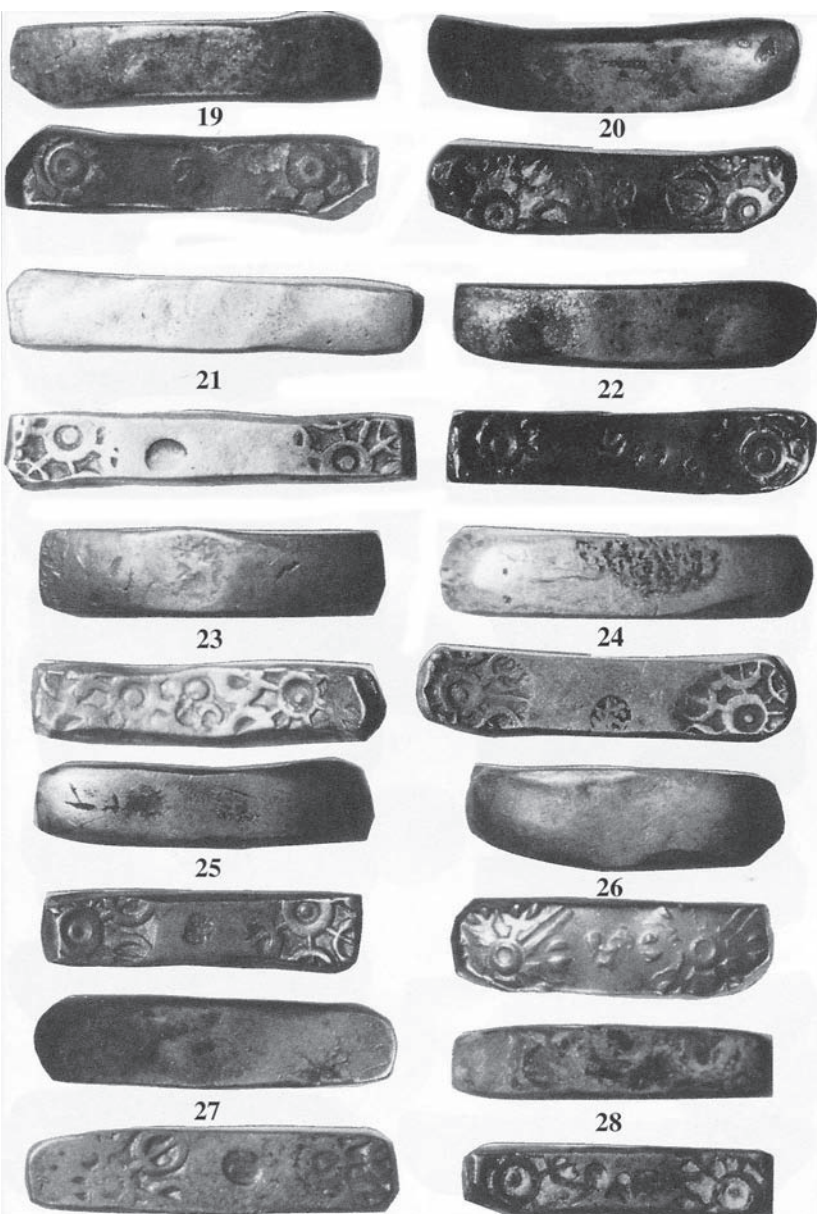
17



18









29



30



31



32



33



34



35

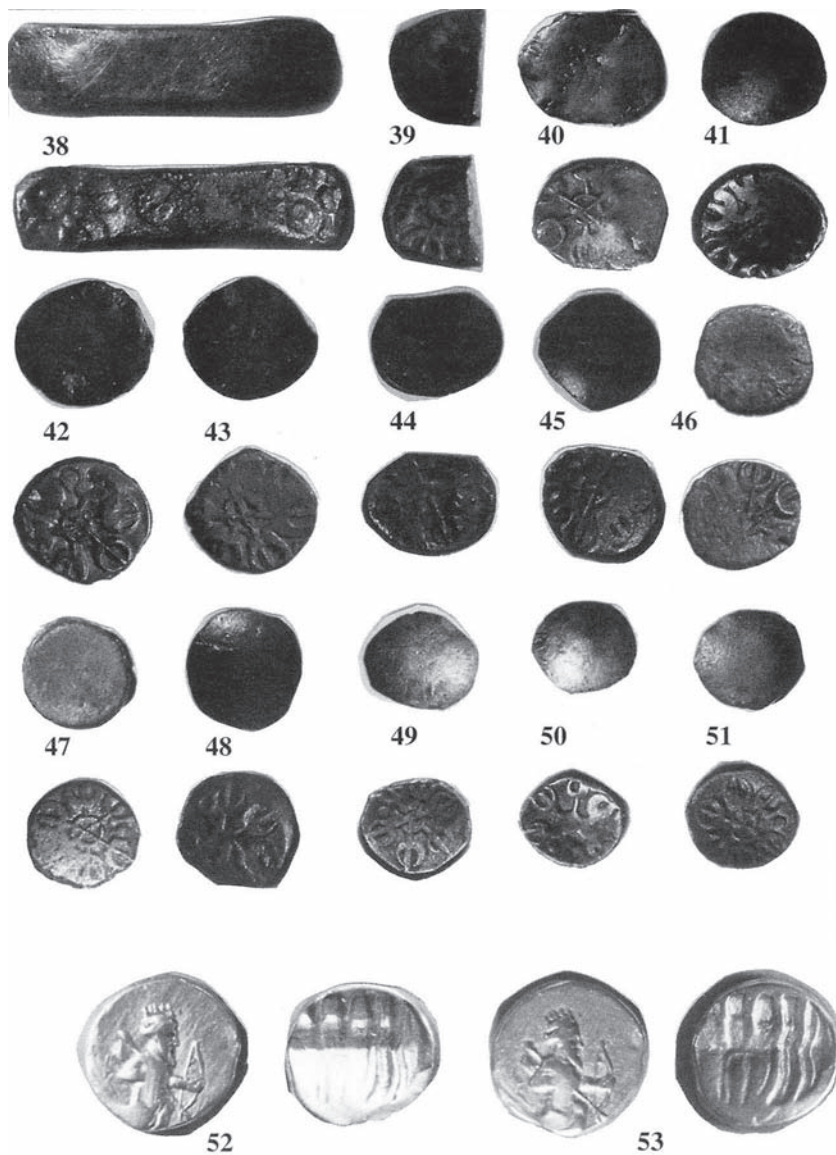


36



37







54



55



56



57



58



59







60



61



62



63



64



65

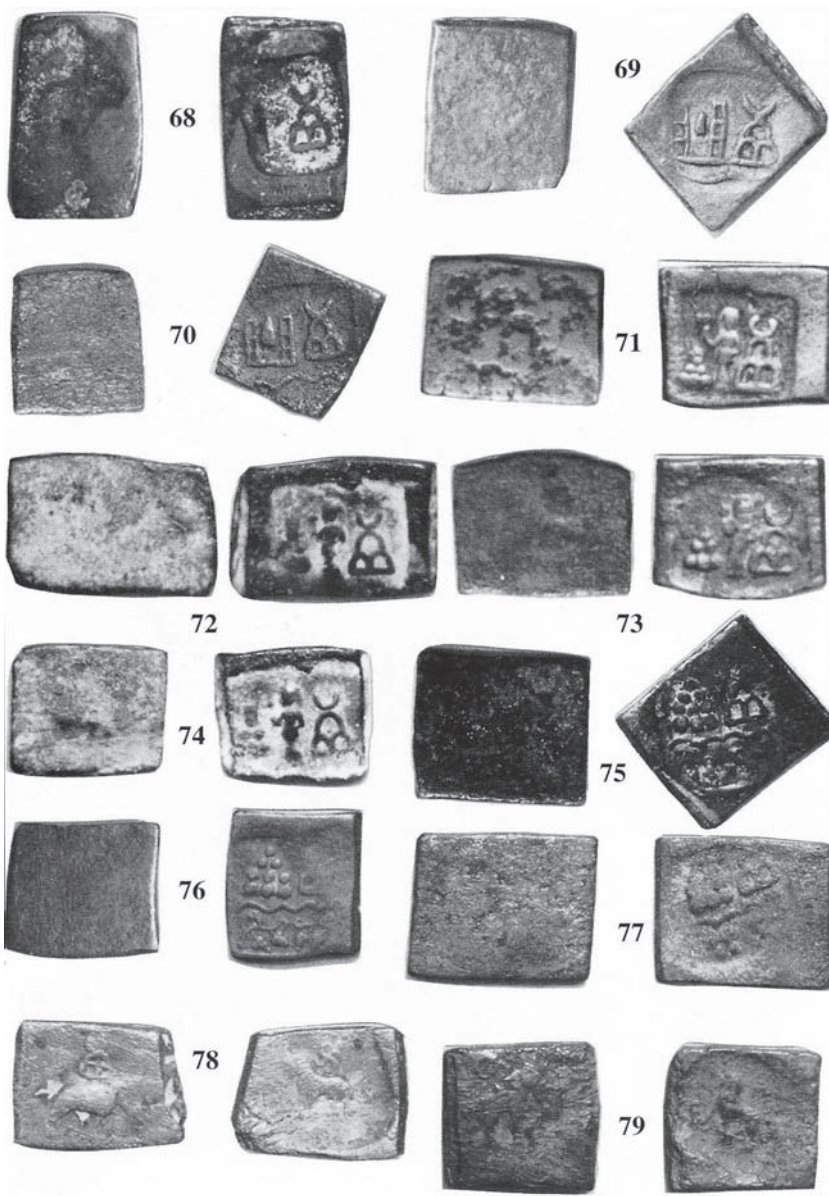


66



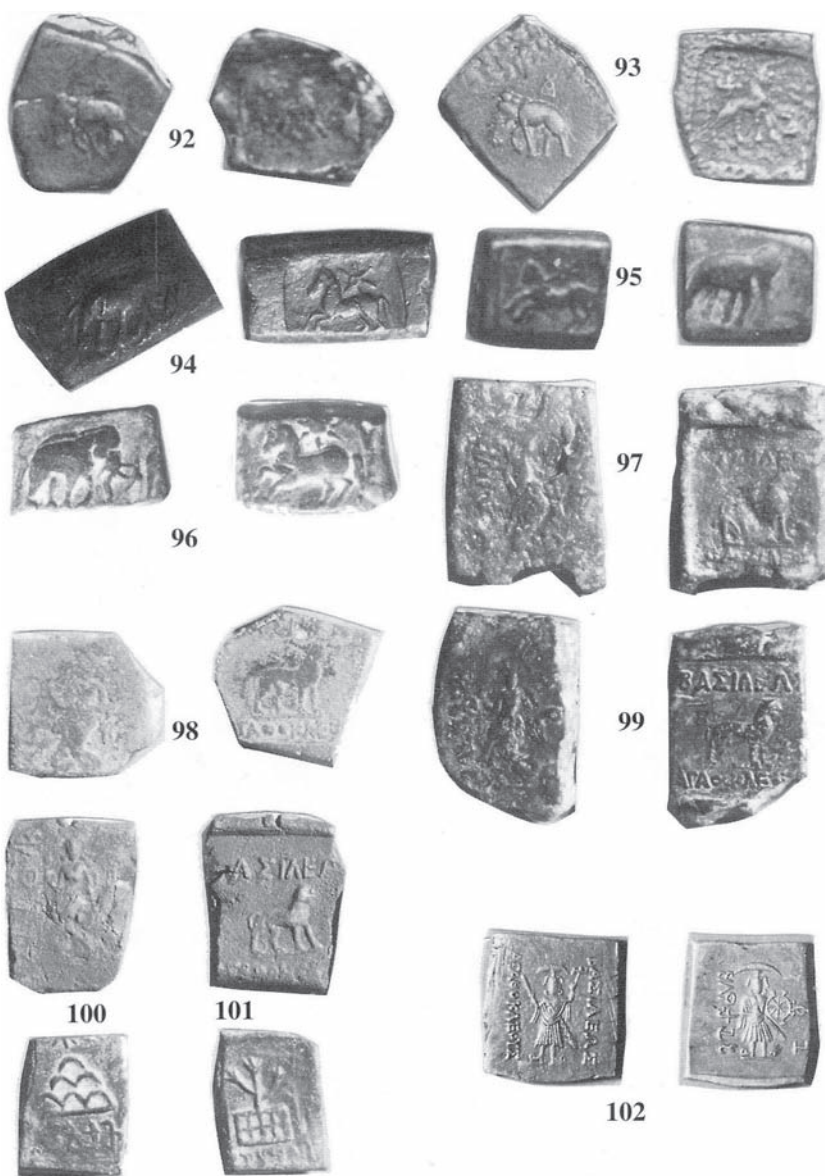
67













103



104



105



106



107





108



109



110



# Trésor de Kuliab



1



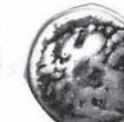
2



3



4



5



6



7



8













39



40



41



42



43



44



45





46



47



48



49



50



51



52



53



54





55



56



57



58



59



60



61





62



63



64



65



66



67



68







69



70



71



72



73



74



75



76



77



78



79



80



81



82



83



84











136



137



138



139



140



141



142



143



144



145



146



149



150



151









183



184



185



186



187



188



189



190



191



193



194





192



195



196



197



198



199



200



201



202



203



204



205



## Recent Coin Hoard Evidence on Pre-Kushana Chronology\*

G.K. Jenkins (1955), one of the eminent post-World War scholars of Central Asian and Indian numismatics, to whom I dedicate this paper, wrote in his remarkable article on 'Indo-Scythic Mints': '... it is necessary to bear in mind the principle that coin finds have always to be related not merely to single issues but to integral groupings of the coinages, without which finds studied in isolation can scarcely be given their value'.<sup>1</sup> Taking the maximum benefit of coin finds from the Taxila excavations and the coin hoards of Shabkadar, Chaman, and analysing the overstrikes, monogram pattern, geographical distribution of coin types and their stylistic characteristics, Jenkins set out a sensible framework for the immediate predecessors and successors of the Azes dynasty. His principal contribution in this outstanding study was, first of all to separate Maues from the rest of the Indo-Scythian kings and to place him at Taxila in a convincing chronological sequence before Apollodotus II and his successor Hippostratus, secondly, to separate Azes I from Azes II by placing the intermediary coinage of Azilises in between, thirdly to consider Strato II and III as the last Indo-Greek kings who survived for a long time in the eastern Punjab and finally to propose the penetration of Rujuvula and Gondophares in different regions by establishing the geographical distribution pattern of the different coin types. The 'general conspectus' proposed by Jenkins (1955: 22-3), is a résumé of his proposed scheme (see Figure 1):

As Jenkins (1955: 22) himself admits: 'Much necessary detail has had to be omitted and the scheme proposed cannot claim to be final. Meanwhile it may be hoped that the framework here set out will not be too seriously undermined by fresh discoveries . . .'. Regrettably, two years later, with the new chronology proposed by A.K. Narain (1957a) in his *The Indo-Greeks*, the framework set out by Jenkins faded into obscurity for years. The major flaw in Narain's chronology was to reject the existence of a second Apollodotus and to make the history of the Greek kingdoms in India come to an end with the reign of Hermaeus in 55 BC. Although Narain does not discuss Jenkins'

\*Reprinted from *Coins, Art and Chronology: Essays on the pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, ed. Michael Alam and Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999, pp. 99-149.

<sup>1</sup> I am most grateful to my good friends Joe Cribb and Elizabeth Errington of the British Museum and Zeph Stewart of Harvard University, former director of the Center for Hellenic Studies (Washington D.C.), whose many useful suggestions contributed much to the improvement of the text.



Arachosia	Gandhara	Taxila	East of Jhelum
VONONES			
SPALAGADAMES			
SPALAHORA	(? MAUES)	MAUES	
Zeus with thunderbolt		Zeus / Nike	
SPALIRISES	(? APOLLODOTUS II)	APOLLODOTUS II	APOLLODOTUS II
Zeus do.		Pallas	Pallas (drachms only, of poor style)
SPALIRISES/AZES I	HIPPOSTRATUS	HIPPOSTRATUS	
Zeus do.	City	Horseman	ZOILUS II (dr. of poor style)
AZES I	AZES I	AZES I	
Zeus do.	Zeus with thunderbolt	Zeus / Nike	DIONYSIUS (dr. of poor style)
		HIPPOSTRATUS	
Lamp goddess	Pallas	Horseman	
		AZES I	
		Zeus with sceptre, also Nikephoros	APOLLOPHANES (dr. of poor style)
AZILISES	AZILISES	AZILISES	
Lamp goddess	Pallas	Zeus with sceptre, also Nikephoros, Dioscuri, etc.	STRATO II (dr. of poor style)
	AZES II	AZES II	STRATO II and III (dr. of poor style)
	Pallas	Zeus Nikephoros	
	(ASPAVARMA)	RAJUVALA	RAJUVALA (dr. of poor style)
		Zeus Nikephoros	
	GONDOPHARES	SASAN	GONDOPHARES
		Zeus Nikephoros	Pallas (dr. of poor style)

FIGURE 1: General Conspectus by G.K. Jenkins 1955: 22-3.

article in his book because it appeared after the typescript was sent to the printers,<sup>2</sup> he later firmly reaffirmed the arguments expressed in his book.<sup>3</sup> The new chronology proposed by Narain made the already complex numismatic sequence totally incomprehensible, at least as far as the decline of Indo-Greek power is concerned.

The question of two Apollodoti was then raised anew by G.K. Jenkins (1957 and 1959). Many other scholars, opting for Jenkins hypothesis, added a good number of convincing arguments.<sup>4</sup> Many years later, new coin hoards and

<sup>2</sup> Although, Jenkins' (1955) article is included in the book (see Narain 1957a: 185), Narain (1957a: x) admits that 'After the typescript was sent to the printers certain relevant articles have appeared, and it has not been possible to discuss some points raised by them; these articles have now been included in the bibliography'.

<sup>3</sup> Narain 1957b.

<sup>4</sup> See for example, MacDowall and Wilson 1960; Dobbins 1970a, 1970b, 1980; Cribb 1985a and 1985b; Bernard 1985: 66-7 and Bopearachchi 1991.

inscriptions began to shed fresh light on the fact that Jenkins' framework was based on solid ground. Reaffirming Jenkins framework with new numismatic evidence, I proposed a chronological sequence for the last Indo-Greek and first Indo-Scythian rulers.<sup>5</sup> If my chronological sequence differs from that of A.K. Narain, it is mainly for three reasons: first of all, I reaped great benefit from the research of various scholars, whose names I would like to mention in an alphabetical order: P. Bernard (1985), A.D.H. Bivar (1976 and 1981), J. Cribb (1977, 1985a, 1985b), K.W. Dobbins (1970a, 1970b, 1980), G.K. Jenkins (1955, 1959), D.W. MacDowall (1965, 1973, 1977, 1985), M. Mitchiner (1975/6) and R.C. Senior (1989); secondly, I had at my disposal the important archaeological data obtained from the French excavations at Ai Khanum in Afghanistan; thirdly, thanks to the generosity and the cooperation of curators of various museums and private collectors, I have been able to examine personally a significant number of Graeco-Bactrian, Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coins known to us.<sup>6</sup>

The results that I have obtained have enabled me to determine, for each of the known Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings, the date of his reign and the boundaries of his kingdom. Truly, if even this modest ambition is realized, I have considered it a success indeed, because the possibility of establishing even a simple chronology is far from clear in many cases.

As we know, the reconstruction of the history of the Indo-Greeks and their nomadic successors depends mainly on numismatic evidence. The other sources (ancient texts and inscriptions and various data obtained in archaeological excavations) are, though important, secondary compared to the vast and rich information conveyed to us by coins. Because of the scarcity of ancient texts<sup>7</sup> and of available archaeological data,<sup>8</sup> the numismatic evidence constitutes the main source for the reconstruction of the history of the Greeks and their successors in Bactria and India.

Five years have passed since the publication of my first book by the Bibliothèque Nationale (BN). When I wrote it, I had access to about 9,000 coins, in both public and private collections. Since then, a large number of pre-Sasanian coins have been found in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Among these

<sup>5</sup> See Boppearachchi, *BN*, 453, 1991 and particularly 1993a: 45-65.

<sup>6</sup> I was able to carry out these investigations thanks to financial aid from the French 'Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique' (CNRS) and the Kreitman Fund for Central Asian Numismatic Research of The Royal Numismatic Society of Great Britain.

<sup>7</sup> The ancient texts are represented by short passages from a few Greek and Latin authors, and some Indian and Chinese texts relating some important events or mentioning the names of some Graeco-Bactrian kings.

<sup>8</sup> Two important archaeological sites of the period have been excavated, Taxila in Pakistan and Ai Khanum in Afghanistan. In Taxila, other than coins, very little can be learned from the Greek level which has hardly been excavated at all. On the contrary the results obtained from the excavations conducted at Ai Khanum, a vast Greek city situated at the junction of the Amu-Daria and the Kokcha rivers (in northern Afghanistan), are extremely encouraging and have resolved many puzzling questions regarding the history of the Bactrian period.

coins, discovered in their thousands, are a considerable number of unreported monetary types, monograms and overstrikes. Over fifteen important hoards have so far been reported from Pakistan and two major deposits were discovered in Afghanistan. I have personally seen more than 90,000 coins and have had the opportunity to examine at least 30,000 of them. It is interesting, in the light of these recent discoveries and the suggestions or objections raised by various scholars in recent years, to examine whether the new data confirm or put into question the already established chronological framework of the Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian kings.

Before coming directly to the question of hoard evidence, let me digress for a while to make a few observations regarding the question of eras and regnal years. Apart from a few well-known dates, the rest of the chronology of the Kushans and their predecessors still remains uncertain. Few as they may be and as difficult to interpret, the fragments of Greek and Latin sources enable us to establish a few chronological markers which form the framework for the reconstruction of the history of the Greeks in India.

We know that the conquest by Alexander the Great of the Achaemenid satrapy of Bactria and Sogdiana in Central Asia took place in 329-327 BC and of the Indian territories south of the Hindu Kush in 327-326 BC. The next well-dated event of this period is the attempt made by Seleucus I in 303 BC to reconquer Alexander's Indian territories south of the Hindu Kush during the time of the Mauryan king Chandragupta.<sup>9</sup> We also know that when Bactria was besieged by Antiochus III in 208-206 BC, a certain Euthydemus claimed that he had assumed power in Bactria by annihilating the descendants of those who had first revolted against the Seleucid empire.<sup>10</sup> The remaining fixed points at our disposal are the dates of the accession of Eucratides to the Bactrian throne in c. 171/0 BC and of his death c. 146/5.<sup>11</sup> These valuable dates obtained from the classical sources relate solely to the Greeks in Central Asia.

As far as the chronology is concerned of the late Indo-Greeks, Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians, who were either predecessors or contemporaries of the Kushans, we are left with several eras for which the attribution of the first year provokes considerable controversy. Further thought needs to be given to this problem in the light of new epigraphical evidence.

It is now unanimously accepted by specialists that the era of 57 BC, known

<sup>9</sup> Bernard 1985: 85-95.

<sup>10</sup> Bopearachchi 1991/2.

<sup>11</sup> According to Justin's History of the World abbreviated from Pompeius Trogus (XLI, 6) Eucratides started his reign simultaneously with Mithridates I of Parthia. The usual view is that Mithridates I ascended the throne c. 171 BC. Bernard (1985: 97-105) was able to fix exactly the end of Eucratides' reign thanks to an inscription found in the destruction stratum of the Greek city of Ai Khanum. This inscription, bearing the date of the 24th year of an unknown reign, which the French scholar identified as the reign of Eucratides, gives a clear *terminus post quem*. Also see Rapin 1983: 315-81; 1987: 41-70 and 1992: 96, 114, 281-94; Bopearachchi 1990a and *BN*: 66-88.

as the Vikrama era, owed its origin to the first Indo-Scythian king, Azes I.<sup>12</sup> Relying on the date of this era, we can establish with reasonable certainty a chronological sequence for the Scythian and Indo-Parthian contemporaries of Azes I.

But the controversy over the attribution of the unknown era, named by some scholars the 'old Saka era', has caused much ink to flow. W.W. Tarn (1951: 335, 344-6, 494-502) thought that the beginning of this era was 155 BC and he was followed by many other scholars.<sup>13</sup> According to them, this unknown era would coincide with Menander's accession to kingship in the Indo-Greek territories. K.W. Dobbins (1970b: 31) contested this hypothesis and attributed this unknown era to Eucratides. He considers Eucratides as the only conceivable candidate to establish a new, non-Seleucid era in the Greek dominions, following the Seleucid and Arsacid precedents. I shall discuss later how weak his arguments are. G. Fussman (1980: 36), apparently unaware of the fact that K.W. Dobbins was the first to opt for the Eucratides' era, put forward three arguments in favour of what he considers as his own hypothesis:

- l'ère de c. 155 me paraît toujours hypothétique;
- les éléments nouveaux contenus dans les inscriptions d'Apraca 1-3, la chronologie relative des monnaies de Zeionisès telle que l'a établie M. MacDowall, imposent de dater des années 20 le vase de Jihonika de 191, donc la création d'une ère de c. 172;
- cette ère est maintenant attestée par un autre document: c'est l'ère d'Eucratide.

If I correctly understand Fussman's first argument, he means that since the exact dates of Menander's reign are not known, he prefers to opt for the known chronology of Eucratides. I very strongly feel that A.D.H. Bivar (1976: 337) was correct to say: 'Such argumentation comes perilously close to sophistry'. Regarding Fussman's second argument, I shall quote the original version put forward by David MacDowall (1973: 229):

Once we have established these limits for the context of Jihonika, we can establish with reasonable certainty the era of the date on the Taxila silver vase which has Jihonika's name in the genitive. The date of the era must lie after 180 BC (i.e. the *terminus post quem* of AD 11 minus 191 years) and before 149 BC (i.e. the *terminus ante quem* of AD 42 minus 191). The era cannot therefore be the Vikrama era (to which Ghirshman attributes it) or Van Lohuizen de Leeuw's era of 129 BC; but it does fit in remarkably well with the commencement of the old Saka or Indo-Bactrian era of c. 155 BC. (Tarn 1951: 494-502; Bivar 1963: 500-501). A date of 191 in this era would in fact date the Taxila silver vase, the gift of Jihonika the Satrap to AD 36, and make AD 30-40 the decade of Jihonika's satrapy.

Fussman's third, perhaps for him the most convincing argument for

<sup>12</sup> For essential recent publications on this subject, see Bivar 1981; Dobbins 1970b, 1983; Fussman 1980, 1993 and Salomon 1982.

<sup>13</sup> See for example, Narain 1957a: 143-53; Bivar 1976: 336-7, 1984: 8; MacDowall 1973: 229; Bopearachchi 1993a: 56.

attributing the so-called 'old-Saka era' to Eucratides is the inscription, found in the destruction stratum of the Greek city of Ai Khanum, that bears the date of the 24th year of an unknown reign, which P. Bernard identified as the reign of Eucratides. This is what exactly the inscription says (cf. Rapin 1992: 96):

(1) "Ετους κδ .[--] "Année 24, le [...] 'Year 24'.

It is evident that this inscription does not refer to an era but to a year of an unknown reign. So it is out of the question to consider this regnal year as evidence for the existence of an era. If the Ai Khanum inscription is an essential element in the argument supporting Eucratides' era, the scholars of the opposite camp have a better document in support of Menander's era. The Buddhist reliquary found in Bajaur, with an inscription which refers to the 14th day of the month of Kārttika of an illegible year in the 'reign' of *Mahārāja Minadra* (Menander), is very significant in this connection.<sup>14</sup> The fact that the name of Menander is mentioned in this inscription is an additional and convincing element against the Ai Khanum inscription. For these reasons, I believe that the three arguments put forward by G. Fussman in favour of Eucratides' era are not convincing.

Let us now examine why K.W. Dobbins favoured, even before the discovery of the Ai Khanum inscription, the existence of an Eucratides era. Dobbins (1970b: 31) argues:

Circumstances surrounding the establishment of a new, non-Seleukid, era in Greek dominions should be expected to involve the founding of a new dynasty on analogy with the Seleukid and Arsakid precedents. The most famous of such events among the Indo-Greeks is the career of Eukratides and Mithridates I (171-138/7 BC) started simultaneously (Justin XLI. 6). Eukratides was a usurper who gained possession of his kingdom by defeating Demetrios. He was the only Indo-Greek king before the time of Maues to use the title *megas*, and he struck the largest gold medal of antiquity. These features of his coinage reinforce the view that Eukratides controlled more territory and wealth than any Bactrian king before him. Such circumstances could have induced his successors to adopt an era computed from his accession. Or, as Eukratides saw fit to proclaim his own greatness, he may have initiated an era himself.

Against Dobbins first argument, we may point out that before Eucratides, there were at least two kings who should be given credit for founding new dynasties in Bactria: they are Diodotus, founder of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom and Euthydemus, whose authority was recognized by the Seleucid sovereign. On the other hand, in the Indian territories Menander was as great as Eucratides, if not greater. I do not see why the fact that 'Eucratides was an usurper who gained possession of his kingdom by defeating Demetrios' should be used as an argument in favour of Eucratides' era. It all depends whether his successors considered him great or his descendants continued his genealogy. On the contrary we learn from Justin (XLI, 6) that Eucratides was assassinated by his own son who shared the kingship with him and who, far from concealing the

<sup>14</sup> Majumdar 1937; Sircar 1942; and recently Fussman 1993: 95-106.

murder, declared that he had killed, 'not a parent, but a public enemy', and brutally drove his chariot through the dead monarch's blood and ordered his body to be cast out unburied. If the Greek kings of Bactria and India copied the Seleucid or Ptolemaic prototype, Eucratides' descendants would have depicted on their coinage his monetary types, *par excellence*, the heavenly twins, Castor and Pollux, the Dioscuri (sons of Zeus), either on horse-back holding palms and spears, prancing to right or standing facing, each holding a spear. Among the successors of Eucratides, Diomedes is the only king who adheres fully to Eucratides' monetary type.<sup>15</sup> At the time Dobbins wrote his article, Eucratides was the only Indo-Greek king before Maues to use the title *megas*. But today we know about the existence of another Greek king named Thrason who also calls himself great, but curiously enough, so far he is known to us only through one coin.<sup>16</sup> As regards the largest gold medal of antiquity struck by Eucratides, it no doubt shows the power and ambition of this great king. It is interesting to note, however, that Amyntas, who issued a very limited number of bilingual coins, is responsible for striking the largest silver denomination, double-decadrachms, known in antiquity.<sup>17</sup> Does this mean that Amyntas also established a new era?

However, things are not as simple as that. The fundamental question one may ask is whether there was a real Graeco-Bactrian or Indo-Greek era. The Greeks who revolted under the leadership of Diodotus against the Seleucids would not have adopted the Seleucid era (312/1 BC).<sup>18</sup> Did Diodotus found a new era then? Even if he founded one, it is difficult to imagine that Euthydemus maintained it, because he denies, before Telas, an envoy of the Seleucid king, ever having committed any act of rebellion against his ancestors; instead he says that he had acquired power in Bactria by annihilating the descendants of these rebels.<sup>19</sup> Rival clans and usurpers succeeded one after the other to the Bactrian throne. I may point out that in contrast to the Bactrian Greeks, the new series of coins introduced by the Seleucid Antiochus I, with the reverse image of the patron god of the Seleucid dynasty, Apollo seated on the *Omphalos*, became the commonest Seleucid reverse type and a coat of arms for the whole dynasty. One cannot miss the fact that most of the Bactrian and Indo-Greek monetary types are not homogeneous and vary very often from one group to another. A tax receipt, most probably found at Sangcharak in Afghanistan,<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> See *BN*: Diomède, series 1-10. Antialcidas, *ibid.*, series 14-17 and Archebius, *ibid.*, series 13, depicted palms and *pilei* of the Dioscuri on their bronze coins. Since these two kings had their own reverse types—Zeus enthroned holding Nike or a palm (Antialcidas) and Zeus hurling thunderbolt (Archebius)—one cannot really imagine that they had any family link or any personal attachment to Eucratides.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *BN*: 106.

<sup>17</sup> *BN*: pl. 46.

<sup>18</sup> For further details about the establishment of this era, see Bickerman 1980: 71.

<sup>19</sup> Polybius, XI, 39.

<sup>20</sup> For further details see, Bernard and Rapin 1994; Hollis 1994; Rea 1994.



produces further proof. According to the reconstituted translation proposed by J.R. Rea (1994: 263), it says: 'In the reign of God Antimachus and Eumenes and Antimachus . . . year 4, month of Olōus, . . .'. Antimachus Theos differentiates himself from the rest of his predecessors by introducing unprecedented types in his Bactrian coinage: on the obverse his portrait, wearing the Macedonian *kausia*, and on the reverse Poseidon stands facing, holding in his right hand a long trident, and in his left, a palm with ribbon.<sup>21</sup> It is interesting to note that contrary to some other types, his reverse type was never reproduced on the coinage of his successors. It seems as if each of the great Graeco-Bactrian kings attempted to create his own era, but without success. This is exactly what seems to have happened, at least in the three known cases of Antimachus I, Eucratides I and Menander I. The animosity toward rival clans may have pushed most of the great kings to abandon the era created by their predecessors in favour of a new era.

Many historians seem to believe that a *terminus ante quern* for the arrival of Maues at Taxila is provided by the copper-plate inscription of Patika found at Taxila in 1862, which is dated on the 5th day of the month of Panemos of the 78th year (of an unspecified era), of the great king, Moga (Maues) the great.<sup>22</sup> W.W. Tarn thought that the beginning of this era was 155 BC;<sup>23</sup> he was followed by many other scholars.<sup>24</sup> They thought that this unknown era, known as the 'old Saka era', would coincide with Menander's ascension to kingship in the Indo-Greek territories. Some doubts about the interpretation of the inscription began to germinate in our minds when Joe Cribb and I began to re-examine recently the contents of it. The term *saṃvatsara* ([*saṃvat*] *tśarye*) usually refers (in Kharoshthi inscriptions) to a year of an era, so we are almost certain that the 78th year is of an unspecified era.<sup>25</sup> But, are we certain that it refers to a Greek era? F.W. Thomas' theory according to which the use of a Greek month (Panemos) in the inscription of Patika indicates a Greek origin for the era is not convincing either.<sup>26</sup> If the name of Moga mentioned in this inscription is certainly the Indo-Scythian Maues, who was later dethroned by Apollodotus II, one may not be surprised to find an Indo-Scythian king ruling in the heart of the Indo-Greek territory using the Greek calendar. Now, we think it is dangerous to attribute this unknown era, known as the 'old Saka era', to Menander or to any other Greek king.

In his analysis of a Brahmi inscription found in the village of Maghera

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *BN*: Antimaque I Théos, series 1-4.

<sup>22</sup> Konow 1929: 23, no. XIII; D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, Delhi, 1965, p. 245.

<sup>23</sup> Tarn 1951: 335, 344-6, 494-502.

<sup>24</sup> Narain 1957a: 144-53; Bivar 1984: 8; MacDowall 1973: 229; I also supported the same point view, see Bopparachchi 1993a: 56.

<sup>25</sup> I am most grateful to Joe Cribb and Richard Salomon for helping me to understand the meaning of this inscription.

<sup>26</sup> Thomas 1952: 111, also see Dobbins 1970b: 31.

(17 km from Mathura)<sup>27</sup> G. Fussman evokes the possibility of interpreting a *Yavana-rajya* as a Greek era popular in India as far as Mathura. He reads it as '*Yavana-rajyasa sodaś-uttare varṣa-śate 100 + 10 + 6 hemata-māse 4 divasa 30 et aye purvāye*. (En l'an cent seizième 116 du royaume grec, au 4° mois d'hiver, au 30° jour, à cet instant)'. Arguing that Menander reigned for a certain period in the region of Mathura, Fussman (1993: 111) admits that he would personally prefer to attribute the *Yavana-rajya* to the era of Menander rather than to that of Eucratides. Whether the word *Yavana* designates Greeks is not certain either. B.N. Mukherjee (1992) thus attributes the *Yavana* in the Mathura inscription to Sakas.

Have we then got enough convincing evidence for the use of a Greek era in the Indian territories of the Greeks? If such a Greek era was frequently used in India, I cannot think of any king other than Menander I to whom this era should be attributed. As I have shown elsewhere, the reign of Menander has to be considered as central because he was no doubt the most important Greek king that ever ruled in the Indian territories.<sup>28</sup> He was the only Greek king in India who made a clearly identifiable appearance in Indian literature, and his reputation as a good king gave rise to legends that inspired some classical writers.<sup>29</sup> He is superior to all the Greek kings who ruled before and after him in India, not only by the number of coins, but also by the number of different dies, series both silver and bronze and monograms. In all the public and private collections worldwide, his coins are incomparably superior in number to any of his Greek contemporaries. As we shall see later, in most of the recent coin hoards found in Afghanistan and Pakistan, he was represented by thousands of coins. It is also known that it is not only by counting the number of coins that one gains an idea of the volume, but also by the number of different dies.<sup>30</sup> The die-study that I have already started on the coins of Eucratides I and Menander I shows that the number of dies attested in Menander I's coinage is superior.<sup>31</sup> However, if I personally have a preference to consider Menander

<sup>27</sup> Fussman 1991: 665-8 and 1993: 111-18; Mukherjee 1992.

<sup>28</sup> Bopearachchi, *BN*: 76-88, 1993a: 14-15.

<sup>29</sup> See for further details Bopearachchi 1990a; 1993a: 14-15.

<sup>30</sup> I have pointed out elsewhere (Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995: 31-2) that contrary to what has been said by Fussman (1993: 90), Menander's coinage known to us so far, even by its volume, is superior to that of Eucratides I and Heliocles. G. Fussman, by minimizing one of my previous arguments (1990a), says that in order to know the exact volume of coinage of Menander in comparison to that of Eucratides, the total number of drachms of Menander should be divided by four. His argument is based on the fact that Menander basically issued drachms and Eucratides tetradrachms (4 × drachms). It is elementary in Indo-Greek numismatics that Menander struck all his drachms according to the so-called Indian weight, that is 2.45 g and Eucratides according to Attic weight about 17-17.25 g, so one has to divide the drachms of Menander not by four but by seven. I wish to insist on one point, which is that even if the total number of Menander's drachms is divided by seven, the volume will still be superior to that of Eucratides I.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995: 31-2.

as the instigator of the 'Greek era' in India, it is for one main reason, which is more important than any of the arguments already put forward. Menander is the only Greek king in India who deserves special recognition in that his monetary type, *par excellence*, Athena Alkidemos, was copied, without discontinuity, on the silver coins of many Indo-Greek kings: Agathocleia and Strato I, Strato I alone, Polyxenus, Amyntas, Epander, Thrason, Nicias, Apollodotus II, Dionysius, Zoilus II, Apollophanes, Strato II and III.<sup>32</sup> Without coming to any definite conclusions on the significance of the reverse type or trying to establish genealogical relationship with Menander, I may simply point out that all the successors who depicted Athena Alkidemos on their coinage manifested some sort of an attachment or recognition *vis-à-vis* Menander I. However, we are not at all certain whether the Menander era was actually in use in India. Even if it had existed, we still do not know, with certainty, the absolute chronology of Menander, and consequently any deduction we make from this 'era' has a margin of error: we shall come to this point later.

Let us now return to the question of the coin hoard evidence for pre-Kushan chronology. During the course of the last five years many hoards have been found in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Most of these hoards were discovered either accidentally or as the result of clandestine diggings. Today, most of the ancient sites in Pakistan are occupied by Pakistanis or by Afghan refugees. Villages are built on the mounds. Soil from the mounds is used to build the exterior walls. While ploughing fields close to the ancient city walls, farmers have found such hoards. Clandestine diggings have been going on for many years in Pakistan. As a result, many sites around Pushkalavati are now completely destroyed. In Afghanistan ancient sites like Ai Khanum have been pillaged and looted. Treasure hunters have used metal detectors originally brought to the country to detect Russian land-mines. For these reasons a great number of hoards were unearthed and have often turned up in Pakistani bazaars or in the European coin markets. Apart from a few hoards to which we had direct access, most of them have been scattered worldwide and I was confronted with the problem of reconstituting them. During my recent visits to Pakistan, I was able to gather more reliable information about the composition of some hoards. I also went to many places where the hoards were found and investigated the circumstances in which they were found. The results of these investigations have been published from time to time in various journals.<sup>33</sup> I still have not finished studying them, so I have to confess that this report is incomplete. My only aim here is to present briefly the provenance and important characteristics of these hoards, to make some observations about their compositions, and finally to present the most important coins found in them and, by comparing them with other already published hoards, to comment on their historical

<sup>32</sup> For a complete list see *BN*: 378.

<sup>33</sup> See for example, Bopearachchi 1994a-c, 1995b; Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995: 10-14.

implications as evidence for pre-Kushan chronology.<sup>34</sup> Only the ten hoards which I consider as most significant for this demonstration are selected.<sup>35</sup> For the convenience of the reader, I shall recall briefly some details about the find spot and composition of each hoard as already published in various journals.

#### No. 1: MIR ZAKAH II

This is one of the largest ancient coin deposits ever attested in the history of mankind. It was discovered accidentally in 1992 in the village of Mir Zakah, 53 km north-east of the city of Gardez in Afghanistan.<sup>36</sup> According to my

<sup>34</sup> I am extremely grateful to my good friends, R.C. Senior, Joe Cribb and above all Aman ur Rahman, for giving me information about these hoards. This report also results from my own investigations carried out in Pakistan, the U.S.A., Japan and England during the years 1993 to 1995, and I am indebted to the Kreitman Fund for Central Asian Numismatic Research of The Royal Numismatic Society of Great Britain and the Hirayama Silk Roads Fellowships Programme for 1994 for the financial aid which enabled me to carry out my research.

<sup>35</sup> I had to exclude some hoards because they are either not in direct rapport with this study or I had no access to them. For example, the Kushano-Sasanian hoard from Aziz Dheri, legally excavated by the University of Peshawar, is beyond the limits of this paper. The Mankara hoard of 20 kg of Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian coins is not yet fully cleaned. It was unearthed in February 1994 by some clandestine diggers in the ancient city of Pushkalavati. Composed mainly of debased silver coins, the whole hoard was found in a very tightly corroded mass. Treasure hunters first tried to break it with hammers and various other instruments expecting to find some gold in the middle. Failing in this, they used a pickaxe, and broke it into three pieces. Fortunately Aman ur Rahman managed to acquire the entire hoard. Now he is in the process of cleaning it. Once this technical problem is solved, the hoard will be open to scholars for further study.

<sup>36</sup> In China, coin deposits containing, in some instances more than 5 tons of coins were found. From the list of them kindly made by François Thierry, Curator of Oriental Coins of the Paris Cabinet des Médailles, I have selected deposits weighing more than 5 tons:

Baoji (Shenxi), 1985.—15.15 tons of bronze and iron coins, about 1,200,000 of Song. WU Qirong, 'Shenxi chutu de tie qian', *Shenxi jinrong*, 1987 *qianbi juanji*-VI, 13-25, p. 15; YAN Jingping, 'Bei-Song tie qian zai Baoji duo ci chutu', *Zhongguo qianbi* 1986-III, 69; YAN Jingping, 'Baoji chutu Bei-Song tie qian de huayan yu fenxi', *Zhongguo qianbi* 1988-II, 43-7; ZHU Huo, *Gu qian xin dian*, 2 vols., Xian 1992, p. 330.

Xi'an (Shenxi), 1993.—10 tons of iron coins value 2 of the North Song, about 830,000 coins. LI Yan et al., 'Xi'an shi Shehuili chutu shi dun tie qian', *Shenxi jinrong*, 1993, 201 (XX), 60-71; DANG Shunmin, 'Xi'an chutu Bei-Song tie', *Zhongguo qianbi* 1994, I, 47-50.

Meixian (Shenxi), 1993.—4 to 5 tons of iron coins, value 2 of the North Song, about 400,000 coins. YAN Jingping, 'Meixian chutu si dun Bei-Song tie qian', *Shenxi jinrong*, 1993, 201 (XX), 72-5; WU Qirong, 'Meixian Chengguan chutu Bei-Song tie qian', *Shenxi jinrong*, 1993, 201 (XX), 76-9; Société Numismatique du Shenxi, 'Meixian Bei-Song jiaocang tie qian jingli baogao', *Shenxi jinrong*, 1994, 215 (XXII), 2-38.

Baoji (Shenxi), 1977.—5.85 tons of bronze and iron coins, about 500,000, of the Song. WU Qirong, 'Shenxi chutu de tie qian', *Shenxi jinrong*, 1987 *qianbi juanji*-W, 13-25, p. 14; YAN Jingping, 'Bei-Song tie qian zai Baoji duo ci chutu', *Zhongguo qianbi* 1986, III, 69; ZHU Huo, *Gu qian xin dian*, 2 vols., Xian 1992, p. 330.

inquiries, it must have consisted of 3 to 4 tonnes of gold, silver and bronze coins, in another words about 500,000 specimens. It is also believed that it contained more than 200 kg of silver and gold objects.<sup>37</sup> In the present political situation in Afghanistan, there is very little hope of exploring their immense historical importance. According to some reliable sources, 2.5 tons of coins had been taken to Switzerland for sale. If an organization like UNESCO does not take the initiative, all the coins apart from the best specimens, may one day go into the melting pot. My knowledge of this hoard is limited to the 418 coins from the deposit now in the Aman ur Rahman collection,<sup>38</sup> the small collection in the Heberden Coin Room (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford), and the six sacks full of coins, each weighing at least 50 kg that I rapidly examined in February 1994 in the Peshawar bazaar.<sup>39</sup> The hoard is mainly composed of early Indian Coins (bent-bars and punch marked); Greek, Graeco-Bactrian, Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and Kushan coins. The coins of the Indo-Scythian Azes II and the posthumous imitations of Hermaeus comprise the largest portion of all. I have eliminated this hoard from the main list, since we know very little about its composition (cf. list 1). Yet in my discussion, I shall still refer to some of the important coins found in the deposit.

#### No. 2: AI KHANUM HOARD (IV)

This hoard seems to have come from Ai Khanum. It is difficult to say whether all the coins were found in one or several hoards. What is certain is that all the coins in question are either Greek or Graeco-Bactrian, struck according to the Attic standard. The total number varies according to different informers. The hoard or hoards may have contained more than 1,500 coins. To my knowledge, no coin of Heliocles I or Plato, who are now considered to be Eucratides I's successors, was attested. By its composition this batch thus reminds us of the two earlier hoards from Ai Khanum, published in 1975 and in 1981, and the stray finds from the same site.<sup>40</sup> Although there is no possibility of finding such hoards in the Oxus Valley to which Ai Khanum historically and geographically belonged, one is tempted to think that the whole batch

---

However, it is necessary to underline here, in spite of the amazing volume of these deposits, that the Chinese coins represent neither the intrinsic nor the fiduciary value of the coins circulated in India and Bactria.

<sup>37</sup> We still do not know under what circumstances the deposit was found. According to a rumour going in the Peshawar bazaar, a woman from Mir Zakah While fetching water one day from a peculiar spring famous for its sweet water, found a gold coin in her vessel. Once alerted, the neighbouring villagers hurried to the findspot and started digging. The gold coins and jewellery of high value were sold to Japanese, English and American collectors of antiquities. For further information about the discovery and the nature of this hoard, see Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995: 11-13.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995: 227-8.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Bopearachchi 1994c.

<sup>40</sup> Petitot-Biehler 1975; Holt 1981; Bernard 1985: 97-105.

came simply from Ai Khanum itself. The ancient site of Ai Khanum has been pillaged and looted for the last two years. There are more solid reasons to believe that these Bactrian coins came from Ai Khanum as a result of clandestine diggings.

I have been able to reconstitute about 50 per cent of the hoard either by personally examining coins in the bazaars and private collections in Pakistan, U.S.A., Japan and several European countries, or through photographs and casts. Apart from the coins of Greek cities,<sup>41</sup> of Alexander the Great and Lysimachus, this lot is composed of gold, silver and bronze coins of Eucratides I (Plate I, nos. 6-9) and of his Bactrian predecessors:<sup>42</sup> Diodotus I and II, Euthydemus I, Demetrius I, Euthydemus II, Agathocles (Plate I, no. 4), Pantaleon (Plate I, no. 5), Antimachus I Theos and Apollodotus I. More than thirty 'pedigree' coins struck by Agathocles (Plate I, no. 3) and Antimachus I were found in this hoard.

#### No. 3: BAJAUR HOARD (III)

In October 1993, a hoard containing 800 Indo-Greek drachms was found accidentally in the village of Khar near Pandalay in the area of Bajaur in the North-West Frontier of Pakistan. The area of Bajaur had already yielded two hoards in 1942.<sup>43</sup> Both these and the 1993 hoard contained silver coins of Apollodotus I, Antimachus II and Menander I. Other than a few specimens that I have seen in the bazaars, all the coins from the recent hoard have reached Western markets.

#### No. 4: WESA HOARD

Wesa is a village in the Chach region in Pakistan. Found in January 1994, this hoard seems to have contained 220 tetradrachms and 1,000 drachms of the Indo-Greek Apollodotus I, Antimachus II, Menander I, Lysias and Antialcidas. The bilingual drachm of Eucratides I from the same hoard deserves attention because it is the first silver bilingual issue of this king ever attested in a hoard in association with coins of Apollodotus I, Antimachus II and Menander I.

#### No. 5: MIAN KHAN SANGHOU HOARD

In December 1993, a peasant from Mian Khan Sanghou in the Mardan district, while ploughing the fields found an earthen pot with 83 silver coins. Apart from the eight tetradrachms which were originally in the hoard, I was able to

<sup>41</sup> The oldest issues I have so far seen from the hoard are two coins of Acanthus and Paros, see Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995: nos. 55 and 56.

<sup>42</sup> So far I have not seen among the coins of this hoard any coins of Demetrius II whom I consider as a Bactrian predecessor of Eucratides I.

<sup>43</sup> Haughton 1946: 141-5.



examine all the other 75 drachms of Apollodotus I, Antimachus II, Menander I and Zoilus I.<sup>44</sup>

#### No. 6: KHAUZIKHELAI HOARD

Khauzikhelai is a village in the Swat Valley near Saidu-Sharif. It was here that the unique Attic tetradrachm of Diomedes, with the helmeted bust (Plate II, no. 13), now in the private collection of A. Hollis, was found. The hoard seems to have been found accidentally, in 1992, in a broken vase in the bed of the Swat River. It may have contained 800 coins, all exclusively of Indo-Greek kings. Like many others found in this region, this hoard consisted of silver coins of Apollodotus I, Antimachus II, Menander I, Lysias, Antialcidas, Philoxenus and Nicias. Apart from drachms, there was a good number of tetradrachms: 200 of Menander I and four of Antialcidas. The unique tetradrachm of Nicias was also found in this hoard.<sup>45</sup>

#### No. 7: ATTOCK HOARD

The well-known village of Attock is situated on the border of the North-West Frontier and the Punjab, in other words, between Peshawar and Taxila. We do not know under what conditions the hoard was found. It seems to have contained 93 tetradrachms (3 of Antialcidas and 90 of Menander I) and 600 drachms of Menander I, Zoilus I, Lysias, Antialcidas and Amyntas.

#### No. 8: SIRANWALI HOARD I

Siranwali is a remote village situated mid-way between Gujranwala and Sialkot, about 3 km from Daska. In 1990, a villager had discovered, while ploughing the fields, a hoard composed of 400 coins of Apollodotus I, Antimachus II and Menander I and Amyntas. Most of the coins of this hoard were acquired by two Japanese collectors I had access to them. Hundreds of fragments of ancient ceramics, scattered all over the site, bear witness to the fact that there was a very ancient site in the vicinity.

#### No. 9: SIRANWALI HOARD II

In October 1993, another hoard was found in a pot by the same villager, while digging the earth. The pot was shattered. This hoard, composed of 300 drachms, surfaced in the market. As one would expect, the hoard contained the coins of

<sup>44</sup> These types are attested in this hoard: Apollodotus I, 5 drachms: *BN*, 4. A, C, F, G; Antimachus II, 12 coins: *BN*, 1. A, B, C, D, F, G; Menander I, 1 coin: *BN*, 2. C, 1 coin: *BN*, 3. E, 5 coins: *BN*, 6. A, C, 5 coins: *BN*, 9. A, B C, 6 coins: *BN*, 7. B, E, 11 coins: *BN*, 13. A, B, H, O, 1 coin: *BN*, 15. A, 5 coins: *BN*, 14. O, N, 15 coins: *BN*, 16. C, D, I, J; and Zoilus I, 5 coins: *BN*, 3. B, 2 coins: *BN*, 4. A, 1 coin: *BN*, 5.A.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Boppearachchi and Rahman 1995: no. 495.

close Indo-Greek contemporaries: Apollodotus I, Antimachus II and Menander I, Lysias, Philoxenus and Amyntas.<sup>46</sup> The main importance of these two hoards lies in the fact that for the first time, Menander's coins have been found in the region of Sagala-Sialkot.

#### No. 10: SARAI SALEH HOARD

Sarai Saleh is situated on the North-West Frontier, in the Abotabad district, between Haripur and Bagra, about 20 miles north-east of the ancient city of Taxila. In January 1994, while levelling the ground to build the tomb of a spiritual leader known as Sain Baba who had died three years previously, a bulldozer hit a bronze jar filled with coins. The villagers present at the site took the scattered coins and rushed to the bazaars of Sarai Saleh, Haripur, Lahore and Peshawar to sell them. According to a reliable source, the hoard apparently consisted of 1,500 drachms and 500 tetradrachms of Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian kings. However, the rarest and unique specimens were acquired by a dealer in Taxila. Apart from the coins already published by R.C. Senior, the most important, interesting pieces were purchased by two private Pakistani collectors. Out of 45 coins in Rahman's collection, some coins are unique and some monograms are new to the whole Indo-Greek coinage.<sup>47</sup> Unfortunately, other than the coins mentioned above and the ones that we have published and seen in the bazaars and in the Pakistani private collections, a large number of coins have been dispersed, and it is now difficult to track them down. However, I am in a position to give a general outline of the composition of the hoard. Although it is difficult to give the exact number of coins for each, certainly the following Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian king were represented in this hoard: Menander I (mainly drachms), Zoilus I, Strato I, Lysias, Antialcidas, Heliocles II (Plate II, no. 11), Polyxenus (Plate II, no. 12), Philoxenus, Diomedes, Amyntas, Epander, Nicias, Menander II, Artemidorus (Plate II, nos. 14-18), Archebius, Hermaeus, Hermaeus and Calliope, Maues (Plate II, no. 22), Telephus, Apollodotus II, Hippostratus (Plate II, no. 20), Vonones with Spalahores, Vonones with Spaladagames (Plate II, no. 23), Spalirises with Azes and Azes I (Plate II, no. 24).

The main objective of this paper is to re-examine to what extent these new discoveries throw light on pre-Kushan chronology. In recent years, one of the most important contributions leading to a better understanding of pre-Kushan chronology, was made by P. Bernard, former director of the French Archaeological

<sup>46</sup> These two hoards are the same as those which appeared under the name of Daska, O. Bopearachchi 1994b: 11. Siranwali is the village in which the hoard was found and Daska is the closest town. When I first made enquiries about the hoard, Pakistani dealers named it after the town, not after the village. I have since been able to visit the findspot of the two hoards.

<sup>47</sup> Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995: 228-9, Senior (1995) published some interesting coins from this hoard, also see *Senior Consultants*, Butleigh, List 1.

Delegation in Afghanistan. In the light of data obtained from the excavations conducted at Ai Khanum, he showed that this Greek city came to an end with the nomadic invasion of c. 145 BC, and once driven away, the Greek settlers never returned to their city, which was then completely abandoned.<sup>48</sup> One is therefore led to assume that the cause of this tragedy was an invasion by the peoples of the steppe, which occurred precisely at a time when Chinese records mention large-scale movements of tribes travelling westwards from north-west China and southern Siberia.<sup>49</sup> I have shown elsewhere that the numismatic data provided by the Qunduz and Ai Khanum hoards would thus corroborate the different stages of this advance.<sup>50</sup>

The silver coins found in hoards at Ai Khanum, published in 1973, 1974,<sup>51</sup> 1975,<sup>52</sup> 1981,<sup>53</sup> and the stray finds from the same site, mainly bronzes,<sup>54</sup> stop suddenly at Eucratides I's reign. The absence of any coin of Eucratides II, Plato and Heliocles I in hoards or in stray finds is remarkable, although Heliocles' coinage is abundantly represented in the Qunduz hoard.<sup>55</sup> Far from being a chance coincidence, the fact that the issues stop with Eucratides I's reign is surely explained by one event, the nature of which became clear through the excavation: a sudden catastrophe which struck the city, burning down the palace bringing the existence of the city to an end. It is quite likely that the destruction of the Greek city of Ai Khanum was the result of a first attack on the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom by the nomads and that this event would have taken place immediately after the assassination of Eucratides by his son around 145 BC. The new hoard from the same site, known as Ai Khanum IV, produces further evidence. As explained earlier, among the more than 500 coins I have seen so far which can be attributed to this hoard, I have not come across a single coin of Eucratides II, Plato and Heliocles I.

The second stage of this move must have already been completed at the time of the visit by the Chinese ambassador Zhang Qian in these regions in 129-128 BC. Following the hypothesis put forward by P. Bernard, I have argued elsewhere that Heliocles I was the last Greek king to reign in Bactria and there is no valid reason to believe that, after him, the Indo-Greek kings, like Lysias and Antialcidas, who minted Graeco-Bactrian coins, had any possessions north

<sup>48</sup> Bernard 1985: 97-105.

<sup>49</sup> The Chinese imperial Annals (the *Shiji* and *Han Shu*) provide us texts based on a report made by a certain Zhang Qian, an envoy of the Han emperor Wudi to the Western provinces between 138 and 126 BC. He tells us about the arrival in Central Asia of the Yuezhi in the second half of the second century BC, a conquest which took place progressively in two stages (Waston 1961: 267-8, ch. 123).

<sup>50</sup> Bopearachchi 1990b.

<sup>51</sup> Audouin and Bernard 1973 and 1974.

<sup>52</sup> Petitot-Biehler 1975.

<sup>53</sup> Holt 1981.

<sup>54</sup> Bernard 1985.

<sup>55</sup> In the Qunduz hoard 221 coins out of 627, i.e. over one-third, are struck in the name of Heliocles.

of the Hindu Kush.<sup>56</sup> The obvious question that one may ask is how these Graeco-Bactrian coins, struck in mints situated south of the Hindu Kush, reached Bactria and for what purpose they were issued by the kings who reigned only in the Indo-Greek territories where coins of Indian standard were in circulation. I have examined two possibilities to account for this, that is to consider them either as currency for commercial exchanges with Bactria<sup>57</sup> or as tribute paid to menacing neighbours used to the Attic standard.<sup>58</sup>

If this hypothesis is correct, it enables us to understand the different stages of the arrival of the nomadic invaders, whom I consider as Yuezhi, first in Bactria and then *c.* 70 BC in the Paropamisadae. The Yuezhi, once they occupied a certain territory, copied the coinages of their Greek predecessors. Most of the coins in the Qunduz hoard are indeed posthumous imitations of Eucratides I and Heliocles I.<sup>59</sup> They are obviously the posthumous coins struck by a group of nomads who occupied Bactria after the defeat of the Greeks. These coins were in the same hoard with the remarkable issues of Amyntas and Hermaeus and other Indo-Greek kings. One is thus obliged to assume that when the coins of Hermaeus reached this region, there were no more Greeks, but rather nomads imitating the coins of the last two great Greek kings who reigned over Bactria, Eucratides I and Heliocles I. As we shall see later, they were the same nomadic invaders who, fifty years later, having occupied the western territories of the Indo-Greek kingdom, *e.g.* Paropamisadae and Arachosia, minted debased silver coins imitating the genuine issues of Hermaeus, the last Greek king to reign in this part of the Indo-Greek kingdom. The final conclusion to be drawn from these observations is that once they had been completely overpowered by the Yuezhi around 130 BC, the Greeks had no further control at all over the provinces north of the Hindu Kush.

This hypothesis was contested by G. Fussman 1993 who, when publishing the Qunduz hoard in 1965, supported A.K. Narain's point of view,<sup>60</sup> according to which Indo-Greek sovereigns exercised, even after 130 BC, political control over some part of the regions north of the Hindu Kush. Fussman's position this time is quite ambiguous. First he says (1993: 93): 'Hélioklès, ne reprit pas le contrôle d'Aï Khanoum, mais il régna sur une grande partie de la Bactriane dont il fut probablement le dernier roi grec, ou le dernier roi grec

<sup>56</sup> Bopearachchi 1990b.

<sup>57</sup> This possibility was suggested by Nicolet-Pierre 1978 and Bernard 1985: 97-105.

<sup>58</sup> The possibility of this hypothesis was conveyed to me by G. Le Rider, and I have discussed it in the light of a comparable historical event where Greeks were forced to pay tribute to barbarian tribes (1990b: 102).

<sup>59</sup> The most obvious imitations of Eucratides I in this hoard are (Curiel and Fussman 1965) nos. 166-76, 237-41 and of Heliocles I, *ibid.* nos. 582 and 583 (*cf.* Bopearachchi 1990b: 98). The following coins also have the characteristics of imitations: nos. 119-27, 160-77, 208-15, 229-41; an exhaustive die-study will enable us to confirm this observation.

<sup>60</sup> Narain 1957a: 103-5. This assumption was based on the criterion that considered the coins in conformity with the Attic standard as strictly a currency for Bactria.

d'importance'. Six lines afterwards he says: 'Si Hélioklès n'avait pas été ce dernier souverain, ce n'est pas son monnayage qui aurait été imité, mais celui de son dernier successeur grec'. However, when he tries desperately, at the end of his article (120-30), to defend his old theory according to which despite everything there was at least somewhere in a remote region some Greek power even after the death of Heliocles, he seems to forget that he had already admitted on p. 93, that Heliocles was probably the last Greek king to rule over Bactria.

He puts forward three arguments to defend his theory. Having said on p. 125: 'L'occupation de la Bactriane grecque par les Yüeh-chih a eu pour conséquence la cessation de la frappe de monnaies', he concludes on p. 126: 'l'économie Yüeh-chih, si l'on peut risquer ce terme, n'était pas monétarisée; les Yüeh-chih n'attachaient aucune valeur ni à la monnaie gréco-bactriennes en tant qu'espèce monétaire particulière, ni à l'étalon attique'. I do not have to answer this, because he himself admits on p. 93:

La preuve en est donnée par le monnayage des nomades Yüeh-chih (Yue-zhi) qui conquièrent la Bactriane sur les Grecs. Celui-ci se compose essentiellement de contrefaçons des drachmes et tétradrachmes d'Hélioklès, ce qui revient à dire que les Yüeh-chih (Yue-zhi), n'ayant pas encore de monnayage qui leur fût propre, ont accepté que l'on continue, lorsque c'était nécessaire pour les besoins de l'économie, à battre monnaie au nom et aux types du dernier souverain régnant en Bactriane.<sup>61</sup>

So, if I understood Fussman correctly, the Yuezhi accepted the imitations of Heliocles for economic reasons. If the Yuezhi, as Fussman says, did not show any attachment either to Graeco-Bactrian coins or to the Attic standard, I wonder why all the imitations in the Qunduz hoard are Graeco-Bactrian and struck respecting the Attic standard.<sup>62</sup>

His second argument is (p. 121): 'Si monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques étaient faites pour circuler dans des régions différentes, il faut admettre qu'elles ont été frappées là où elles circulaient, chacune des régions en question disposant d'ateliers monétaires', in order to confirm this he further argues (p. 126): 'la frappe de ces monnaies pour le commerce international est exclue également puisque, s'il en était ainsi, on s'attendrait a) à ce que l'on trouve certaines de ces monnaies en territoires indien, ce qui n'est pas (encore?) le cas', the doubt he had on p. 126, then becomes on p. 127, an absolute truth: 'Toutes les monnaies dont on connaît la provenance proviennent du nord de l'Hindou-Kouch; aucune n'a jamais été trouvée en Inde', but on p. 129, he

<sup>61</sup> Fussman does not seem to understand that not only the coins of Heliocles, but also those of Demetrius I and Eucratides I were imitated. For the imitations of Demetrius I, see *BN*, pl. 4, no. 5, p. 53, E.V. Rtveladze 1995, pl. I, no. 4. For Rtveladze this coin is unreported. He interprets the obverse type as the naked head of the king, but it is very clear from the photograph that the king wears an elephant scalp. It is certainly an imitation copied from a genuine coin of Demetrius I. For the imitations of Eucratides I, see above n. 59, and Zejmal 1983, pls. VII and VIII; Mitchiner 1973, pl. IX.

<sup>62</sup> See above n. 59.

begins to have some doubts once again about what he asserted with so much certainty:

On m'objectera sans doute que certaines de ces monnaies gréco-bactriennes tardives portent les mêmes monogrammes que les monnaies frappées en Inde par les mêmes rois et qu'elles ont donc dû être frappées en Inde. Après tout, peu importe qu'elles aient été frappées en Inde tant qu'on leur reconnaît une valeur d'appropriation symbolique du territoire. Mais si elles ont été frappées en Inde, pourquoi ne les y trouve-t-on pas?

I have quoted these passages to show how Fussman, by making contradictory statements, answers himself most of the objections he raises. Let us take his so-called arguments point by point. Without the least embarrassment, Fussman distorts what I wrote, following P. Bernard, in very clear terms about the function of these coins. Neither P. Bernard nor I ever said that these Graeco-Bactrian coins were issued for international trade. P. Bernard wrote in 1985: 105: '... la frappe par certains souverains indo-grecs de pièces d'étalon attique destinées au commerce avec une région habituée depuis toujours à des pièces d'argent pesant 16 g en moyenne au tétradrachme'. Espousing the first possibility to account for their role I wrote (1990b: 100): 'Although I do not pretend to settle the question, there are many arguments in favour of accepting the Graeco-Bactrian coins in question as a currency issued by the Indo-Greek kings for transactions with their neighbours of Bactria'. So, it is obvious that there was no question of international trade in our hypothesis. If the Graeco-Bactrian coins of the late Indo-Greeks were meant to circulate in Bactria, obviously they should be found where they were in circulation.

Having distorted our hypothesis, Fussman then argues that if the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins were meant to circulate in different regions, one has to accept that they were struck where they circulated, and he draws the conclusion that each region in question had its own mints. Having said that, he then feels very uncomfortable in attributing the monograms depicted on the Attic standard coins of the late Indo-Greeks to the mints Bactria. In his despair, he plays his last card, and raises the question, if these coins were struck in India, why are they not found there? We know that, apart from the coins found in the Qunduz hoard, the provenance of the most of the Attic standard coins issued by late Indo-Greeks are not known. Most of them were purchased in the Peshawar Bazaar, and it is quite difficult to know whether they came from the regions north or south of the Hindu Kush. However, four coins of this class certainly came from the regions south of the Hindu Kush. The unique Attic tetradrachm of Diomedes, with the helmeted bust (cf. *BN*, pl. 45.A), now in the private collection of A. Hollis, was found in the village of Khauzikhelai near Saidu-Sharif.<sup>63</sup> So far, I have come across three coins of this class in the second Mir Zakah deposit. Two unreported tetradrachms of Menander I, now in two private Pakistani collections, deserve particular

<sup>63</sup> I have been able to go the findspot and make my investigations about the discovery of the coin. It was found by a peasant, when removing a big stone.








attention. One coin has the diademed bust of the king to right, wearing a crested helmet, seen from the back, thrusting a spear with his upraised right hand, Athena Alkidemos to left on the reverse and the Greek legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ, in semi-circular form. The other tetradrachm of Menander I has the same reverse type and legend as on *BN*, pl. 28, no. 53 and A, but the obverse has a helmeted bust so far unknown for this series. The third coin from the second Mir Zakah hoard is the already published Attic hemidrachm of Lysias, the smallest denomination ever attested among the unilingual coins struck according to the Attic standard by the late Indo-Greek kings who reigned only in the territories south of the Hindu Kush.<sup>64</sup> If the absence of Graeco-Bactrian coins in the Indian territories is the final objection against admitting that they were struck in mints south of the Hindu Kush, now with these four discoveries Fussman's final argument also becomes untenable. As emphasized earlier, the fact that the Greek domination over Bactria came to an end with the reign of Heliocles I is extremely important in understanding the monetary sequence of the Greeks and their nomadic successors in Bactria and India. The numismatic discoveries made in recent years have not so far jeopardized the classification of the different coinages of the Bactrian and Indian Greeks already established by us.

As discussed elsewhere, the unique commemorative coin struck in the name of Antiochus II (Plate I, no. 1), but with the portrait depicting the physiognomy of Diodotus and his reverse type (Zeus striding to left, hurling thunderbolt), shows that it is Antiochus II who is commemorated, but not Seleucus II.<sup>65</sup> This coin is a decisive element in supporting the view that it was under Antiochus II that Bactria became an independent kingdom. This means that it was towards the middle of the third century BC (c. 250) when Diodotus, the satrap of Bactria and Sogdiana, revolted against his Seleucid master and proclaimed himself king. Thus was born the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. The usual classification established for the Diodoti and their successors in Bactria: Euthydemus I, Demetrius I, Euthydemus II, Agathocles, Pantaleon, Antimachus I, Demetrius II and Eucratides I remain, according to my point of view, undisturbed. Similarly for the Greeks in India, the numismatic sequence proposed of Demetrius I, Agathocles, Pantaleon, Apollodotus I, Antimachus I, Antimachus II and Menander I, is still valid.

However, one objection regarding the chronology for early Bactrian king was made by A.S. Hollis (1994), in his historical interpretation of the already mentioned tax receipt from Sangcharak in Afghanistan. In the first line of the document, one reads: 'In the reign of God Antimachus and Eumenes and Antimachus . . .'. If the third Antimachus mentioned in the document is Antimachus Nikephoros, known from coins, one has to consider, as Hollis

<sup>64</sup> Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995: 59-60, no. 1069. Antialcidas is the other Indo-Greek king for whom a series of smaller denomination is so far known (unilingual drachms: cf. *BN*, pl. 39, nos. 3 and 4).

<sup>65</sup> Bopearachchi 1994d; Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995: no. 1057.

(1994: 272) correctly points out, either: 'the regnal year of all three kings, supposing that they all started to reign at the same time', or 'the regnal year of the king mentioned first (Theos Antimachus), who was the senior and most important ruler, but not of his junior partners'. In either case, the reigns of both kings should be considered as overlapping and Antimachus II should be considered as a contemporary of the first. So ten to fifteen years that separate them according to my chronology should be reduced. I do not see any difficulty in doing that, while still keeping to the already established coin sequence of Apollodotus I—Antimachus I—Menander I. I have shown, following D.W. MacDowall, that Apollodotus I was certainly the immediate successor of Agathocles, Pantaleon and Antimachus I in the territories south of the Hindu Kush.<sup>66</sup> This chronological order, now well established from numismatic evidence, shows that Apollodotus I was responsible for the innovation of drachms of 2.45 g, bearing a bilingual legend and struck according to the so-called Indian standard, which became the new standard for all the Indo-Greek territories, even long after the disappearance of Greek power in India.<sup>67</sup> A.D.H. Bivar correctly showed that Apollodotus I was succeeded by a second Antimachus, who calls himself Nikephoros.<sup>68</sup> The first group of Menander's silver coins has two major characteristics already found on Antimachus II's coins: the same disposition of the continuous legend  for the Greek and  for the Kharoshthi, and the three identical monograms: , , .<sup>69</sup>

Secondly, Hollis (1994: 277) proposes, following the suggestion made to him by D.W. MacDowall, to date the beginning of Antimachus I's reign shortly after 175 BC. This is based on the assumption that 'Antimachus put ΘΕΟΥ upon his coins in direct and immediate imitation of Antiochus IV (176-164 BC)'.<sup>70</sup> Hollis (1994: 278) has proposed c. 174-165 BC for the reign of Antimachus I together with his two sons Eumenes and the younger Antimachus. According to the same chronology of Hollis: 'After the defeat and death of Theos Antimachus (and Eumenes?) at the hands of Eucratides c. 166 BC, the younger Antimachus escapes to his Euthydemid ally Apollodotus I south of the Hindu Kush, whom he succeeds in that region'. Hollis then concludes that: 'Antimachus achieves sufficient military success against the forces of Eucratides to justify issuing coins with the epithet Nikephoros and the type of a winged Victory before he too is defeated by Eucratides, c. 155 BC, giving way to the most celebrated of Indo-Greek kings, Menander I (c. 155-30 BC)'. Although I have no major objection to this reconstitution of the chronology, based on the known coin sequence, a question arises regarding the beginning of Menander's reign.

The discovery of the unprecedented number of coins in recent hoards has

<sup>66</sup> See *BN*, pp. 62-4. MacDowall and Wilson 1960.

<sup>67</sup> Bopearachchi 1990a: 63-6, 84 and 85.

<sup>68</sup> Bivar 1970.

<sup>69</sup> Bopearachchi 1990a: 83.

<sup>70</sup> Hollis 1994: 277.

enabled me to confirm the chronological sequence proposed from the coins of Eucratides I and Menander I. I may summarize the historical implications of some of these coins already published elsewhere. The unique gold stater of Eucratides I, belonging to the earliest issues of this king and depicting the diademed bust of the king on the obverse and the Dioscuri on horse-back, prancing to right, on the reverse, shows that by issuing gold coins just after his usurpation, this king wanted to confirm his legitimacy to the throne of Bactria.<sup>71</sup> The other important series of Eucratides I, now known to us through three tetradrachms, came from Ai Khanum IV. The obverse has the usual diademed bust of the king, wearing the crested helmet of the second group of Eucratides I, and on the reverse, mounted Dioscuri, prancing to right but the uniqueness of this series lies in the fact that in the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ is arranged in two parallel horizontal lines, not in a semi-circular line, like the coins of the second group (Plate I, nos. 8 and 9).<sup>72</sup> The disposition of the legend likewise is closer to the first group of his coins (Plate I, no. 6). Yet the first group of coins bears the simple legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ, without the title 'megas'. So the new series should be considered as an intermediary group. I have shown that the importance of this series can only be understood when it is correctly placed in the evolution of the legend arrangement of Eucratides' coins in relation to the exceptional and famous 20-stater gold piece in the Cabinet des Medailles of Paris.<sup>73</sup>

A certain number of coins of Menander I also enable us to understand the numismatic sequence of his coinage. Developing the hypothesis put forward by A.D.H. Bivar (1970), I have shown elsewhere the transition of the legend adjustment of the bilingual coins of Menander from continuous legends to separated legends.<sup>74</sup>








Menander's silver and copper coins can be divided into two groups. The first group of silver coins has two major characteristics already found on Antimachus II's coins: the disposition of the legend ☉ for the Greek and ☽

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995, no. 1063.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Bopearachchi 1994c, 1995b: 618-20.

<sup>73</sup> Bopearachchi 1994c: 12-13; also Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995: 58-9. We can observe on the reverse of the 20-stater gold medallion, just under the semi-circular legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, some traces of letters engraved horizontally. In our analysis, we have assumed that the artist who was entrusted with the execution of the die had first engraved the legend in a horizontal line, but having realized then that the letters of the two words were too close to one another in a single horizontal line, he decided to dispose the first part of the legend in a semi-circular form. The few letters which can still be seen beneath it are the remaining traces of the badly obliterated horizontal legend. This was the deduction that we made out of the data available to us at that time. Our new series shows that it is no longer a mere deduction but a reality. The engraver just copied this series, new to us, but not to him. However, one can very well see that the letters are engraved very tightly because of the lack of space to accommodate fifteen letters in a straight line. Now we understand why the engraver decided to change the disposition.

<sup>74</sup> Bopearachchi 1990a.

for the Kharoshthi, and the three identical monograms: . The first group of copper coins is also issued with the same monograms and according to the same square module of 22 × 22 mm and weight of 9.80 g. Menander's second group of silver coins is characterized by a different disposition of legends:  for the Greek and  for the Kharoshthi, by the appearance of many new mint marks, Σ, R, A, E, E, X, I, N, M, W, and by the introduction of an Indian-standard tetradrachm of 9.80 g. With a second group of square copper coins, Menander made an attempt to introduce a new standard for the issues of this metal. Since the new system was different from the former one, he added Greek numerals for each denomination that correspond to the increasing weights.<sup>75</sup> The first coin which deserves our attention in this respect is an Indian-standard tetradrachm found in the second Mir Zakah deposit.<sup>76</sup> At first sight, it bears a close resemblance to the drachms of Menander's first group of coins, with the helmeted bust of Athena, owl and uninterrupted legend:  – . The new coin has three important characteristics: firstly, it is of a different denomination, not a drachm but a tetradrachm, secondly, on the obverse, instead of Athena, the portrait of the king is depicted, and finally though the Kharoshthi legend on the reverse is disposed without interruption: , the Greek legend on the obverse is disposed separately;  as on the second group of his coins. On the series of tetradrachms with his own bust and Athena Alkidemos that follow this new series, both Greek and Kharoshthi legends are disposed separately. This novelty was then adopted by all his successors. So I concluded that the new coin must have resulted from a moment of hesitation when the new denomination was introduced in Menander's second group of coins, by imitating the twenty-stater coin of Eucratides I.

So far not a single major objection has been raised against the following numismatic sequence that I proposed in 1990 (see Figure 2):

However, Frank Holt (1992) reviewing *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques: catalogue raisonné*, made an important objection to the chronology that I proposed for the second group of Eucratides coins with the helmeted bust. In my chronology, Eucratides introduced these coins after the conquest of Indian territories, to the detriment of Menander I, c. 155-150 BC.<sup>77</sup> Holt (1992: 221) has correctly contested this chronology, by arguing that since Eucratides' *megasthenes* type with charging Dioscuri was imitated by the rebel Seleucid satrap Timarchus in Media and Babylonia whose coinage has been well dated to 162 BC, the introduction of the second group of Eucratides' coins cannot be dated any later than this year.<sup>78</sup>

In this situation, we are left with one alternative. The first is to accept, as we have observed earlier, the transition of Menander's coinage—from continuous legend to interrupted legend, from drachms to tetradrachms and

<sup>75</sup> Bopearachchi 1990a.

<sup>76</sup> Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995: no. 307.

<sup>77</sup> *BN*, p. 86.

<sup>78</sup> Also see Hollis 1994: 277-8.

Kings	Disposition of the Legends		Monograms	
	Greek	Kharoshthi		
Apollodotus I	☉	—	☉	M Φ K
Antimachus II	☉	—	☉	
Menander I	☉	—	☉	
Eucratides I	☉	—	☉	M Φ K
Menander I	☉	—	☉	M Φ K A Ψ R 191 E X
Zoilus I	☉	—	☉	M Φ K A Ψ

FIGURE 2: Numismatic sequence of the early Indo-Greek kings  
(cf. Bopearachchi 1990a: 83)

finally from the square module of 22 × 22 mm and weight of 9.80 g of the bronze coinage into a complex standard of several issues—as a result of the conquest by Eucratides of Menander’s territories and his mints. If there is no serious objection to the sequence of Apollodotus I—Antimachus II—Menander I—Eucratides I—Menander I, already proposed earlier, then one has to conclude that Menander I started as early as 165 BC, in other words, before the introduction of separated legends by Eucratides I c. 162 BC. If we stick to this possibility, Antimachus II should be considered as a contemporary of Menander I. There is no valid reason, as far as I am concerned, to object to such a possibility since the drachms of Antimachus II are similar to the ones issued by Menander I at the beginning of his reign. Both coinages bear the same monograms: M, Φ, K, and are characterized by the same disposition of the legend. The other alternative is to reject categorically the impact of Eucratides I’s bilingual coins on the second group of coins of Menander I and to accept that the coinages of both Menander and Eucratides developed independently without any influence on each other. This alternative has the advantage of keeping to the same year of 155 BC that W.W. Tarn and many other scholars proposed for various reasons as the first year of Menander’s reign. Further investigations and new numismatic evidence, based on an exhaustive die-study, may enable us to find a sound solution to the problem. It is certain anyhow that Eucratides I and Menander I were close contemporaries.

However, the composition of recent coin hoards, like many others attested earlier, confirms the numismatic sequence developed by me in recent years<sup>79</sup> The Bajaur hoard III, like the Hazarajat hoard,<sup>80</sup> is composed of coins of Apollodotus I, Antimachus II, Menander I. The Wesa hoard contained a silver bilingual drachm of Eucratides I (cf. *BN*, series 17) along with coins of Apollodotus I, Antimachus II and Menander I, Lysias and Antialcidas. It confirms that Eucratides’s bilingual coins were also in circulation in the territories south of the Hindu Kush within a restricted period between Apollodotus I and Antialcidas. The hoard from Mian Khan Sangou, to which

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Bopearachchi 1990a, *BN*, 70, 90, 94, 100 and 127.

<sup>80</sup> MacDowall 1991.

I had full access, is exactly similar to the two Bajaur hoards found in 1942.<sup>81</sup> The Mian Khan Sanghou hoard is composed of 5 coins of Apollodotus I, 12 of Antimachus II, 50 of Menander I and 8 of Zoilus I. In the two hoards found in the area of Bajaur, hundreds of coins of Apollodotus I, Antimachus II and Menander I are associated with a very small number of Zoilus I's coins—1 coin in the first hoard and 4 in the second.<sup>82</sup> This small number, in contrast with the large number of coins of the predecessors of Zoilus I, gives a clear *terminus post quem*. Relying on the composition of hoards and the monogram pattern, I have considered Zoilus I as the immediate successor of Menander I (*BN*, 90-1). Recently the C.G.N. auction catalogue announcing a coin of Menander I (no. 825) as overstruck on a coin of Zoilus I, concluded that Menander and Zoilus did rule concurrently.<sup>83</sup> Unfortunately, I have not seen the coin personally, but the only element of the undertype looks like a wreath. If this is really the filleted wreath, one has to accept that it is the undertype of Zoilus I, because he is the only king, to our present knowledge, who depicted Heracles holding a wreath on the bilingual drachms. If there is a guarantee that it is overstruck on a coin of Zoilus I, it is interesting to note that Menander's coin with the helmeted bust and the interrupted legend belongs to the later series of coins. However, until further confirmation, I shall leave this question in abeyance.

Our knowledge of the Greek kings who succeeded Menander depends entirely on numismatic data. The sequence proposed for these kings, purely on numismatic evidence, especially the composition of hoards, overstrikes, monogram pattern, geographical distribution of coins and stylistic features, still remains unchanged. The importance of overstrikes is crucial to establish a chronological order of the Indo-Greeks whose existence is only known through coins.<sup>84</sup> A very interesting bronze coin of Amyntas (type *BN*, 14) overstruck on a coin of Heliocles II (type *BN*, 7) was recently published by R.C. Senior and S. Mirza (1996). On the obverse of the coin, the head of Heliocles II can be seen behind the head of Zeus Mithra wearing a Phrygian cap and holding a spear on his left shoulder. On the reverse, behind the standing Athena holding the spear and shield, appears the elephant walking to left of Heliocles II. The Greek legend of Heliocles II is clearly visible. On the reverse, as their drawing shows, the Kharoshthi legends of both kings are overlapping. According to my chronology Heliocles II reigned c. 110-100 BC and Amyntas 95-90 BC, and the overstrike confirms this sequence.<sup>85</sup>

It is beyond the scope of this paper to deal with the chronology that I have attributed to each king. My only intention here is to discuss the main

<sup>81</sup> Haughton 1946: 141-5.

<sup>82</sup> In Bajaur I (*IGCH*, no. 1845): 1 drachm = *BN*, Zoilus I, series 3 B; in Bajaur II (*IGCH*, no. 1846) 4 drachms = *BN*, Zoilus I, series 3 B.

<sup>83</sup> Classical Numismatic Group, auction 37, March 1996, London, no. 825.










<sup>84</sup> For detailed account of these overstrikes, see Bopearachchi 1989b.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. *BN*, p. 453.












chronological markers which enable us to understand the penetration of the different nomadic groups at different times into the territories of Greeks. As we shall see now, the recent hoard evidence further confirms this chronological framework. The composition of the Wesa, Khauzikhelai, Attock, Siranawali I and II hoards have groups, as one would expect, of Menander's successors: Lysias—Antialcidas—Philoxenus and Amyntas.

Of all the hoards found in Pakistan in recent years, the one from Sarai Saleh is perhaps the most significant. The composition of this hoard, the very high frequency of certain monograms, and its provenance, are extremely important in understanding the chronological sequence of the Greek and Scythian kings who were the successors of Maues in Taxila and Pushkalavati. From its composition, we make the following observations:

- A. Among the Greek kings, only those who reigned over the territories of Gandhara and west Punjab are represented in this hoard; most of these coins mainly bear the following monograms: , , , , , , , , and  which are usually attributed to these regions.<sup>86</sup>
- B. None of the Greek or Scythian rulers of the east Punjab (for example, Dionysius, Apollonophanes, Zoilus II, Strato II and III, Rajuvula) is attested in the hoard.
- C. Apart from one coin, which in itself is very significant in this context, none of the posthumous coins of Hermaeus is known so far in this hoard.
- D. The Indo-Scythian coins stop at Azes I, giving a terminus to the burial of the hoard, no coins of Azilises or Azes II were found in the hoard.

Artemidorus, most probably the immediate predecessor of Archebius, whose existence was previously known from 36 coins,<sup>87</sup> is represented in the Sarai Saleh hoard by more than 50 drachms and tetradrachms (Plate II, nos. 14-18). A certain number of unreported series, and known series with new monograms have already been published elsewhere.<sup>88</sup> Two drachms of Artemidorus,<sup>89</sup> depicting the king on prancing horse (Plate II, no. 17), remind us of the same reverse type depicted on Menander II Dikaios' coin (*BN*, pl. 49, K) which is also found in the same hoard, suggesting the type in question is the work of the same engraver.<sup>90</sup> I have shown elsewhere, on the basis of style, monograms and hoards, that Menander II Dikaios should be separated chronologically

<sup>86</sup> See for example, Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995: : Strato I, no. 420; : Strato I, no. 421; Heliocles II, no. 467: : Heliocles II, no. 468; : Polyxenus, no. 471; : Apollodotus II, nos. 654, 655  + : Apollodotus II, no. 657; : Hippostratus, no. 660; : Hippostratus, nos. 667, 668.



<sup>87</sup> Cf. *BN*, Artemidorus, series 1-9, pp. 316-18.

<sup>88</sup> Bopearachchi 1994b, nos. 4-13.

<sup>89</sup> Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995: no. 510; *Senior Consultants*, List 1, no. 76.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*: no. 497; *ibid.*: no. 64.

from Menander I Soter.<sup>91</sup> These series of Artemidorus and Menander II Dikaios attested in the Sarai Saleh hoard give further support to considering both kings as close contemporaries (c. 90-85 BC) ruling in the Taxila region.

A coin of Artemidorus first published by R.C. Senior from this hoard has a great significance.<sup>92</sup> The interest in this coin lies in the fact that it is overtrucked on a coin of Hermaeus AD Calliope. In the field, to the left of Artemidorus' portrait, traces of Calliope's hair, diadem, nose, mouth, chin and neck can be seen. Consequently, Artemidorus should be considered as a close contemporary of Hermaeus. This overstrike proves now beyond doubt the chronology that I have proposed for Artemidorus, by taking into account the style, monogram pattern and provenance of his coins. According to my chronology, Artemidorus reigned c. 85 BC and Hermaeus began his reign c. 90 BC.<sup>93</sup> There were at least twenty coins of Hermaeus' lifetime issues in the hoard, but to my knowledge there was only one posthumous coin in it. The presence in this hoard of this coin,<sup>94</sup> attributed to the 5th group of posthumous Hermaeus (Plate II, no. 19)<sup>95</sup> bearing the monogram , together with a coin of Apollodotus II<sup>96</sup> bearing a variant of the same monogram , is extremely significant. This coin would have been struck after the death of Apollodotus II and Hippostratus and before the conquest of Azes I. Along with the coins of Azes I, this posthumous coin would have been one of the last additions to the hoard before its burial.

As discussed above, the date of the 78th year (of an unspecified era) of the great king, Moga (Maues) the great, in the copper-plate inscription of Patika is of little help for determining a *terminus ante quem* for the arrival of Maues at Taxila. However, the chronology that I propose for Maues' reign in Taxila c. 90-80 BC can be totally defended by the numismatic sequence established for his predecessors and successors.<sup>97</sup>

The Sarai Saleh hoard throws light on the general conspectus proposed by G.K. Jenkins in 1955 (22-3). As Jenkins correctly pointed out, Greeks under the leadership of Apollodotus II were subsequently able to regain the territories of the Punjab which they had lost to the Indo-Scythian Maues. However, they were finally expelled from this region c. 55 BC by another Scythian prince, Azes I, who dethroned Hippostratus, the last Greek king to reign in the west Punjab, including Taxila and Pushkalavati. The overstrikes give a very clear chronological sequence for the Greek and Scythian kings who were the successors of Maues in Taxila and Pushkalavati. The earlier date of Maues in

<sup>91</sup> Bopearachchi 1990a.

<sup>92</sup> *Senior Consultants*, List 1, no. 65. Plate 1, no. 4; also see Bopearachchi 1994b: no. 4, 1996b: 626, pl. 2, no. 14.

<sup>93</sup> *BN*, Hermaeus, 110, 112-18, 453.

<sup>94</sup> Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995: no. 601.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Bopearachchi 1993a: 48.

<sup>96</sup> Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995: no. 658.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Bopearachchi 1991.

relation to Apollodotus II is revealed by an overstrike by the latter on a bronze of the former.<sup>98</sup> The Indo-Scythian Azes I, on the other hand, overstruck bronzes of Apollodotus II<sup>99</sup> and of his successor Hippostratus.<sup>100</sup>

The new coin series, bearing already attested monograms but in a new context, that have come to light in recent hoards, further confirm the framework proposed by Jenkins (1955) and later developed by me.<sup>101</sup> We give below (Figure 3) an updated table of the principal monograms of the Greek and Scythian kings who succeeded Maues in the Punjab.


	Monograms							
Kings	Western Punjab							Eastern Punjab
Maues	ⲕ	ⲁ		ⲛ	ⲙ	ⲙ		
Telephus	ⲕ	ⲁ						
Apollodotus II				ⲛ	ⲙ	ⲙ	ⲙ	ⲙ
Dionysius								ⲙ
Hippostratus		ⲙ	ⲁ		ⲙ			
Azes I		ⲙ	ⲁ				ⲙ	
Zoilus II								
Apollophanes							ⲙ	ⲙ
Strato II								ⲙ
Rajuvula								ⲙ






FIGURE 3: Numismatic sequence of the last Indo-Greek kings


On the basis of findspots and the stylistic quality of the coins, the monograms ⲕ, ⲁ, ⲙ, ⲁ, ⲛ, ⲙ, ⲙ, ⲙ, and ⲙ are attributed to the west Punjab (Taxila and Charsadda) and ⲙ, ⲙ, ⲙ to the east Punjab (Sagala). Telephus, who was a close contemporary of Apollodotus II, borrowed two of Maues' monograms: ⲕ and ⲁ. Apart from the monograms, the posteriority of Telephus is now attested by a bronze coin of this king overstruck on a coin of Archebius (Plate II, no. 21).<sup>102</sup>

The monogram ⲙ was inaugurated by Maues, and it reappears first on the coins of Apollodotus II whose later status is attested by an overstrike, and then on those of Hippostratus, under the form ⲙ. The absence of the monogram ⲙ on the coins of Zoilus II can be justified by the fact that he never reigned in Taxila. The absence of the monogram ⲛ on the coinage of Apollodotus II was flagrant.<sup>103</sup> A tetradrachm of Apollodotus II from the Sarai Saleh hoard with two combined monograms ⲛ and ⲙ, one next to the other, that I have published

<sup>98</sup> Jenkins 1955: 14; Bopearachchi, 1989b: 72, no. 18.  
<sup>99</sup> Bopearachchi 1989b: 76, no. 22.  
<sup>100</sup> Bopearachchi 1989b: 77, 78, nos. 23, 24.  
<sup>101</sup> See for example, *BN*: 127 and Bopearachchi 1993a: 62.  
<sup>102</sup> Bopearachchi 1995a, 1996b: 626-7, pl. 2, no. 16; for further arguments on Telephus' chronology, see Bopearachchi 1989a.  
<sup>103</sup> Cf. *BN*: 127, fig. 11.

elsewhere, now confirms beyond doubt that Apollodotus II was the immediate successor of Maues and that both reigned within a short lapse of time in the same region.<sup>104</sup> The monogram  was attributed to Taxila by Jenkins (1955), and it is interesting to note that most of the coins of Maues from the Sarai Saleh hoard bear the same monogram.<sup>105</sup> This same monogram appeared, without discontinuity, on almost all the coinages of Greek kings who reigned in this region, e.g. Strato I, Heliocles II, Polyxenus, Amyntas, Menander II and Archebius.<sup>106</sup> It was probably from Archebius that Maues picked it up.

The monogram , also introduced by Maues, was taken by Telephus; it appears later under the form  on Hippostratus' coins, and finally becomes one of the most common marks of Azes I, along with  introduced by Hippostratus himself. It was Azes I himself who definitively established the Indo-Scythian dynasty in the region of the west Punjab. A drachm of Apollodotus II from the Sarai Saleh hoard, still unpublished, bearing the monogram , links the coinage of this king with that of Azes.<sup>107</sup> Many coins of Azes I bearing this monogram under the form , were found in the Sarai Saleh hoard.<sup>108</sup> It is noteworthy that stylistically the portrait of the king on the Apollodotus' drachm, is similar to the one issued in the west Punjab mints.

The general numismatic sequence proposed by G.K. Jenkins (1955: 2) for the Indo-Scythians: Vonones/Spalahores, Vonones/Spalagadames, Spalirises/Spalagadames, Spalirises, Spalirises/Azes I, Azes I, Azilises and Azes II, still remains valid today. This chronology is further confirmed by a tetradrachm of Spalirises with Azes I overstruck on an early posthumous coin of Hermaeus (BN, 10 B).<sup>109</sup> When the coin is rotated 90°, on the reverse above Zeus' head, one would see the monogram  composed of *omicron* and *alpha*. Some details of the undertype can also be detected. Under the hip of the standing Zeus appear the legs of the throne of the seated Zeus. I have dated the first group of Hermaeus' imitations to which the overstruck coin belongs between 70-55 BC. As we know today, the coins of Spalirises with Azes I should be dated c. 60 BC.

The transition from Azes I to Azilises can be detected from the coins bearing the Greek legend in the name of Azes and the Prakrit legend in the name of Azilises on one series (cf. Mitchiner 1975/6: type 764), and exactly the opposite on another series (cf. Mitchiner 1975/6: type 766). The overstrikes discussed by Jenkins (1955: 3) confirm that Azilises was preceded by both Spalirises and Azes I. The transition from the king on horseback holding spear,

<sup>104</sup> Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995: no. 657, a second specimen with the same monograms was published by Senior 1995: no. 81.

<sup>105</sup> See for example, Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995: nos. 681-2.













<sup>106</sup> See BN: 406, no. 244.

<sup>107</sup> This unpublished coin in the collection of MacDonald was brought to my notice by my good friend R.C. Senior. This coin belongs to the BN, series 1.

<sup>108</sup> See for example, Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995: nos. 681-2, 704-9.

<sup>109</sup> Senior 1996: 14.

characteristic of Azes I's coins, to the king holding whip of Azes II's coins, is attested by the coins of Azilises, that depict both types.<sup>110</sup> The next transition from Azes I's coins to Azes II's coins depicting Zeus standing holding Nike, one of the commonest of the latter's coins, can also be traced on coins.<sup>111</sup> It is interesting to note that this reverse type is not generally attested on Azes I's coins, except for this series known to us through five coins.<sup>112</sup> It appears only on those coins of Azes II depicting on the obverse the king on horseback holding a whip. On the exceptional series, which marks the transition between Azes I and II, the obverse is characterized by the king on horseback holding a spear. The final observation to draw from this numismatic sequence is that Hippostratus was the last Indo-Greek king to reign over the region of the west Punjab (Taxila-Pushkalavati) and that he was dethroned by the Indo-Scythian Azes I, who was succeeded by Azilises and Azes II.

Now let us examine the numismatic sequence of the kings who reigned in the east Punjab. As we know now, the royal portrait on silver coins of Apollodotus II, bearing the monograms , , ,  and  attributed to the west Punjab, is of a relatively good workmanship, but the portrait on the coins with , ,  and  is larger and coarser. The monogram  introduced by Apollodotus II, who reigned in the east Punjab as well, was borrowed by his immediate successor Dionysius and then by Zoilus II. Likewise the monogram  which appears for the first time on the coins of Apollodotus II, reappears for the last time on the coins of Zoilus II. It is not impossible that we will find a coin of Dionysius with the same monogram. Inaugurated by Zoilus II, the monogram  that I attribute to Sagala continues without interruption on the coins of Apollophanes, then of Strato II and III who were the last Indo-Greek king in India, and finally on the issues of the Scythian Rajuvula who dethroned the latter. The total absence of Apollodotus II's coins, with the monograms attributed to the east Punjab, and of the issues of Zoilus II, Dionysius, Apollophanes, Strato II and III in the Sarai Saleh hoard is not accidental, because the geographical entity to which the present findspot belongs is the west Punjab. On the contrary, in the important recent coin hoard from Akhnoor published by R.C. Senior (1991, 1992, 1993), only the issues of these late Indo-Greek kings were attested. The hoard was composed of the coins of Zoilus II, Apollophanes, Strato II and III, Bhadrayasha and Azes II. In its

<sup>110</sup> For example in the series, Mitchiner 1975/6: type 767-71, the king holds the spear and on *ibid.*, 776-86, the king holds the whip.

<sup>111</sup> Mitchiner 1975/6: type 836.

<sup>112</sup> The coin in the British Museum was first published by Jenkins 1955: pl. III, 8, followed by Mitchiner 1975/6: type 836. The second tetradrachm of this series is in the private collection of Aman ur Rahman, see Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995: no. 750. The unique drachm of this series in the Kabul Museum photographed by R.C. Senior is illustrated in Mitchiner 1975/6: type 837. Two more tetradrachms of this series are in the private collection of R.C. Senior. We have attributed this series to Azes II following M. Mitchiner, yet one cannot exclude the possibility that it was struck by Azes I at the end of his reign.

composition, this hoard comprises most of the coins found in the Sialkot, Akhnoor and Kashmir regions.<sup>113</sup> The absence of the coins of Hippostratus and Azes I in this hoard is very significant. By publishing this hoard R.C. Senior (1991) contested the classification proposed by A.N. Lahiri (1965: 182-4) and followed by M. Mitchiner (1975/6: types 468-75).<sup>114</sup> According to this classification Strato II first issued the coins with a younger portrait (*BN*, Strato II, series 1) and then a second series with an old portrait (*BN*, Strato II, series 2), both with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ/ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ; finally the same Strato II struck coins with the old portrait with the legend in Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩC ΣΩΤΗΡΟC CΤΡΑΤΩΝΟC ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛ/CTΡΑ ΤΩΝΟC (lunate sigmas), and in Kharoshthi: *Maharajasa tratarasa Stratasa putrasa casa priyapita/Stratasa*. (*BN*, Strato II, series 6). According to Senior's new classification, the coins of the second group, with the old portrait and simple legend (*BN*, Strato II, series 2), become the first issues of Strato II followed by the coins with the name of his son (*BN*, Strato II, series 6). Senior (1991a) attributes the series with the younger portrait to Strato III. He proposes this new classification by taking the following points into consideration:

- A. Coins with the old portrait and simple legend (*BN*, Strato II, series 2) have a slightly younger 'old portrait' than the joint coins (*BN*, Strato II, series 6).
- B. These two issues are linked by the use of Kharoshthi *aksharas* 𑀅 and 𑀆 on some coins.
- C. The early coins weigh around 2.35 g but the best Strato III coins in the hoard with: 𑀅𑀆 and 𑀆 are the most corrupt and seem to be on a lighter standard.
- D. In the hoard (Punjab III) published by Mitchiner (1975/6: 247-8) there were only Strato III and Rajuvula coins and no Strato II or joint issues.

There is a certain truth in what R.C. Senior says, though one can contest all four of his principal arguments. It is dangerous to rely on the slight differences in the portrait between the two series, because towards the end of Greek rule in India, the portraits which have the appearance of an old man with shrunken jaws are a mere caricature. Concerning his second point, some coins of the two series bearing the Kharoshthi *aksharas*: 𑀅 and 𑀆, can also be used after all as an argument to show that the joint issues simply followed the coins with the old portrait and simple legend. If the best Strato III coins in the hoard are lighter, it may be used as evidence to show that the so-called Strato III (*BN*, Series 1) coins were in circulation for a longer period, so are an early issue. His fourth argument is of course convincing, if we are certain about the composition of the hoard Punjab III. As Mitchiner himself admits, regarding the three Punjab hoards, we do not know their exact provenance,

<sup>113</sup> For a résumé of these hoards, see *BN*, 130-1.

<sup>114</sup> I also followed the same classification, cf. *BN*, 369-72.



and it is not impossible that all the coins were found in one hoard and later reached the London market as three separate lots.<sup>115</sup> There is, however, a stronger argument against Senior's classification. On the coins that we consider as the joint issues (*BN*, Strato II, series 6), the Greek legend ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC CΩTHPOC CTPATΩNOC KAI ΦΙΛ / CTPATΩNOC is written with lunate *sigmas*, and on the Strato II coins with a younger portrait (*BN*, Strato II, series 1), the Greek legend has the usual lettering already attested on the coins of his predecessors. This element is a clear indication that our Strato II's coins should be classified before the introduction of lunate *sigmas* on the late joint series. For these reasons Senior's new classification, as far as I am concerned, remains uncertain.<sup>116</sup> However, no objections have been made against the numismatic sequence proposed by Jenkins followed by D.W. MacDowall, J. Cribb and me.<sup>117</sup> According to this sequence Strato II and III were the last Indo-Greek kings to reign in India, and they were dethroned by the Scythian Rajuvula<sup>118</sup> whose coinage is characterized by the common Athena Alkidemos, the predominant type of the late Indo-Greeks with the unique monogram ΕΥ. Rajuvula's round lead coins of about 8 and 4 g from the Punjab were derived directly from an east Punjab denomination of Strato II.<sup>119</sup> Rajuvula following Strato II's issues, first struck lead coins according to the standard of 8 g.<sup>120</sup> But later he reduced the weight to 6.5 g, and it is this standard that Azes II used for his coinage.<sup>121</sup> The presence of two coins of Azes II attributed to a later series in the Akhnoor hoard is significant in this context.

Let us now examine the numismatic sequence in the Paropamisadae and Gandhara. As I have explained elsewhere, the key to our understanding of the destruction of Indo-Greek power in the regions of the Paropamisadae and Gandhara by the Yuezhi (who later came to be known as the Kushans), lies in the different coinages struck in the name of Hermaeus.<sup>122</sup> Hermaeus was a contemporary of Archebius but reigned in different territories, as is revealed

<sup>115</sup> According to Mitchiner (1975/6: 242-8) the first two hoards reached Messrs. Spink and Sons 1974 and the third Messrs. A.H. Baldwin and Sons, unfortunately the year is not indicated.

<sup>116</sup> Concerning the isolated coin struck in the name of Strato that Senior (1993) attributes to Strato IV, further evidence is necessary before taking a decision on the question.

<sup>117</sup> Jenkins 1955; MacDowall 1973, 1977; Cribb 1984, 1985a, 1985b; Bopearachchi 1991.

<sup>118</sup> The Mathura Lion Capital inscription refers to the Mahasatrap Rajuvula (Konow 1929: 30-40). Another inscription on the Lion Capital mentions the satrap Soḍāsa, son of the Mahasatrap Rajuvula.

<sup>119</sup> MacDowall 1977: 191. For the lead coins of Strato II, see *BN*, series 3-5 and 7, 8; and of Rajuvula, see Mitchiner 1975/6: types 905, 906.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. Mitchiner 1975/6: type 905.

<sup>121</sup> Forthcoming article by Cribb (1996).

<sup>122</sup> See for the most recent contribution on this subject, Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995: 37-44.









by his monograms. While Archebius was ruling in the west Punjab at Taxila (M), Hermaeus occupied the Paropamisadae (Alexandria of the Caucasus K) and Gandhara (Charsadda B). Although the kingdom of Archebius (in the Indus Valley and centred on Taxila) was taken over by a Scythian king named Maues, the Greeks under the leadership of Apollodotus II were subsequently able to regain these lost territories for a short period, but in contrast after the death of Hermaeus, Greek power in the Paropamisadae and Gandhara came to an end.

The Yuezhi who had invaded Bactria crossed the Hindu Kush mountains the natural rampart which had once protected the Mauryan empire from Greek expansion, and later the Indo-Greek kingdom from nomad invasion, and conquered the Paropamisadae and Gandhara, dethroning Hermaeus, c. 70 BC. They were no doubt the same nomads who, having conquered Bactria, copied the silver tetradrachms of Heliocles I, the last Greek king to rule north of the Hindu Kush. Having penetrated into the Paropamisadae, the same nomad conquerors began, as they were accustomed to, to imitate the coins of Hermaeus, the last Greek king to rule in these regions. This is also revealed by the findspots of his coins, both lifetime and posthumous, found in large quantities in the Paropamisadae, Gandhara and the region of Gardez-Ghazni.









The absence of the coins of Maues and of Azes I and the great abundance of coins Azes II and those minted in the name of Hermaeus in the Paropamisadae suggest that neither Maues nor Azes I ever occupied that region. In the first Mir Zakah deposit, the lifetime and posthumous coins in the name of Hermaeus alone or with that of his wife Calliope are represented by 928 coins, against only one coin of Maues.<sup>123</sup> I have seen more than 3,000 tetradrachms of Azes II and nearly 2,000 specimens of posthumous imitations of Hermaeus among 300 kg from the second deposit of Mir Zakah that I was able to examine rapidly in the Peshawar bazaar. The absence of Azes I's coins in the Paropamisadae is explained by the presence of the imitations of Hermaeus, minted in large number by the nomads who occupied that region for a long period. For these reasons A.K. Narain's hypothesis according to which Azes I conquered the Paropamisadae after the death of Hermaeus c. 55 BC can no longer be maintained.<sup>124</sup> The Greek power in the Paropamisadae and Gandhara came to an end with the Yuezhi invasion. This conquest may have taken place a few years after the time when Archebius lost his territories in the west Punjab to the Indo-Scythian Maues. It is very important to underline here that the Taxila excavations did not yield any of the silver denominations of Hermaeus. The 263 bronze coins in the name of Hermaeus found in the excavations belong to the later posthumous series. The absence of Hermaeus' lifetime and of his earliest posthumous issues in the Taxila excavations is counterbalanced by the presence of hundreds of coins of Maues and Azes I at this site.

















<sup>123</sup> Curiel and Schlumberger 1953: 79, 96.

<sup>124</sup> Narain 1957a: 162-4.

K.W. Dobbins (1970a: 307-26) should be credited for showing convincingly that all the coins in the name of Hermaeus must be considered as posthumous except the ones characterized by a good style and workmanship and bearing the monograms: , , , , , , , , frequently found on the coins that circulated in the Indo-Greek kingdom before him. I have developed this theory and proposed a classification on the basis of style, monograms, die axis, overstrikes, legends and metal.<sup>125</sup>

In order to understand the chronological sequence of different groups of coins in the name of Hermaeus, I reproduce here the most recent classification proposed by me.<sup>126</sup>

*Group 1:* All the coins of Hermaeus characterized by a good style and workmanship and bearing the monograms , , , , , , , , frequently found on the coins that circulated in the Indo-Greek kingdom before him, belong to the first group. They alone are the life time issues of Hermaeus.<sup>127</sup>





*Group 2:* All the coins belonging to the following groups, including group 2, are, according to our classification, posthumous issues. The coins bearing the following principal monograms , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , belong to the first series of imitations of Hermaeus (*BN*, Hermaeus, series 10-11). These first series of posthumous imitations of Hermaeus are characterized by a stereotyped portrait of the king whose hair is represented by parallel lines.





*Group 3:* The third group is attested only by a very few specimens bearing







<sup>125</sup> This classification was first proposed in *BN*: 112-25, and was later developed in Bopearachchi 1993a: 45-56 and Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995: 37-44.


<sup>126</sup> Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995: 37-44.



<sup>127</sup> There are several series that can be attributed to this group: 1. A first series consists of an Attic-standard monolingual tetradrachm, with a diademed bust of the king on the obverse and enthroned Zeus-Mithra on the reverse (*BN*, Hermaeus, series 1). 2. The bilingual, Indian-standard tetradrachms and drachms bearing the same types belong to the second series (*BN*, Hermaeus, series 2 and 3). 3. The third series has the same characteristics as the preceding one, except for the helmeted bust of the king on the obverse (*BN*, Hermaeus, series 4 and 5). 4. On the fourth series, the bust of the king on the obverse is replaced by a mounted king on a horse prancing to right. The reverse types and both Greek and Kharoshthi legends remain the same as on the two preceding ones (*BN*, Hermaeus, series 7-8). 5. On the fifth series the mounted king is replaced by an amazon-queen on horseback on the obverse. On the reverse, the enthroned Zeus-Mithra, instead of making a gesture with his right hand, holds a sceptre (*BN*, Hermaeus, series 6). 6. We may also integrate the tetradrachms and drachms bearing the joint diademed busts of Hermaeus and Calliope in the first group, in spite of the fact that both Greek and Kharoshthi legends are in the name of Hermaeus and Calliope (*BN*, Hermaeus and Calliope, series 1). 7. The last series of the first group is composed of bronze coins, with Zeus-Mithra on the obverse and a horse to right on the reverse (*BN*, Hermaeus, series 9).




mainly the monograms , , , . The king's hair is very similar to that of the preceding series, but the *omicron* and the *rho* of the Greek legend are square, and all the series that follow have the same type of Greek legend (*BN*, Hermaeus, series 12-13).



*Group 4:* The fourth group bears the monograms , , , . The coins of this group are characterised by a larger and coarser portrait on the obverse, and on the reverse by an enthroned Zeus represented with a non-radiated head. The diadem has looped ribbons (*BN*, Hermaeus, series 14-15).

*Group 5:* In a fifth group with the monograms , , ,  and , the king's hair takes the form of small bubbles. Instead of facing, Zeus' head turns slightly to the left and his hair is converted into a lion's mane (*BN*, Hermaeus, series 14-15). It is interesting to observe that the coins bearing the monogram  have the characteristics of a transitional phase: some coins are marked with the features of the fourth group<sup>128</sup> and the others are close to those of the fifth group.<sup>129</sup>

*Group 6:* Although the sixth group is in many respects very similar to the preceding group, it has two peculiarities; it bears a new monogram  and is struck in extremely debased silver (*BN*, Hermaeus, series 18-19).

*Group 7:* The coins of the seventh group are made only of bronze and are marked by a degeneration of style and the appearance of two new monograms  and  (*BN*, Hermaeus, series 20-21).

*Group 8:* This group has peculiar features. The two monograms that appeared separately on the coins of the previous group now appear on this issue jointly , , along with a Kharoshthi letter *pra* . The king's face is small and its style is very crude. The ribbons of the diadem make a complete loop. Contrary to all the preceding groups of imitations, the portrait of the king on the obverse is no longer a copy of Hermaeus, but of a Roman emperor. The legends change on the obverse from ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ to ΣΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΥ and on the reverse from *tratarasa* to *mahatasa* (*BN*, Hermaeus, series 22).

*Group 9:* This group has one of the paired monograms, , and the Kharoshthi letter *pra*  of the preceding group. The Greek legend and the royal portrait are also identical with the preceding group, but on the reverse, instead of the enthroned Zeus, appears a new type, Nike standing holding a wreath. Now the legend on the reverse is *maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Heramayasa* (Mitchiner 1975/6: 1048).

*Group 10:* This is the so-called joint coinage of Su Hermaeus and Kujula. On

<sup>128</sup> Cf. Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995, nos. 585-9.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. *ibid.*: nos. 595-600, 623-8.

the obverse we find a larger bust of the king. On the reverse the type as well as the legend are new. With Heracles standing, facing, holding club in the right hand appears the legend *Kujulakasa kushana Yavugasa dhramatidasa* (Mitchiner 1975/6: 1044).

The most interesting feature of this classification is the gradual debasement of silver in each of the successive groups until its total disappearance. These results were obtained from the neutron activation analysis carried out by J.N. Barrandon on several specimens belonging to different groups of coins issued in the name of Hermaeus. This non-destructive technique is performed on the whole coin to avoid errors due to corrosion and surface enrichment (see Figure 4).<sup>130</sup>

Like all the Indo-Greek coins, the coin of the first group (*BN*, Hermaeus, no. 2; see Plate 1, no. 9). which I consider as a lifetime issue of Hermaeus, is marked by a good percentage of silver. It contains 94.1 per cent silver against 4.68 per cent copper. The silver content of the coin of the second group, that is to say, the first series of posthumous imitations of Hermaeus, is reduced to 85.4 per cent (*BN*, Hermaeus, no. 23; see Plate 2, no. 19). The 13.6 per cent copper content of this coin is quite high compared to that of 4.68 per cent of the previous sample. The coin of the third group contains 66.0 per cent silver and 33.0 per cent copper (*BN*, Hermaeus, no. 80; see Plate 2, no. 23). The metal composition of the coin of the fourth group is very much similar to the one of the previous group with its 66.7 per cent silver and 32.9 per cent copper (*BN*, Hermaeus, no. 86). There is a notable drop of the silver content in the three coins of the fifth group that we have analysed. The silver content in these

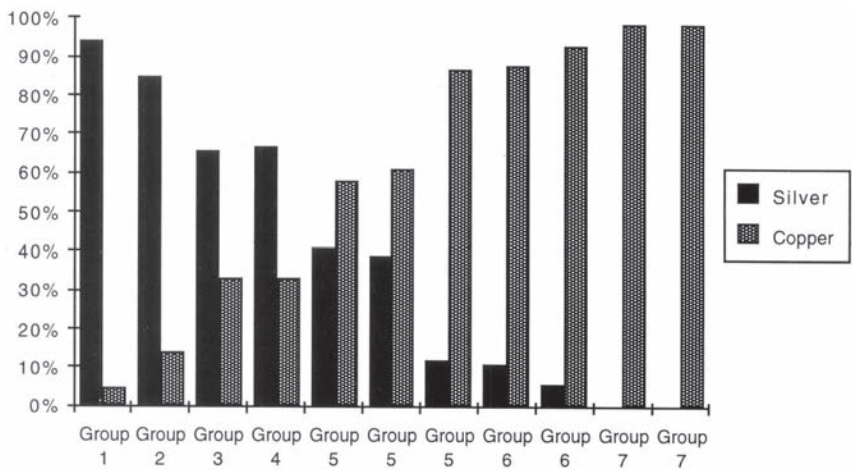


FIGURE 4: Graphic showing the gradual debasement of silver in each of the successive groups of coins struck in the name of Hermaeus

<sup>130</sup> For more details about this method, see Barrandon 1982: 3-15.

coins is reduced to 41.4 per cent (*BN*, Hermaeus, no. 98), 38.8 per cent (*BN*, Hermaeus, no. 93), 12.0 per cent (*BN*, Hermaeus, no. 97) and the copper content is increased up to 58.4, 61.1, 87.9 per cent. The debasement reaches its final stage with the coins of the sixth group. The two coins of this group that we have analysed give the following composition: 88.8 per cent (*BN*, Hermaeus, no. 114) and 93.4 per cent (*BN*, Hermaeus, no. 111) of copper against only 11.0 and 6.05 per cent of silver. The metal composition of these specimens is such that one has to accept the fact that the coins of this group are still an alloy. The two coins of the seventh group contain 99.85 per cent (*BN*, Hermaeus, no. 145) and 99.25 per cent (*BN*, Hermaeus, no. 154) of copper against 0.005 and 0.72 per cent of silver. Likewise from the seventh group onwards silver disappears completely from the coinage. The results of the spectrum analysis by ultra-violet plasma spectrometry by the Research Laboratory of the French Museums, on the coins of the eighth, ninth and tenth groups and the coins of Vima Kadphises, in the Paris Guimet Museum, show that their silver content is less than 1 per cent: it means that they all are from a natural copper alloy.<sup>131</sup>

The coins of Apollodotus II and Hippostratus must have been minted during the time when the Yuezhi were issuing the first series of posthumous imitations of Hermaeus. The metal analysis done on two coins of Apollodotus II (*BN*, no. 15) and Hippostratus (*BN*, no. 15) gives clear information in this regard. Both of these coins contain 85.0 per cent silver, the same ratio as the specimens of the first series of posthumous imitations of Hermaeus. Although the royal portraits on the coins of Apollodotus II and Hippostratus are similar in style, one may note that the square form of *omicron* and *rho* appears only on Hippostratus' coins.<sup>132</sup> Therefore I am inclined to think that these coins were minted by the same nomads after the death of Hippostratus, perhaps before the conquest of west Punjab by the Scythian Azes I c. 55 BC.

The extremely debased coins of the 5th and 6th groups can be placed chronologically, without much risk, in the second decade of the first century AD. Towards the end of the reign of Azes II, the silver currency of the Scythians, which had maintained a consistently high standard of weight and purity of metal, was abruptly debased.<sup>133</sup> D.W. MacDowall (1977: 193) rightly pointed out: 'The *terminus post quem* for the major debasement seems to be the second decade of the first century AD to judge from the associated find of a good silver drachm of Azilises (predecessor of Azes II) with a silver denarius of Augustus

<sup>131</sup> Here are the results of this analysis; group 8: 0.06 per cent silver and 99.85 per cent copper. This analysis was conducted on a coin in the Cabinet des Médailles of Paris (*BN*, Hermaeus, no. 174). The following coins are from the Paris Musée Guimet: group 10 (MG, L. 19653), 0.005 per cent silver and 99.765 per cent copper; group 10 (MG, L. 19654), 0.005 per cent silver and 99.269 per cent copper; Vima Kadphises (MG, L. 19655), 0.010 per cent silver and 97.279 per cent copper.

<sup>132</sup> *BN*, Hippostratus, series 1, 3, 5, 7, 10, 11.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. MacDowall 1977: 187-95.



dated AD 11/13; and partially debased silver coins of Jihonika belong to the third decade of the first century AD'. So the debased silver coins of Azes II with a corrupt legend are to be considered as his later issues, and should be placed around the second decade of the first century AD. The appearance of billons in the name of Hermaeus must be related to the same event. If this hypothesis is correct, the coins of the 4th and 5th groups should be placed between 55 BC and AD 20. The debasement came to an end with the disappearance of silver coins from circulation. The appearance of bronze coins of the 7th and the following groups is the result of this phenomenon.

In the meantime a Parthian king, Gondophares, put an end to Scythian rule and established his rule over Gandhara and the neighbouring regions. The history of the Parthians who reigned over India, known as Indo-Parthians, still remains obscure. The coins struck by the Indo-Parthians are divided into four principal categories. This classification is made by taking the weight standards, coin types and particularly the geographical distribution of coins.<sup>134</sup>

The series of copper coins of the Indo-Parthians with the royal portrait on the obverse and a winged Nike on the reverse is generally attributed to Arachosia. In this series they revived the Greek practice of using royal portraits. As David MacDowall (1965: 137) correctly pointed out, these Indo-Parthian copper coins of the Nike type were struck as the principal coin denomination of Arachosia and were themselves intended to pass as copper tetradrachms of the Indian standard. The following chronological order proposed by D.W. MacDowall (1965: 141) for the Nike type Arachosian issues is now generally accepted by most scholars for the Indo-Parthians who issued the Nike type coinage: Gondophares, Abdagases, Orthagnes, Pacores and Gondophares II.<sup>135</sup> MacDowall uses four arguments to justify the sequence of these four main kings. Firstly he shows that though the copper coins of each king in this Arachosian series are struck to a remarkably close weight standard, there is a slight difference in weight between coins of one king to another. He then correctly argues that though all these coins were obviously intended to pass as the same denomination, the series suffered a slight but nevertheless perceptible reduction in its weight standard under each succeeding king.<sup>136</sup> Secondly, he further supports this sequence by arguing that Gondophares uses the old *omega*, square *sigma*, and square *omicron*, whereas his successor Abdagases changes to the round cursive forms of odd letters, which both Orthagnes and Pacores continue to use. MacDowall's third argument is the use of titulature in the Arachosian series. Gondophares was content to use the simple titulature 'soter'. It is important to underline that it was the same epithet that appears on the last series of copper coinage struck in the name of Hermaeus

<sup>134</sup> For further details see Cribb 1985b; MacDowall 1965; Mitchiner 1975/6, vol. 8; and Simonetta 1958, 1978.

<sup>135</sup> On the question of homonymous kings of the name of Gondophares and Abdagases, see Alram 1987: 130-40.

<sup>136</sup> See the frequency table proposed by MacDowall 1965: 148.

(cf. *BN*, series 20 and above Hermaeus, group 7).<sup>137</sup> Orthagnes and Pacores, who never ruled over the former Indo-Parthian territories in the Indus Valley, adopted on their coinage in Arachosia the more grandiose titulature: βασιλεὺς βασιλευσῶ μεγας which their predecessors had used on their Indus Valley coinages following the practice of Azes II. MacDowall's final argument is that this order gives a chronological significance to the direction in which the king's head faces. Gondophares and Abdagases have the right-facing portrait on the Arachosian coinage, and their successors Orthagnes and Pacores have left-facing portraits, the more usual direction in the Parthian regal series. A Nike type coin of Pacores overstruck on a coin of Soter Megas justifies this chronological sequence.<sup>138</sup> The sequence for this Arachosian series proposed by MacDowall was further developed by Joe Cribb (1985b: 298) by adding Ubouzanēs between Orthagnes and Pacores, and Sanabares after Pacores. Another king of this dynasty, Sanabares, struck rare copper tetradrachms of the Nike type with his name in Greek characters.<sup>139</sup> On his coinage his head faces left and adds *megas* in the titulature. Both facts made MacDowall associate Sanabares with Orthagnes and Pacores rather than with Gondophares the Great and Abdagases. Chronologically MacDowall places Sanabares after Pacores and Gondophares II, since the weights of Sanabares' coins are clearly below the weight range of Pacores and Gondophares.

The silver drachms of Parthian type depicting bust of the king on the obverse and king enthroned crowned by a winged Nike on the reverse<sup>140</sup> are considered as a series intended to supplement the existing Parthian coinage of silver drachms in Drangiana.<sup>141</sup>

By issuing billon series of Indian standard, correctly attributed to the Gandhara region, the same Parthians continued the coin design of king on horseback introduced by their Indo-Scythian predecessors. This coinage follows the billon series issued by the last Indo-Scythian king Azes II.<sup>142</sup>

A fourth series of copper drachms struck according to the Indian standard depicting head of the king on the obverse and Athena Alkidemos on the reverse is attributed to the east Punjab. This coinage follows the very rude coins issued by the Indo-Scythian Rajuvula.<sup>143</sup> By publishing a hoard found in the Jammu area, Joe Cribb (1985b) made an important contribution to our understanding of the Indo-Parthians who reigned over the region of the east Punjab. Before the discovery of this hoard, apart from the coins of Gondophares, no other Indo-Parthian ruler was known in this area. The hoard added to the series the

<sup>137</sup> MacDowall in 1965 held the opinion that this copper series was part of the lifetime issues of Hermaeus.

<sup>138</sup> Mitchiner 1975/6: type 1103.

<sup>139</sup> MacDowall 1965: 144-5.

<sup>140</sup> Mitchiner 1975/6: types 1112-40.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. MacDowall 1965: 137; Mitchiner 1975/6: types 1067-77.

<sup>142</sup> Mitchiner 1975/6: types 1067-78.

<sup>143</sup> Mitchiner 1975/6: type 1142; Cribb 1985b.

coins of three rulers known elsewhere in the Parthian realm: Abdagases, Sarpadanes and Sases. It also adds another ruler not previously known, but clearly a member of the same dynasty, Ubouzanes. Apart from the overstrikes mentioned above another numismatic link between Kujula and Gondophares has recently been revealed by a hoard of small silver coins found at Taxila. These coins are generally believed to be issues of the lower Indus region. As Joe Cribb (1996) correctly points out, this belief is supported by the presence in the hoard of Indo-Parthian coins overstruck on coins of Nahapan, the local ruler of the Gujarat region in western India. This hoard contained coins issued by two of Gondophares' successors, Sasan and Sarpadanes, by a third Parthian ruler Satavastres, and by Kujula Kadphises.<sup>144</sup> The Kujula coins appear to be the latest issues.

These different coinages with peculiar characteristics, issued by the same kings, but in different geographical localities cannot be studied in isolation because they are directly linked with those of their immediate Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian predecessors and Kushan contemporaries. Gondophares, the founder of the Indo-Parthian kingdom, may have begun his rule towards the end of Azes II's reign. The very rare issues of good silver of Gondophares which preceded most of his debased silver tetradrachms may suggest that he began his rule just before the period of debasement. I share the opinion of those scholars for whom the dated inscription of Gondophares at Takht-i-Bahi gives Gondophares' first year of reign as AD 20, considering the Azes era as the Vikrama era.<sup>145</sup> The Parthian king named Gondopharnes in India is mentioned in early Christian writing as the prince to whose court St Thomas the Apostle was supposedly sent (29 or 33 AD).<sup>146</sup> As George Huxley (1983: 75) correctly pointed out, '... not that Thomas went to India in the second quarter of the first century AD, but that the author of the *Acts* knew the date of Gondopharnes'. Huxley further argues that although, St Thomas' visit to India is not certain, it does not put into question the dates proposed for Gondophares' reign.<sup>147</sup> These two indications along with the debasement which was carried


<sup>144</sup> Cf. Cribb 1992.

<sup>145</sup> 'On the 1st day of the month of Vaisakha in the year 103 and in the 26th (regnal) year of the Great King Guduhvara (Gondophares).—D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, New Delhi, 1965, p. 245.

<sup>146</sup> According to George Huxley (1983: 74-5), 'It is certain that there was a king of the name in northwestern India at about the epoch of St Thomas. Gounaphoros in the Greek and GWDNPR in the Syriac match Guduhvara (Gondopharnes), the Parthian form of the name, which comes from an Iranian *Vindafarna* and means "winner of victory"'. As Huxley (1983: 75) further pointed out: 'In the earliest testimony to the apostolate of Thomas the saint is said to have been allotted Parthia. At first this may have meant that he went no further than Parthian territory at Edessa, but it became at least plausible to imagine him to have gone so far as a realm in India ruled by a great king of partly Parthian origin, who was known to have reigned there during the inferred period of Thomas's missionary activity.'

<sup>147</sup> Huxley (1983: 75): 'Since trade between upper Mesopotamia and Northwest India

out during his rule, enable us to fix the reign of Gondophares approximately in the period of AD 20-45.

By publishing a hoard found at Malakand, I have shown how its composition throws considerable light on the history of the Indo-Scythian and the Indo-Parthian kings who succeeded the Indo-Greeks in the Gandhara (1993a: 57-60). There are a number of characteristics common to all the coins which make the whole hoard a homogeneous unity. The most striking character is that all the coins without exception are of debased silver. All, in spite of their dynastic differences, bear the same stylistic features as if all the dies were engraved by the same hand. In addition, one may also observe that most of the coins, although struck by different kings, bear a group of monograms  that G.K. Jenkins (1955) correctly attributed to Taxila and the west part of the Indo-Scythian kingdom. The fact that the hoard was found in the Malakand region, not far away from the ancient cities of Pushkalavati (near Peshawar) and Taxila, adds a further argument to justify his attribution. Their relatively fine condition, compared to the worn state of most known coins of these series, is also a striking feature of the coins of the Malakand hoard. This phenomenon is also revealed by the homogeneous weight standard, coins weighing between 9.50 and 10.00 g are represented by 190 coins, that is nearly 75 per cent of the total. One may conclude from these observations that these coins were in circulation in the same geographical area that they were issued and belong approximately to the same chronological period.

By its composition, the Malakand hoard reminds us of the Peshawar hoard published by Joe Cribb (1977). The Peshawar hoard contains coins of Azes I, Azilises, Azes II and Gondophares; the five coins of Azes II and the single coin of Gondophares are of debased silver similar to the ones in the Malakand hoard. These six coins were no doubt the most recent inclusions in the hoard before it was buried. With regard to the chronological order of the issues, the coins in the Malakand hoard begin exactly where the ones in the Peshawar hoard end. The composition of the Malakand hoard adds further evidence to the chronological order proposed by J. Cribb (1985b: 297) when publishing two Indo-Parthian coin hoards. Cribb proposed the following chronological order: Gondophares—Abdagases—Aspavarma. Out of 85 coins of Gondophares in the Malakand hoard, 62 specimens (73 per cent) weigh less than 9.70 g, but out of 55 coins of Abdagases in the same hoard, only 7 specimens (13 per cent) weigh less than 9.70 g. All of Abdagases' coins weigh more than 9.55 g, and nearly 75 per cent of the total weigh more than 9.80 g.<sup>148</sup> The high weight standard of Abdagases' coins compared to those of Gondophares in the same hoard can be explained by the fact that Abdagases succeeded Gondophares,

---

both overland and by way of Mesene and the Persian Gulf was frequent during the first centuries AD, knowledge of Gondophernes and his kingdom would have been available in Syriac-speaking communities of Mesopotamia from the mid-first century onwards. The king was specially memorable, because after his reign Pahlava power rapidly declined.'

<sup>148</sup> Bopearachchi 1993a: 59-60.

and the coins of the former were in circulation for a lesser period and suffered a lesser degree of wear. Aspavarma, son of Indravarma, *Indravarma putra*, apparently a vassal of Gondophares, was the most recent king represented in the Malakand hoard. His three coins, as indicated by their very small number, seem to have been the most recent additions to the hoard before it was buried.

In his remarkable study carried out on the Sino-Kharoshthi coins of Khotan, Joe Cribb (1984 and 1985a) shows that the coins of our eighth group in the name of Hermaeus are to be dated to the first half of the first century AD. He correctly concluded that since the portrait of the king on the obverse of these coins (our eighth group) is very much influenced, especially in the treatment of details of the profile and the hair, by the issues of the Roman emperors Augustus and Tiberius, they should be placed *c.* AD 60. Likewise the silver denarii of Augustus and Tiberius which were used as models for the coins of the eighth group, give a clear *terminus post quem* for the dating of these posthumous issues in the name of Hermaeus. The coins of the tenth group were the first issues of Kujula Kadphises, lord and the founder of the Kushan clan.

As we know today, both the Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian kingdoms collapsed as a result of a major invasion by the Kushans under Kujula Kadphises. A series of overstrikes shows that there was an intermediate period between the bronze posthumous coins of Hermaeus of the 7th group and the last group. The first series is that of the Indo-Parthian Gondophares over a posthumous bronze coin of Hermaeus of the 7th group. The second is that of Kujula Kadphises over a bronze coin of Gondophares.<sup>149</sup> The evidence of overstrikes suggests that the coinage of our group 7 came before that of Gondophares, and that the so-called joint coinage of Hermaeus and Kujula came after that of Gondophares.<sup>150</sup> The overstrikes of Kujula Kadphises over the coins of Gondophares indicate very clearly that Kujula brought to an end Parthian rule in the Paropamisadae and Gandhara. With the reign of Kujula Kadphises, lord of the Kushan clan, the Yuezhi came to be known as Kushans. So if this hypothesis is correct, the rise of the Kushan empire under Kujula Kadphises in the regions of the Paropamisadae and Gandhara should be placed around the middle of the first century of our era.

This chronology is further supported by the numismatic sequence established by D.W. MacDowall (1973: 225-9) for Jihonika and Kujula Kadphises. He points out that the round copper coins of the bull and lion type of Jihonika<sup>151</sup> seem to have been the model for Kujula Kara Kadphises's bull and Bactrian camel coin.<sup>152</sup> He further argues that Kujula copied not only the denominations and the obverse type of the bull, but the corrupt and misunderstood Greek

<sup>149</sup> Cf. Mitchiner: 735-6.

<sup>150</sup> On the chronology of Gondophares, see Cribb 1985b: 282-300.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. Mitchiner 1975/6: 883.

<sup>152</sup> Cf. Mitchiner 1975/6: 1055.

legend of Jihonika. Having drawn attention to this numismatic sequence, MacDowall (1973: 229) correctly concludes:

If Jihonika belongs to the decade AD 30-40 in the satrapy west of the Indus with a secure *terminus ante quem* of AD 42 and was succeeded in part of his territories by Kujula Kadphises and in other localities by the Pahlavas Indravarma and Aspavarma, we have at least a date for the issue of Kujula's Bull and Bactrian camel copper coins to c. AD 40.<sup>153</sup>

Furthermore, the chronology of Gondophares in relation to Jihonika is revealed by a series of overstrikes by the latter over the former.<sup>154</sup>

In short, according to the numismatic sequence discussed above, the reign of Gondophares should be dated c. AD 20-46 and that of Kujula Kadphises c. AD 30-80. Likewise, once the reign of Kujula Kadphises in relation to Gondophares and Jihonika is well established, we have implications for Kushan chronology. We know today thanks to an inscription found at Rabatak near Surukh Kotal, which is carefully studied by Nicholas Sims-Williams and Joe Cribb<sup>155</sup> that Kujula Kadphises was the great grandfather of Kanishka. We also know, it was under the reign of the first Wima, Kujula's son that the Chinese sources qualify as the conqueror of India, that the Kushan empire began to expand over a vast area. During the reign of Kanishka I, the most famous of all the Kushan kings, son and successor of Wima Kadphises, the empire reached its peak.

#### POSTSCRIPT

The chronological sequence of Indo-Greek, Indo-Parthian and Indo-Scythian kings proposed in this article is still valid, however as explained in the chapter 27 the dates attributed to them have changed. The inscription engraved on the Buddhist reliquary found in Bajaur referring to Menander is now considered as an invention of a modern forger (see H. Falk, 'The Introduction of Stūpa-worship in Bajaur', in *Afghanistan. ancien carrefour entre l'Est et l'Ouest*, ed. O. Bopearachchi & M.-Fr. Boussac, Brepols, Turnhout, 2005, pp. 347-58).

#### ABBREVIATIONS

<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.</i>
<i>BEFEO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient.</i>
<i>BN</i>	O. Bopearachchi, <i>Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné</i> , Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes Rendus, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i> , Paris.
<i>Ep. Ind.</i>	<i>Epigraphia Indica.</i>

<sup>153</sup> Concerning the chronology of Jihonika see MacDowall 1973.

<sup>154</sup> Mitchiner 1975/6: 735.

<sup>155</sup> See the forthcoming article by Sims-Williams and Cribb (1996) and Cribb in this volume.



<i>EW</i>	<i>East and West.</i>
<i>IGCH</i>	M. Thompson, O. Mørkholm, G.M. Kraay, <i>An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards</i> , New York, 1973.
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique.</i>
<i>JNSI</i>	<i>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.</i>
<i>MDAFA</i>	<i>Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan.</i>
<i>NCirc.</i>	<i>Spink's Numismatic Circular.</i>
<i>NC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle.</i>
<i>ONS</i>	<i>Newsletter, Oriental Numismatic Society.</i>
<i>RN</i>	<i>Revue Numismatique.</i>

## REFERENCES

- Alram, M. (1987), 'Die Vorbildwirkung der arsakidischen Münzprägung', *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses*, 3: 117-42.
- Audouin, R. and P. Bernard (1973), 'Trésor de monnaies indiennes et indo-grecques d'Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan)', *RN*, XV: 238-89.
- (1974), 'Trésor de monnaies indiennes et indo-grecques d'Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan)', *RN*, XVI: 7-41.
- Barrandon, J.N. (1982), 'Méthodes nucléaires d'analyse et numismatique', *Proceeding of the 9th International Congress of Numismatics, Berne September 1979*, ed. T. Hackens and R. Weiller, Louvain-la-Neuve, 3-15.
- Bernard, P. (1985), *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum IV. Les monnaies hors trésors. Questions d'histoire gréco-bactrienne (MDAFA 27)*, Paris.
- Bernard, P. and Cl. Rapin (1994), 'Un parchemin greco-bactrien d'une collection privée', *CRAI*, 261-94.
- Bickerman, E.J. (1980), *Chronology of the Western World*, London.
- Bivar, A.D.H. (1963), 'The Kaniska dating from Surukh Kotal', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 498 ff.
- (1970), 'The Sequence of Menander's Drachmae', *JRAS* 1970: 123-36.
- (1976), 'The Kuṣāna trilingual', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXXIX, part 2, 333-40.
- (1981), 'The Azes Era and the Indravarma Casket', in *South Asian Archaeology*, ed. H. Hartel, Berlin, 369-76.
- (1984), 'Maues at Taxila: Problems of His Arrival Route and Political Allegiance', *Journal of Central Asia*, VII: 5-14.
- Bopearachchi, O. (1989a), 'Un roi indo-grec: Télèphe. Observations sur l'iconographie de son monnayage et la date de son règne', *Gazette numismatique suisse* 39: 88-94.
- (1989b), 'Monnaies indo-grecques surfrappées', *RN*, XXXI: 49-79.
- (1990a), 'Ménandre Soter, un roi indo-grec. Observations chronologiques et géographiques', *Studia Iranica*, 19: 39-85.
- (1990b), 'Graeco-Bactrian Issues of Later Indo-Greek Kings', *NC* 1990: 79-103.
- (1991), 'Les derniers souverains indo-grecs: une autre hypothèse', *Histoire et cultes de l'Asie Centrale preislamique. Sources écrites et documents archéologiques*, Paris 1991: 235-42.
- (1991/2), 'The Euthydemus' Imitations and the Date of Sogdian Independance', in *Silk Road. Art and Archaeology*, 2, Kamakura, 1-21.
- (1993a), *Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian Coins in the Smithsonian Institution*, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

- (1993b), 'On the so-called Earliest Representation of Gaṇeśa', *TOIIOI*, Lyon, 3/2: 425-53.
- (1993c), 'Naštēn, un prince iranien inconnu entre Grecs et Kouchans', *CRAI*, July-October, 609-11.
- (1994a), 'Grands trésors récents de monnaies pré-sasanides trouvés en Afghanistan et au Pakistan', *International Numismatic News Letter*, 24, 2-3.
- (1994b), 'Recent Discoveries: Hoards and Finds of Ancient Coins from Afghanistan and Pakistan', *Yavanika, Journal of the Indian Society for Greek and Roman Studies*, 4: 3-30.
- (1994c), 'Recentes découvertes de trésors de monnaies pré-sasanides trouvés en Afghanistan et au Pakistan', *Cahiers Numismatiques (Revue trimestrielle de la Société d'études numismatiques et archéologiques)*, 121: 7-14.
- (1994d), 'L'indépendance de la Bactriane', *TOIIOI* 4/2: 513-19.
- (1995a), 'Indian Brahman on a Coin of Indo-Greek Telephus', *ONS*, 145, 8-9.
- (1995b), 'Découvertes récentes de trésors indo-grecs: nouvelles données historiques', *CRAI*, April-June, 611-30.
- Bopearachchi, O. and A.U. Rahman (1995), *Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan*, Islamabad.
- Cribb, J. (1977), 'Indo-Scythian Silver Coins from Pakistan', *Coin Hoards*, III: 108-13.
- (1984), 'The Sino-Kharosthi Coins of Khotan: Their Attribution and Relevance to Kushan Chronology, (Part 1)', *NC*, 128-52.
- (1985a), 'The Sino-Kharosthi Coins of Khotan: Their Attribution and Relevance to Kushan Chronology, (Part 2)', *NC*, 138-49.
- (1985b), 'New Evidence of Indo-Parthian Political History', *Coin Hoards* 7: 282-300.
- (1992), 'Numismatic Evidence for the Date of *Periplus*', in *Indian Numismatics, History, Art and Culture. Essays in the Honour of Dr. P.L. Gupta*, ed. D.W. MacDowall and S. Garg, vol. I: 131-45.
- (1993), 'The 'Heraus' Coins: Their Attribution to the Kushan King Kujula Kadphises, c. AD 30-80', in *Essays in Honour of Robert Carson and Kenneth Jenkins*, ed. M. Price, A. Burnett and R. Bland, London, 107-34.
- (1996), 'Numismatic Perspectives on Chronology in the Crossroads of Asia', *Acts, Colloquium on Crossroads of Asia*, Cambridge.
- Curiel, R. and G. Fussman (1965), *Le trésor monétaire de Qunduz (MDAFA XX)*, Paris.
- Curiel, R. and D. Schlumberger (1953), *Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan (MDAFA XIV)*, Paris.
- Dobbins, K.W. (1970a), 'The Question of the Imitation Hermaios Coinage', *EW* 20: 307-26.
- (1970b), 'Eras of Gandhâra', *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, 7: 23-36.
- (1980), 'Vonones, Maues and Hermaios: The Imperial Coinage of Mithradates II', *EW* 30: 31-53.
- (1983), 'The Origin of the Vikrama Era', *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, XXV: 23-30.
- Fussman, G. (1980), 'Nouvelles inscriptions Śaka: Ère d'Eucratide, ère d'Azès, ère Vikrama, ère de Kanishka', *BEFEO*, LXVII: 1-43.
- (1991), 'Villes indiennes, prolégomènes', *Annuaire du Collège de France 1990-1991, Résumé des Cours et Travaux*, Paris. 659-68.
- (1993), 'L'Indo-Grec Ménandre ou Paul Demiéville revisité', *JA*, CCLXXXI: 61-137.
- Haughton, H.L. (1946), 'Notes on Greek and Kushan Coins from North-West India: (a)

- The Bajaur Hoard of 1942, (b) Some Rare Copper Coins from the North-West Frontier of India', *NC* 1946: 141-5.
- Hollis, A.S. (1994), 'Historical and Numismatic Thoughts on the Bactrian Tax Receipt', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 104: 268-80.
- Holt, Fr. (1981), 'The Euthydemid Coinage of Bactria: Further Hoard Evidence from Ai Khanum', *RN*, XXIII: 7-44.
- (1992), 'Review of Osmund Bopearachchi, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques catalogue raisonné*, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1991', *American Journal of Numismatics, American Numismatic Society*, 215-22.
- Huxley, G. (1983), 'Geography in the Acts of Thomas', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 24: 71-80.
- Jenkins, G.K. (1955), 'Indo-Scythic Mints', *JNSI*, XVII: 1-26.
- (1957), 'A Review of A.K. Narain's *The Indo-Greeks*', *NC*, 266-9.
- (1959), 'The Apollodotus Question: Another View', *JNSI*, 20-33.
- Justin, M., *Iuniani Iustini. Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi. Accedunt prologi in Pompeium Trogum*, ed. O. Seel, Leipzig.
- Konow, S. (1929), *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II. Part I, *Kharoshthī Inscriptions with the Exception of those of Aśoka*, Calcutta.
- Lahiri, A.N. (1965), *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, Calcutta.
- MacDowall, D.W. (1965), 'The Dynasty of the Later Indo-Parthians', *NC*, 137-48.
- (1973), 'The Azes Hoard from Shaikhan-Dheri: Fresh Evidence for the Context of Jihonika', in *South Asian Archaeology*, ed. N. Hammond, London, 215-30.
- (1977), 'The Context of Rujuvula the Satrap', *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, XXV: 187-95.
- (1985), 'The Successors of the Indo-Greeks at Begram', in *South Asian Archaeology*, ed. J. Schotmans and M. Taddei, Naples, 555-66.
- (1991), 'The Hazarajat Hoard of Indo-Greek Silver Drachms', *Pakistan Archaeology. Silver Jubilee Number*, ed. A.N. Khan, Karachi, 188-98.
- MacDowall, D.W. and N.G. Wilson (1960), 'Apollodoti reges Indorum', *NC* 221-8.
- Majumdar, N.G. (1937), 'The Bajaur Casket of the Reign of Menander', *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXIV: 1-8.
- Mitchiner, M. (1973), *The Early Coinage of Central Asia*, London.
- (1975/6), *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, 9 vols., London.
- Mukherjee, B.N. (1992), 'Ob odnoj nadpisi iz Matxury i o ee značenii dlja problemy Javanov i šaka-paxlavov', *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii*, Moscow, 87-8.
- Narain, A.K. (1957a), *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford.
- (1957b), 'Apollodotus and His Coins', *JNSI*, XIX: 121-34.
- Nicolet-Pierre, H. (1978), 'Propos sur une monnaie grecque de Philoxénos', *Bulletin de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 99-101.
- Petitot-Biehler, C.Y. (1975), 'Trésor de monnaies grecques et gréco-bactriennes trouvé à Ai Khanoum (Afghanistan)', *RN*, XVII: 23-57.
- Polybius, *Histories*, tr. W.R. Paton, London, 1922-7.
- Rapin, Cl. (1983), 'Les inscriptions économiques de la trésorerie hellénistique d'Ai Khanoum (Afghanistan)', *BCH*, 315-81.
- (1987), 'La trésorerie hellénistique d'Ai Khanoum', *Revue Archéologique*, 41-70.
- (1992), *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum. VIII. La trésorerie du palais hellénistique d'Ai Khanoum. L'Apogée et la chute du royaume grec de Bactriane*, MDFAA, XXXIII, Paris.

- Rea, J.R. (1994), 'A Tax Receipt from Hellenistic Bactria', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 104: 261-7.
- Rtveladze, E.V. (1995), 'Découvertes en numismatique et épigraphie gréco-bactriennes à Kampir-Tepe (Bactriane du Nord)', *RN*, 20-4 (translator's name is not given).
- Salomon, R. (1982), 'The "Avaca" Inscription and the Origin of the Vikrama Era', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 102.1: 59-68.
- Senior, R.C. (1989), 'Indo-Scythic Hoards', *NCir*. XCVII: 44-5.
- (1991), 'The Coinage of Strato III, Last of the Indo-Greeks Identified', *ONS*, 128.
- (1992), 'An Indo-Greek Hoard from Akhnoor', *NCir*. C, 299.
- (1993), 'The Father-loving Strato', *ONS*, 138: 5-6.
- (1995), 'Some Rare Indo-Greek Coins', *ONS*, 143: 7-9.
- (1996), 'Vonones, Maues and the Early Indo-Scythic Succession', *Oriental Numismatic Studies*, 11-44.
- Senior, R.C. and S. Mirza (1996), 'An Indo-Greek overstrike', *ONS*, 149, 5.
- Simonetta, A.M. (1958), 'A New Essay on the So-called Indo-Greeks, the Sakas and the Pahlavas', *EW* 9: 154-83.
- (1978), 'The Chronology of the Gondopharen Dynasty', *EW* 1978, 28: 155-87 (with comments by Fr. Widemann).
- Sims-Williams, N. and Cribb, J. (1996), 'A New Bactrian Inscription of Kanishka the Great', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 5 or 6, Kamakura.
- Sircar, D.C. (1942), 'A Note on the Bajaur Casket of the Reign of Menander', *Ep. Ind.* XXVI, 46: 318-21.
- Tarn, W.W. (1951), *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 2nd edn., Cambridge.
- Thomas, F.W. (1952), 'Notes on "the Scythian period"', *JRAS*, 108ff.
- Watson, B. (1961), *Records of the Grand Historian of China, Translated from the Shih Chi of Ssu-Ma Ch'ien*, vol. 2, London.
- Zeimal, E.V. (1983), *Drevnie monety Tadžikistana*, Dušanbe.

	no. 2 Ai Kha- num IV	no. 3 Bajaur III	no. 4 Wesa	no. 5 Mian Khan	no. 6 Khauz- ikhelai	no. 7 Atock	no. 8 Siran- wali I	no. 9 Sir- an- wali II	no. 10 Sarai Saleh
Greek coins	X								
Diodotus I and II	X								
Euthydemus I	X								
Demetrius I	X								
Euthydemus II	X								
Agathocles	X								
Pantaleon	X								
Antimachus I	X								
Apollodotus I	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	
Eucratides I	X		X						
Antimachus II		X	X	X	X		X	X	
Menander I		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Zoilus I				X		X			X
Agathocleia									X
Strato I									X
Lysias			X		X	X		X	X
Antialcidas			X		X	X			X
Heliocles II									X
Polyxenus									X
Philoxenus					X			X	X
Diomedes									X
Amyntas						X	X	X	X
Epander									X
Nicias					X				X
Menander II									X
Artemidorus									X
Archebius									X
Hermæus and Calliope									X
Hermæus									X
Maues									X
Telephus									X
Apollodotus II									X
Hippostratus									X
Vonones with Spalahores									X
Vonones with Spaladagames									X
Spalirises with Azes									X
Azes I.									X

LIST 1: Composition of the hoards

## ILLUSTRATIONS

## PLATE I

- No. 1. AR. Attic standard tetradrachm (16.50 g, 29 mm). Commemorative coin struck in the name of Antiochus II. Cf. O. Bopearachchi and A.U. Rahman 1995, no. 1057 (enlargement). Ai Khanum IV hoard.
- No. 2. Same coin before cleaning.
- No. 3. AR. Attic standard tetradrachm (16.10 g, 31 mm) commemorative coin struck by Agathocles in the name of Antiochus II. Cf. O. Bopearachchi and A.U. Rahman 1995, no. 164. Ai Khanum IV hoard.
- No. 4. AR. Attic standard tetradrachm (16.25 g, 32.5 mm) Agathocles. Cf. O. Bopearachchi and A.U. Rahman 1995, no. 150. Ai Khanum IV hoard.
- No. 5. AR. Attic standard tetradrachm (16.65 g, 31 mm) Pantaleon. Cf. O. Bopearachchi and A.U. Rahman 1995, no. 168. Ai Khanum IV hoard.
- No. 6. AR. Attic standard tetradrachm (16.80 g, 33.5 mm) Eucratides I. Cf. O. Bopearachchi and A.U. Rahman 1995, no. 234. Ai Khanum IV hoard.
- No. 7. AR. Attic standard tetradrachm (16.95 g, 33.5 mm) Eucratides I. Cf. O. Bopearachchi and A.U. Rahman 1995, no. 243. Ai Khanum IV hoard.
- No. 8. AR. Attic standard tetradrachm. Eucratides I. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris). Cf. O. Bopearachchi 1994c, p. 13, no. 2. Ai Khanum IV hoard.
- No. 9. AR. Attic standard tetradrachm (16.65 g, 34 mm). Eucratides I. Cf. O. Bopearachchi and A.U. Rahman 1995, no. 239. Ai Khanum IV hoard.

## PLATE II

- No. 10. AR. Indian standard tetradrachm (9.59 g, 23 mm). Menander I. Cf. O. Bopearachchi and A.U. Rahman 1995, no. 307. Mir Zakah II.
- No. 11. AR. Indian standard tetradrachm (9.80 g, 26 mm). Heliocles II. Cf. O. Bopearachchi and A.U. Rahman 1995, no. 469. Sarai Saleh hoard.
- No. 12. AR. Indian standard tetradrachm (9.70 g, 25.5 mm). Polyxenus. Cf. O. Bopearachchi and A.U. Rahman 1995, no. 471. Sarai Saleh hoard.
- No. 13. AR. Attic standard tetradrachm (16.81 g, 32.5 mm). Diomedes (Private collection of A. Hollis. Cf. O. Bopearachchi 1990b, p. 88, pl. 9, no. 16; *BN*, pl. 45 A. Khauzikhelai.
- No. 14. AR. Indian standard tetradrachm (9.75 g, 27.5 mm). Artemidorus. Cf. O. Bopearachchi and A.U. Rahman 1995, no. 498. Sarai Saleh hoard.
- No. 15. AR. Indian standard tetradrachm (9.60 g, 27 mm). Artemidorus. Cf. O. Bopearachchi and A.U. Rahman 1995, no. 501. Sarai Saleh hoard.
- No. 16. AR. Indian standard drachm (2.10 g, 19 mm). Artemidorus. Cf. O. Bopearachchi and A.U. Rahman 1995, no. 499. Sarai Saleh hoard.
- No. 17. AR. Indian standard drachm (2.25 g, 18 mm). Artemidorus. Cf. O. Bopearachchi and A.U. Rahman 1995, no. 510. Sarai Saleh hoard.
- No. 18. AR. Indian standard drachm (2.40 g, 16 mm). Artemidorus. Cf. O. Bopearachchi and A.U. Rahman 1995, no. 509. Sarai Saleh hoard.
- No. 19. AR. Indian standard tetradrachm (7.80 g, 27 mm). Hermaeus (posthumous). Cf. O. Bopearachchi and A.U. Rahman 1995, no. 601. Sarai Saleh hoard.



- No. 20. AR. Indian standard tetradrachm (9.80 g, 29.5 mm). Hippostratus. Cf. O. Bopearachchi and A.U. Rahman 1995, no. 666. Sarai Saleh hoard.
- No. 21. AE. Square (8.70 g, 23 × 21 mm). Telephus overstruck on a coin of Archebius. Cf. O. Bopearachchi 1995a, p. 8; 1995b, pl. 2, no. 16.
- No. 22. AR. Indian standard tetradrachm (9.25 g, 27 mm). Maues. Cf. O. Bopearachchi and A.U. Rahman 1995, no. 682. Sarai Saleh hoard.
- No. 23. AR. Indian standard tetradrachm (9.55 g, 23 mm). Vonones with Spalagadames. Cf. O. Bopearachchi and A.U. Rahman 1995, no. 696. Sarai Saleh hoard.
- No. 24. AR. Indian standard tetradrachm (9.55 g, 28.5 mm). Azes I. Cf. O. Bopearachchi and A.U. Rahman 1995, no. 704. Sarai Saleh hoard.



PLATE I: Coins of the Ai Khanum IV hoard.



PLATE II: Coins of the Mir Zakah II hoard (10), the Sarai Saleh hoard (11, 12, 14, 15) and from Khauzikhelai (13).

## Some Interesting Coins from the Pandayale Hoard\*

A hoard containing 22 Indo-Greek bronze coins was found in 2000 at Pandayale, a remote village situated in the tribal area of Mohmand Agency, to the south of the Bajaur area. The hoard was discovered accidentally by peasants of the village while harvesting a wheat field. It seems to have contained the coins of Apollodotos I, Menander I, Antialcidas, Lysias, Nicias, Hermaios and Heliocles II. Carefully selected nine coins from the hoard entered the private collection of Muhammad Riaz Babar. I am very grateful to him for allowing me to publish them.

### 1. COIN OF HELIOCLES II OVERSTUCK ON A COIN OF HERMAIOS

The most interesting coin among them is a bronze issue of Heliclos II (*BN*, series 7) overstruck on a lifetime coin of Hermaios (*BN*, series 9). As we know, a large number of bronze coins of Heliclos II are overstruck on coins of his predecessors or contemporaries. These overstrikes are listed in an article published in 1989 (see Bopearachchi 1989: 55-63): five over the bronzes of Agathocleia (*BN*, series 3), one over Strato I (*BN*, series 29) and one over Antialcidas (*BN*, series 17).

Since then four more overstrikes which have a direct relationship with Heliclos II came to light. The first was a bronze coin of Strato I (*BN*, series 29) overstruck by Heliclos II (*BN*, series 7; see Bopearachchi & Rahman 1995, no. 470). The second is a bronze coin of Heliclos II (*BN*, series 7) overstruck by Amyntas (*BN*, series 14; see Senior and Mirza 1996). The third was published by the Classical Numismatic Group (Auction 38, 6-7 June 1996, London, no. 528) as a coin of Polyxenus overstruck by Heliclos II. D. MacDonald (1996) contested the identification, and showed that it was a coin of Agathocleia and Strato I (*BN*, series 3), not Polyxenus, overstruck by Heliclos II. The fourth was a bronze coin of Hermaios (*BN*, series 9) overstruck by the dies of Heliclos II (*BN*, series 7; see Senior & MacDonald 1998: 9-11).

The overstrike published here is also similar to the last one, but the legends of the undertype, which are absolutely clear, leave no room for doubt. Here is the description of the overtypes and the undertypes (see drawing):

\*Reprinted from *ONS Newsletter*, no. 169, Autumn 2001, pp. 19-21.

AE. INDIAN-STANDARD. MEDIUM WEIGHT 8.50 g

*Obv.* Overtyp: Diademed and draped bust of Zeus to r. Legend in Greek: [B] ΑΣΙΑΕΩΣ / [ΔΙΚ]ΑΙΟΥ / ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Undertype (when the coin is rotated 90°): HEPMAIOY to the left of [B] ΑΣΙΑΕΩΣ.

*Rev.* Overtyp: Elephant walking to l. *dhramikasa* / *Heliyakreyasa*:

Undertype (when the coin is rotated 90°): [*He*]ramayasa.

7.80 g, 21.5 × 19 mm.

The discovery of a second coin of Hermaios overstruck by Heliocles II cannot be regarded as a mint accident. The chronological frame of *c.* 90-70 BC attributed to Hermaios and of *c.* 95-90 BC to Amyntas remain to date, as far as I am concerned, undisturbed. No new numismatic evidence has produced any elements that drastically alter his chronology. However, the chronological frame of 110-100 BC (cf. *BN*, p. 453) attributed to Heliocles II has to be reconsidered in the light of these overstrikes. The discovery of a bronze coin of Heliocles II overstruck by Amyntas and two issues of the former over Hermaios oblige us to place the reign of Heliocles II *c.* 95-85 BC, thereby considering him as a contemporary of both Amyntas and Hermaios. I prefer to leave the question open for the moment until I complete the corpus of the British Museum collection where all chronological problems will be re-examined in the light of new numismatic evidence.

However, the existence of two overstrikes of Heliocles II on a bronze coin of Hermaios enable us to solve, once and for all, the question of two kings with the name of Heliocles. Heliocles who overstruck the coins of Strato I, Antialcidas and Hermaios cannot be the same last Greek king to rule in Bactria, whose reign ended *c.* 130-129 BC. It was Heliocles I's portrait that the Yuezhi invaders copied once they occupied his territories. This Heliocles of Bactria, who is represented on the last series of his coins as an old man (cf. *BN*, series 1), cannot be the same person who crossed the Hindu Kush mountains forty years later to overstrike the coin of Hermaios in the Indian territories. The fact that the Greek domination over Bactria came to an end with the reign of Heliocles I is extremely important in understanding the monetary sequence of the Greeks and their nomadic successors in Bactria and India.

The excellent condition of the present coin enables us to identify for certain the obverse type. Almost all the bronze coins of Heliocles II which have come to light so far have either been overstruck or in a bad state of preservation, so that the minute details of the type could not be detected easily. For these reasons, the bearded head was not at all clear on the known specimens. The diadem worn by the figure on the obverse was understood, as it should be, as the symbol of royalty. In consequence, many numismatists thus described, not without reason, the obverse type as a depiction of the king 'Heliocles II himself' (e.g. Cunningham 1884: 171; Gardner 1886: 23; Whitehead 1914: 29; Mitchiner, 1975-6: 165 and Boppearachchi, *BN*, series 7, p. 284). A.N. Lahiri (1965: 138)



has also described the obverse type as 'The diademed bust of the bearded king (?) to r.' but the question mark can be regarded as a sign of his hesitation. D. MacDonald and R.C. Senior correctly identified the obverse type as the depiction of Zeus. The present coin, which is in excellent condition, proves beyond doubt that it is Zeus, not Heliocles II, who is represented on the series. The god is represented clad in a himation, and it cannot be misunderstood as the royal cloak pinned over the left shoulder of the Indo-Greek coin portraits.

## 2. MENANDER I


AE. INDIAN-STANDARD. MEDIUM WEIGHT 8.25 g

*Obv.* Diademed and bearded head of Heracles to r.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ / ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

*Rev.* Lion's skin. *Maharajasa / tratarasa / Menamdrasa.*





19 × 18 mm, 6.05 g. Below:  (BN, series 35).

This coin is the second known specimen of this series, and it is unique because of the Kharoshthi *akshara sa* which replaces the usual monogram. The already known example in the British Museum bears the monogram:  (see BN, series 35, pl. 33, D). It belonged formerly to A. Cunningham (inv. no. 1888.12.8.312). Undoubtedly it represents Heracles. Although the diademed and bearded head can be attributed to Zeus, as on the previous coin, the lion's skin of the reverse type obviously evokes Heracles. As can be seen on this example, only the head of the divinity, not the usual bust, is depicted on this series.


The next coin in the hoard is of Lysias. Although the type and the monogram are known, it is interesting because of the engraving error on the obverse.










## 3. LYSIAS

AE. INDIAN-STANDARD. CIRCULAR FLAN. MEDIUM WEIGHT 8.50 g

*Obv.* Bust of Heracles to r., club and palm over l. shoulder. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANIKHTOY instead of usual ΛΥΣΙΟΥ,    .

*Rev.* Elephant walking to r. *Maharajasa apadihatasa / Lisiasa.*

21mm, 4.8 g. To l.,  (BN, series 9. B).

When this coin is placed in front of a mirror the usual legend ΛΥΣΙΟΥ appears as it should be on the coin. It is also noteworthy that on coins of Lysias with the monograms ,  &  the Kharoshthi legend is written *Lisikasa*, while with  &  it is *Lisiasa*, but on this coin, the name of the king is written as   : *Lisiusa*. It may be an engraving error, because on the same coin, the Kharoshthi *a* of *apadihatasa* is written as *u*: .

Another coin in the British Museum (inv. no. 1956.7.10.35 ex-H.L. Haughton collection) is struck with the same obverse and reverse dies (see Mitchiner



1975, series 267, 2nd illustration from the left). Mitchiner does not pay attention to these details. The present coin is no doubt the most well preserved specimen of the series (cf. *BN*, pl. 39. A; Mitchiner, 1975, series 267).

The coins from the Pandayale hoard in private collection include three more coins of Menander I, one of Apollodotos I, one of Antialcidas and one of Nicias. Although their types and monograms are already known through many other specimens, I have recorded them here to give some idea of the composition of the hoard.

MENANDER I. AE. INDIAN-STANDARD. MEDIUM WEIGHT 8.25 g

*Obv.* Elephant head to r., bell around the neck.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ / ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

*Rev.* Club. *Maharajasa / tratarasa / Menamdrasa.*

4. 17 × 16 mm, 2.60 g. To 1., Α, to r., Φ (BN, series 28.B).

5. 15 × 15 mm, 3.10 g. On *obv.*, in the exergue, Α; on *rev.* to 1., Ρ (BN, series 28.J).

AE. INDIAN-STANDARD QUADRUPLES. MEDIUM WEIGHT 9.80 g

*Obv.* Bust of Athena to r., wearing helmet.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ / ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

*Rev.* Round shield with Gorgon head in the centre.

*Maharajasa / tratarasa / Menamdrasa.*

6. — 19 × 19 mm, 5.30 g. To r., Μ (BN, series 19.A).

APOLLODOTOS I. AE. INDIAN-STANDARD QUADRUPLES.

MEDIUM WEIGHT 9.80 g

*Obv.* Apollo standing facing, with radiate head; holds in r. hand arrow, in l. bow resting on ground.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ / ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.

*Rev.* Tripod. *Maharajasa / Apaladatas / tradarasa.*

7. 19 × 18 mm, 5.30 g. Without monogram (BN, series 6.A).

ANTIALCIDAS. AE. INDIAN-STANDARD. CIRCULAR FLAN.

MEDIUM WEIGHT 4.25 g

*Obv.* Bust of Zeus to r., hurling thunderbolt with upraised r. hand. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ / ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ.

*Rev.* Palms and *pilei* of the Dioscuri. *Maharajasa jayadharasa / Amtialikidasa.*

8. 21 mm, 3.80 g. In the exergue, to 1., ΙϞ (BN, series 15.A).

NICIAS. AE. INDIAN-STANDARD. MEDIUM WEIGHT 8.50 g

*Obv.* Diademed bust of king to r. BACIAEΩC / CΩTHPOC / NIKIOY. With square *omicrons*, cursive *omegas* and lunate *sigmas*.

*Rev.* Diademed king on prancing horse to r. *Maharajasa / tratarasa / Nikiasa*.

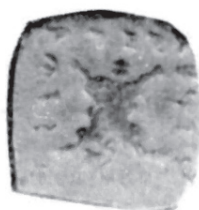
9. 19 × 19 mm, 5.30 g. Without monogram (BN, series 6.A).

## REFERENCES

- Bopearachchi, O. (1991), *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- (1989), 'Monnaies indo-grecques surfrappées', *RN*, XXXI, pp. 49-79.
- Bopearachchi, O. & A. ur Rahman (1995), *Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan*, Karachi.
- Cunningham, A. (1884), *Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East*, London, rpt. Delhi and Varanasi, 1970, rpt. Chicago, 1969, series of articles appeared in *NC* 1868, 1870, 1872, 1873.
- Gardner, P. (1886), *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum: Creek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, London.
- Lahiri, A.N. (1965), *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, Calcutta.
- Mitchiner, M. (1975-6), *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, 9 vols, London.
- Senior, R.C. & S. Mirza (1996), 'An Indo-Greek Overstrike', *ONS News Letter*, no. 149, p. 5.
- Senior, R.C. and D. MacDonald, *The Decline of the Indo-Greeks: A Reappraisal of the Chronology from the Time of Menander to that of Azes*, Athens, *Monograph of the Hellenic Numismatic Society*, 2, 1998.
- Whitehead, R.B. (1914), *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. 1: *Indo-Greek Coins*, Oxford.



1



2



3

## Two More Unique Coins From the Second Mir Zakah Deposit\*

I have published from time to time some unique or rare coins from the second Mir Zakah deposit as they surfaced in the Pakistani bazaars or when they were purchased by private collectors. Although I was personally able to examine some several hundred coins from the same deposit, this figure seems derisory when one takes into account the total number of nearly 550,000 specimens that it originally contained before its disposal in European, American and Japanese markets. Even given this desperate situation, I have not given up hope, and as time and energy allows, I continue recording them to the best of my ability, and hope to publish them one day as a separate book. Until then, I shall continue to publish short notices on the rare specimens.

The two unique coins published here are from the private collection of M. Riaz Babar, and I appreciate his willingness to make them known to the public.

The first is a legendless gold coin weighing 1.60 g, with a diameter of 10 mm. If it is struck according to the Attic weight like all the Graeco-Bactrian coins, it could be a triobol, which theoretically weighs 1.90 to 2.10 g depending on the region where it was minted. It is well known that almost all Graeco-Bactrian coins do not reach the theoretical weight of the Attic standard. On the other hand, the lower weight can also be explained by the fact the coin was lying in the well of Mir Zakah for two thousand years (for a recent update on the second Mir Zakah deposit, see Bopearachchi 1999).

The obverse die is not centred and the relief is not very pronounced. Only three-quarters of the astragalus border can be seen. The drawing shown here



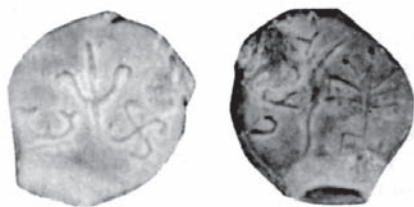
\*Reprinted from *ONS Newsletter*, no. 169, Autumn 2001, pp. 21-2.

is a reconstruction of the complete border. The identity of the obverse type raises many questions. Some numismatists and art historians who have seen the coin are of the opinion that it could represent a shield. Even if the circular element is a shield, it is difficult to explain the function of the extensions jutting out from two sides. The exact identification of the obverse type thus remains uncertain and I prefer to leave the question open until further discoveries.

In contrast, the reverse type does not raise any problems. It is certainly a *caduceus*. The die is better centred than that of the obverse, and the astragalus border runs in a circle. One of the two signs to the right of the *caduceus* could be a lunate *sigma* and the other an *iota*. Two signs or letters are not joined. It is difficult to say for certain whether these two signs represent a monogram.

Since the coin is legendless, its attribution to a ruler would only be a guess. The legendless gold staters depicting the bust of Athena to right, wearing a helmet on the obverse, and on the reverse an owl standing to right, head facing (see *BN*, 1), were attributed to the Indo-Greek Menander I, for the simple reason that similar types are represented in one of his bilingual series, with his name in Greek and Prakrit (see *BN*, 2). Demetrios I is the only Greek king in Central Asia and India who used the *caduceus* on his coinage (see *BN*, 5). The *caduceus* on his bronze coins is similar to the one on the present gold coin. If the obverse type is a shield, it is on Demetrios I's coins that one has to look for a similar type (see *BN*, 6). Apart from a few exceptions, almost all the early Graeco-Bactrian coins until Apollodotos I are characterized by a pellet border (see *BN*, 1). After Demetrios II (see *BN*, 1), the astragalus border becomes a common feature of the Graeco-Bactrian coinage. However a few tetradrachms issued by Demetrios I bear, not only on the obverse but also on the reverse, the astragalus border (see e.g. *Qunduz*, no. 28 and Bopearachchi 2000, nos. 71-2 from the Kuliab hoard). In the absence of any other evidence, Demetrios I is the only plausible candidate to whom the credit of issuing this unique series can be attributed. Further evidence alone may confirm or disprove this hypothesis.

The second coin is of lead. On one side there is a Buddhist *triratna* or Śaiva *triśūla* in the middle; to the left is an elaborate *nandipada* symbol and to the right a *swastika* with semi-circular ends revolving to the right. On the other side, in the middle, there is probably a river symbol or a snake and to the right a seven-branched tree in an enclosure divided into six compartments by one horizontal and two vertical lines.



The legend in Brāhmī to the left presents some difficulties in deciphering and interpretation. I sought the help of Harry Falk who proposes the following reading and interpretation. The first letter is no doubt *pa* ‘𑀧’; the second letter could be *ta* ‘𑀭’ or *ti* ‘𑀭’; the third letter could be *ma* ‘𑀮’; the fourth is certainly *na* ‘𑀹’. Falk proposes *pat(i)ma(-)n(-)* or *pat(a)ma(-)n(-)*. With caution, one may read *patimāna*, Skt. *pratimāna*, a term used for a weight, which might also represent a certain value. On palaeographical grounds, the legend could be dated from the third century BC to the first century AD. Apart from that, I have no further evidence to date the coin or to attribute it to a specific locality. Although all the symbols appearing on the coin are known in an Indian context, their composition and the legend make it, so far, a unique piece.

## REFERENCES

- Bopearachchi, O. (1991), *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- (1999), ‘Le dépôt de Mir Zakah. Le plus grand trésor du monde, son destin et son intérêt’, *Dossiers d’Archéologie*, 248, November, pp. 36-43.
- (2000), ‘La circulation et la production monétaires en Asie Centrale et dans l’Inde du Nord-Ouest (avant et après la conquête d’Alexandre)’, *Pubblicazioni di Indologica Taurinensia, Collana di Letture*, Turin.
- Qunduz*. R. Curiel and G. Fussman (1965), *Le trésor monétaire de Qunduz (MDAFA XX)*,



## ‘Thundering Zeus Revisited’\*

Arousing the excitement of numismatists of Central Asia and India, the news of the discovery of a hoard containing hundreds of gold staters of Graeco-Bactrian Diodotos I and II and Euthydemos I, broke last spring. According to the first rumours, the hoard contained more than 1,000 coins and was found in Mathura. Three months later, in July, the alleged number was reduced to 500, and the findspot moved to Vaisali in Bihar. Further investigations confirmed that the hoard was certainly found in Vaisali, by villagers who were collecting clay from the dried riverbed. The earthen pot may have originally contained more than 100 gold staters. Now the number has been reduced to some 70 coins. This sudden drastic reduction can be explained by two factors. Firstly, some coins were melted down by the goldsmith of the village to make gold jewellery. Secondly, a good number of the coins were hidden by dealers to prevent the coin market from being inundated with an unprecedented number of gold coins. Although one has to be cautious about these rumours, the appearance of more than 30 coins in the European coin markets from June to July 2001, resulted in the assumption that the reputed discovery of the hoard was not a fairy tale.

Ten staters of Diodotos I and II and Euthydemos I were shown to a German collector. He purchased four of them. Sources for this article are mainly these four staters from the so-called Vaisali hoard, two from his old collection and one from the private collection of M. Riaz Babar. We are very grateful to both collectors for allowing us to publish them. We have to confess that this article has to be considered as a prelude to a number of notices that we might like to publish whenever we gain access to new coins from the hoard. We also hope, in the near future, to be able to reconstitute the hoard to the best of our ability and to carry out a die-study.

We do not intend here to advance any hypotheses on the dynastic transitions in the coinage of Bactria from Diodotos to Euthydemos. Our ambition is simply to record the new coin evidence. Until an exhaustive die-study has been done on these coins, very little can be said about this enigmatic period in Hellenistic Bactria. The minute die-study done here will clearly show how little we know about the functioning of Graeco-Bactrian coinages.

The discovery of a coin hoard containing hundreds of gold staters of the first three Graeco-Bactrian kings in the distant city of Vaisali can only be explained by the fact that they were brought so far away from Bactria and Sogdiana, only for their bullion value. Vaisali is located in the Ganges valley

\*Reprinted from *ONS Newsletter*, no. 169, Autumn 2001, pp. 21-41 (with K. Grigo).

in the Muzaffarpur district of north Bihar. It is one of the oldest cities of India, with a wealth of tradition and historical legend. The ancient site, excavated extensively in the 1940s, revealed the existence of mud-ramparts dated from c. 300 to 150 BC.<sup>1</sup> As we know, this period corresponds partly to the reigns of Diodotos I and II (250-230 BC) and Euthydemus' (230-200 BC).<sup>2</sup> The inland trade between Bactria and the Ganges valley was beginning to develop during this period. Vaisali was not far from the ancient trade route from Bactra, the capital of Bactria which passed through Alexandria, Pushkalavati, Taxila, Mathura, Kausambi and Pataliputra to Tamralipiti in the Ganges delta.<sup>3</sup> The discovery of a gold stater of Diodotos in the excavations of Bhir Mound at Taxila is another indicator of this active trade.<sup>4</sup>

The majority of coins from the Vaisali hoard bear a chisel cut on the head of the royal portrait. Two out of four Vaisali coins (nos. 1 & 4) published here are slashed. We believe that the coins were chiselled to test the purity of the gold. The cut mark is placed on the head of the portrait at the highest point of relief. The discovery of plated coins in the second Mir Zakah deposit shows that, in ancient times, the plating of coins was not an uncommon practice.<sup>5</sup> The slashed marks on some of the Roman aurei found in India are interpreted as an attempt to deface the emperor's portrait.<sup>6</sup> We do not think that this logic can be applied to the gold staters from the Vaisali hoard. First of all, not all the coins are chiselled (see nos. 2 & 5). Secondly, the chisel mark is always placed on the head above the diadem, and we do not see how it could be interpreted as an attempt to deface the king's portrait. If this were the case, all the coins should have been systematically 'chiselled and, above all, the face not the head should have been defaced. Curiously enough, some coins of Diodotos found in Taxila<sup>7</sup> and in Bactria were also chiselled in this way.<sup>8</sup> It goes without saying that there is no valid reason to deface the king's portrait within his own realm. So, for these reasons, we are inclined to think that the coins were chiselled to verify the purity of the gold, since they were brought only for their bullion value to the heart of India where the Greeks never exercised any political power.

Let us come back to the coins. All the photographs of the coins are enlarged, but their correct dimensions are given in the catalogue.

<sup>1</sup> See K. Deva and V. Mishra, *Vaisali Excavations: 1950*, Vaisali, 1961, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> O. Bopearachchi, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1991, pp. 41-9.

<sup>3</sup> See A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila (MDAFAI, 1)*, Paris, 1942.

<sup>4</sup> J. Marshall, *Taxila*, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1951, p. 763.

<sup>5</sup> See O. Bopearachchi and A. ur Rahman, *Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan*, Karachi, 1995, pp. 65-71.

<sup>6</sup> For a good summary of the different hypotheses, see P. Turner, *Roman Coins from India*, London, 1989, pp. 29-34.

<sup>7</sup> J. Marshall, *Taxila*, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1951, pl. 236, no. 39.

<sup>8</sup> Bopearachchi, 1991, pl. 1, nos. A & 11.

## DIODOTOS, IN THE NAME OF ANTIOCHOS

AV. ATTIC-STANDARD STATER

*Obv.* Diademed head of a young king to r.*Rev.* Zeus striding to l., naked, hurling thunderbolt; aegis on l. arm and eagle with outstretched wings at his feet. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ANTIOXOY.

To 1., N (Bopearachchi 1991, Diodotes, 1).

1. ↓ 8.32 g 18.7 mm. Vaisali hoard. 30-04-2001.

2. ↓ 8.30 g 18.5 mm. Vaisali hoard. 18-07-2001.

To 1.,  (Bopearachchi 1991, Diodotes, 1.A).

3. ↓ 8.33 g 18.7 mm. Old collection. 1996.

*Obv.* Diademed head of a middle-aged king to r.*Rev.* As on the previous coins.To 1.,  (Bopearachchi 1991, Diodotes, 1.A).

4. ↓ 8.41 g 18.4 mm. Vaisali hoard. 18-07-2001.

5. ↓ 8.40 g 18 mm. Vaisali hoard. 30-04-2001.

## EUTHYDEMOS I

AV. ATTIC-STANDARD STATER

*Obv.* Diademed head of a young king to r.*Rev.* Heracles, seated on a rock, holds in r. hand club which rests aslant on a pile of rocks in front of him. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ.To 1.,  (Bopearachchi 1991, Euthydeme I, 1.C).

6. ↓ 8.33 g 18 mm. Private collection of K. Grigo. 1997. Probably from Ai Khanum.

7. ↓ 8.34 g 17.8 mm. Private collection of M. Riaz Babar. Ai Khanum.

The monogram 'N' on coin nos. 1 & 2 is not attested so far on the gold coins struck by Diodotos in the name of Antiochos. However, it appears on his silver tetradrachms.<sup>9</sup>

The most important observation is that four out of the seven coins discussed here (nos. 1, 2, 6 & 7) are from the same obverse die. Nos. 1 & 2 are from the same reverse die. Nos. 6 and 7 are also from the same reverse die. The die-crack, in the right field at the level of 'Ω' of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, is clearly visible on both coins. One cannot miss the fact that four coins (nos. 1, 2, 6 & 7) bear the same young portrait of Diodotos on the obverse. As one would expect, the first two coins bear the full-length figure of a thundering Zeus with an eagle at his feet, the standard reverse image for the coins of Diodotos.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., Diodote I & II, 2.H.

According to Justin's abbreviated version of Pompeius Trogus' kind of universal history *Historiae Philippicae* (XLI, 4), at the time when Parthia was first attempting to throw off the yoke of the Seleucids (towards the middle of the third century BC), a certain Diodotos (who was then the Seleucid satrap of Bactria) rebelled against his suzerain and established an independent kingdom in Bactria. We are also told that Diodotos was succeeded by a son bearing the same name. Because of the ambiguity of the ancient texts, historians have long disputed the name of the Seleucid king in whose reign this event took place; for some, it was Antiochos II, c. 250, for others Seleucos II, c. 239/8 BC. Numismatic data shows that this revolt must have taken place as early as c. 250. On close examination, the gold and silver coins in question can be divided into two distinct groups: one with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (nos. 1-5), and the other ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ.<sup>10</sup> The first group with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, minted by Diodotos, bears two distinctive characteristics, compared to the true coins of Antiochos II: keeping his sovereign's name, Diodotos introduces his own portrait instead of the portrait of Antiochos II, and replaces the most common Seleucid reverse type, Apollo seated on the *omphalos* with the thundering Zeus with an eagle at his feet. In the second group, not only the portrait and the reverse type, but also the name, are those of Diodotos. With the coins of the first group, the satrap still shows a formal attachment to Seleucid sovereignty by minting in the name of Antiochos II. This twofold character, pertinent to the first group, signifies that Diodotos, in issuing them, took a revolutionary step towards independence, without yet taking the royal title. As for the second group, it is evident that Diodotos, in minting it with his own portrait and name, took the final step in openly declaring his independence. Thus was born the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. Diodotos was succeeded by a son of the same name in c. 239/8 BC who was in turn overthrown by Euthydemos I.

Regarding the circumstances in which Euthydemos acceded to the throne, we know only what can be reconstructed from the words Polybius attributes to him (XI, 39). Besieged in Bactra by Antiochos III, Euthydemos denies, before Teleas, an envoy of the Seleucid king, ever having committed any act of rebellion against his ancestors. This rebellion had been instigated by others and, though he had assumed power in Bactria, it had been by annihilating the descendants of these rebels. Taking this text literally, it would be at the time of Diodotos II's death (he and Diodotos I being the 'real rebels' alluded to in the text) that Euthydemos seized the Bactrian throne by doing away with the descendants of the reigning Diodotid family.

Until these recent discoveries, the coins of Euthydemos I were characterized by a different reverse type, a seated Heracles holding a club, and a portrait on the obverse which could be distinguished from that of his predecessors. The discovery of two coins struck with the same obverse die of Diodotos, bearing

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 1991, pls 1 & 2.

Euthydemos I's name and type on the reverse (nos. 6 & 7) raises many questions. If all four coins came from the same hoard, one could imagine that they were minted in a hurry by the mint masters of Euthydemos, using the old dies, to supply a large quantity of gold coins for external transactions. However, the reality is quite different. Coin no. 7 is definitely from Ai Khanum, and was purchased in the Peshawar bazaar in 2000, one year before the discovery of the Vaisali hoard. Coin no. 6 also seems to have come from the same site and was purchased in 1997. What is also surprising, in this context, is that the obverse die bears a portrait of the young Diodotos, while the reverse of the first series of coins is still struck in the name of his Seleucid suzerain Antiochos II. Leaving aside the question of the father and the son bearing the same name, if the obverse had the old portrait, one would have to accept, albeit reluctantly, that mint-masters used the most recent die of Diodotos by accident, when they were asked to produce the first coins of their new king. It is noteworthy that the Vaisali hoard also contained coins with the portrait of a middle-aged king (see no. 5). We were told by those who have seen the coins from the Vaisali hoard as they surfaced in European coin markets, that only a very small number of coins from the hoard are struck in the name of Diodotos.

We personally do not have any readymade answers to explain these anomalies. For this reason, we wish to have access to more specimens, and to extend the die-study, for the purpose of finding, if possible, convincing answers to the many enigmatic questions concerning the birth of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom and the transitional period between the Diodotids and Euthydemids.

#### POSTSCRIPT

Since the publication of this article more coins from the same hoard appeared in the sale catalogues proving our observations made in 2001. All these coins were studied by Olivier Bordeaux (PhD student of the Paris IV-Sorbonne University) in his exhaustive die-study of Diodotos' coinages. The results of this study which will be published quite soon will answer many questions raised in recent years regarding Antiochos II, Diodotos I & II.



1



2



3



4



5



6





7





## Diomedes Overstruck by Agathocleia\*

I have published in a previous Newsletter (*ONS*, no. 169: 19-21) nine bronze coins which belonged to a hoard containing 22 Indo-Greek bronze coins, found in 2000 at Pandayale a remote village situated in the tribal area of Mohmand Agency, to the south of the Bajaur area in Pakistan. The coin that I publish here, also from the same hoard, entered the private collection of Muhammad Riaz Babar, along with three other bronze coins:

1. *Menander I.* Bust of Athena/Shield with Gorgon head. *BN*, 19 A. .  
20 × 20 mm. 7.15 g
2. *Diomedes.* Dioscuri standing facing/Humped bull to r., *BN*, 10 C. .  
20 × 18 mm. 8.16 g
3. *Diomedes.* Types and monograms as on the previous coin.  
20 × 17 mm. 8.48 g

It was Babar who first identified the present overstrike. Thanks to his collaboration. I was able to examine the coin personally. I am most grateful to him for authorizing me to publish it. As we shall see later, there is no doubt that this bronze coin of Agathocleia and Strato (*BN*, series 3) is overstruck on a coin of Diomedes (*BN*, series 10). There are instances where new overstrikes generate much enthusiasm. However, this new overstrike causes more problems than it solves. Let me come to this point later.

Here is the description of the overtypes and the undertypes (see the line drawing by François Ory):

AE. INDIAN-STANDARD 22 × 19 mm. 8.63 g



*Obr.* Overttype of the coin of Agathocleia and Strato: Helmeted bust of Athena to r. Legend in Greek:

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ / ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ / ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛ[ΕΙΑΣ].

\*Reprinted from *ONS Newsletter*, no. 172, Summer 2002, pp. 13-14.

Undertype of the reverse of Diomedes (when the coin is rotated 90°):  
Traces of the humped bull to r.

Legend in Kharoshthi: *[Maharajasa/tratarasa/Dijyumitasa]*.

*Rev.* Overtyp of the coin of Agathocleia and Strato: Herakles seated on a rock, holding the club against his r. thigh. To l. upper part of the monogram:  $\text{K}^{\text{P}}$ .

Legend in Kharoshthi: *Maharajasa/tratarasa dhra/mikasa Stra[tasa]*.

Undertype of the obverse of Diomedes (when the coin is rotated 90°):  
Traces of Dioscuri, standing facing, holding a spear.

Legend in Greek:  $[\text{BA}\Sigma\text{I}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega]\Sigma/\Sigma\Omega\text{THPO}\Sigma/[\Delta\text{I}]\text{OMH}\Delta\text{OY}$ .



The reverse die of Agathocleia and Strato's issue had penetrated deep into the obverse of Diomedes' coin leaving no room for any doubt to identify the undertype. It is evident that the dies of Agathocleia and Strato have been used to overstrike the coin of Diomedes.

As we know, a large number of bronze coins of Heliocles II are overstruck on coins of Agathocleia and Strato, but this is the first known coin of Agathocleia and Strato overstruck on a coin of Diomedes. This overstrike thus puts into question the chronological frame of c. 135-125 BC attributed to Agathocleia and of c. 95-90 BC to Diomedes. Consequently, the chronological order attributed to Agathocleia and Strato and Diomedes has to be reconsidered in the light of this overstrike.




Even in spite of any textual evidence, it is generally agreed that queen Agathocleia, whose name and portrait appear on a number of coin issues, either alone or in conjunction with those of Strato, was the mother if not at least the

regent of the latter. When the coins of Agathocleia are set in a chronological sequence, we can indeed observe that Agathocleia was regent during the infancy of Strato. On a first series of coins the portrait of Agathocleia together with her name in Greek appears on the obverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ, while the name and titles of Strato in Kharoshthi, without portrait, are relegated to the reverse: *Maharajasa tratarasa Dhramikasa Stratarasa* (BN, Agathocleia and Strato, series 1). On the next issue, she takes the title 'Θεοτρόπος' (BN, Agathocleia and Strato, series 2). At the second stage the portrait of Agathocleia occurs in association with that of Strato, with the legend in Greek ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ, and on the reverse appears the legend in Kharoshthi *Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Stratarasa Agathukriae* (BN, Agathocleia and Strato, series 5), associated with Menander's monetary type Athena Alkidemos. In the next series her name disappears from the Kharoshthi legend (BN, Agathocleia and Strato, series 6). The numismatic evidence thus shows how, with the growth of her son, Agathocleia gradually abandoned her role of queen-regent, until her portrait and her name disappear completely from the coinage. For these reasons it is impossible to separate the series represented by the bronze coin of Agathocleia and Strato, from the proper issues of Strato I.

I have considered Diomedes as immediate successor of Philoxenus because of the monograms appearing on their coins. Out of his six monograms. Diomedes shared five of them  $\Sigma\Xi$ ,  $\Phi$ ,  $\Phi$ ,  $\Phi$ ,  $\Phi$  with Philoxenus. In addition, stylistically the portrait of Diomedes is closer to that of Philoxenus.

At least three possibilities can be suggested to interpret this overstrike which jeopardize to a certain extent conventional chronological sequence attributed to Agathocleia—Strato and Diomedes.

1. The first possibility is to accept that some dies were reused even many years after the death of the sovereign in question. This hypothesis may lead to a dangerous exercise. It can be used as a trump card whenever an embarrassing problem arises. In addition to everything else, it would provoke more controversy concerning numismatic methodology. It must be stressed here that there are several ways to interpret the reasons for overstriking. It may result from the shortage of metal, but it applies more to precious metal, I mean gold and silver. The second, perhaps the most valid reason, as far as the Indo-Greek coinage is concerned, is to erase the memory of predecessors (see C.H.V. Sutherland (1942) and G. Le Rider (1975)). Obviously this logic does not apply to a dead sovereign overstriking coins of a living king. I personally think that this overstrike cannot be regarded as a pure mint accident that occurred some time after the death of Agathocleia. As matter of fact, the obverse and reverse dies of Agathocleia and Strato's present coin are identical to the one in the American Numismatic Society (SNG, no. 983). In another words, it is more likely, that the overstrike was done when the regular bronze coins were issued. So, one has to discard the first possibility.

2. The second possibility is to consider Agathocleia as a successor or a close contemporary of Diomedes, and place her reign 40 years after the death of Menander I.
3. The third possibility is to place Diomedes as an immediate successor of Menander I and Eucratides I. In favour of this hypothesis one may argue that among the successors of Eucratides, Diomedes is the only king who adheres fully to Eucratides' monetary type. Diomedes represented as his predominant reverse type the mounted Dioscuri prancing, holding spears and palms (*BN*, Diomedes, series 1-7), which was the monetary type *par excellence* of Eucratides I (e.g. *BN*, Eucratides I, series 1-2, 4-8). Furthermore, out of his six monograms, Diomedes shared three , ,  with Eucratides I.

I prefer to leave the question open for the moment until I complete the corpus of all the Indo-Greek coins. This corpus may help us to solve at least some of the chronological problems in the light of new numismatic evidence. It is hoped that such a study would lead to a greater appreciation of the very real difficulties a numismatist has to face in reconstructing the history of one of the most enigmatic periods of India's past.

## REFERENCES

- Bopearachchi, O. (1991), *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- (1998), *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek Coins. The Collection of the American Numismatic Society*, part 9, New York.
- Sutherland, C.H.V. (1942), 'Overstrikes and Hoards: The Movement of Greek Coinage down to 400 BC', *NC*, pp. 1-18
- Rider, G. Le (1975), 'Contremarques et surfrappes dans l'Antiquité grecque', dans *Numismatique antique. Problèmes et méthodes. Annales de l'est, publiées par l'Université de Nancy II*, Memoire no. 44, pp. 27-55.

## To Err is Human\*

Attention is drawn to an article published in a previous issue of the same journal to a coin of Lysias characterized by an engraving mistake (*ONS Newsletter*, no. 169, 2001, pp. 20-1. There the name of the king in Greek appears as  $\Upsilon\iota\ \Sigma\Upsilon\Lambda$  instead of the usual  $\Lambda\Upsilon\Sigma\text{IOY}$ ). The present notice is based on another coin of the same series struck in the name of the same Indo-Greek king characterized by a different engraving error.

LYSIAS. AE. INDIAN-STANDARD. CIRCULAR FLAN



- Obv.* Bust of Heracles to r., wearing wreath, club and palm over his left shoulder.  $\text{BA}\Sigma\text{I}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\S \text{ANHTOY} / \text{IK}\Lambda\Upsilon\Sigma\text{IOY}$ .  
*Rev.* Elephant walking to r. *Maharajasa apadihatasa / Lisiasa*.  
 22.9, mm, 5.20 g. Below:  $\text{I}\Upsilon$  (*BN*, series 9.B), (see the line drawing by François Ory).



Apart from the right stroke of the monogram which takes the form of an elongated 'S' instead of the usual concave line, the reverse does not have any anomalies. It is the obverse that interests us more. Instead of the usual legend in Greek:  $\text{BA}\Sigma\text{I}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\S \text{ANIKHTOY} / \Lambda\Upsilon\Sigma\text{IOY}$ , appears:  $\text{BA}\Sigma\text{I}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\S \text{ANHTOY} / \text{IK}\Lambda\Upsilon\Sigma\text{IOY}$ . While engraving the legend the engraver has mistakenly left out two letters: 'IK' of  $\text{ANIKHTOY}$ . Realizing the error, he had then made up for

\*Reprinted from *ONS Newsletter*, no. 172, Summer 2002, pp. 14-15 (with Klaus Grigo).

it by introducing the two missing letters at the beginning of the king's name in Greek, thus creating confusion.

This coin is one of the many specimens of the second Mir Zakah deposit which reached the Peshawar bazaars. The yellowish-reddish patina of this specimen is one of the main characteristics of the bronze coins from the two Mir Zakah deposits (see *BN*, pp. 37-8).

This coin enables us to understand the different stages of die- engraving. It seems that first the type and then the legend were engraved. Concerning the legend, first the title 'Βασιλεως' was engraved. This starts at 7 o'clock, instead of the usual 9 o'clock and ends up at 10 o'clock. The epithet begins at 11 o'clock. The engraver realized his mistake only when the epithet ended up at 2 o'clock. If the epithet was correctly engraved it would have reached the usual 4 o'clock position. In order to fill the large gap between 2 o'clock and 7 o'clock which represents more than one-third of the total space, the engraver added the two missing letters: IK of ANIKHTOY at 6 o'clock. The name of the king, instead of the usual 8 o'clock to 5 o'clock anti-clockwise disposition, begins at 5 o'clock. To our knowledge, this is the first known example of Indo-Greek coinage where a die-engraving error in the legend was subsequently corrected.

#### REFERENCES

- Bopearachchi, O. (1991), *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné*. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- (2001), 'Some Interesting Coins from the Pandayale Hoard'. *ONS Newsletter*, no. 169: 19-21.



## Three Interesting Indo-Greek Coins\*

The aim of this short article is to examine three very interesting Indo-Greek coins in the private collection of Ta-Cheng Li.

### 1. LYSIAS, AR. INDIAN-STANDARD DRACHM



*Obv.* Diademed bust of king to left, wearing a crested helmet, seen from the back, thrusting spear with his upraised right hand. The left shoulder of the king is covered by an elephant scalp with tusks instead of an aegis.

Legend in Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ / ΛΥΣΙΟΥ.

*Rev.* Naked Herakles standing facing, crowning himself with his right hand, and carrying club, palm and lion's skin in his left arm.

Monogram:  $\mathbb{R}$ .

Legend in Kharoshthi: *Maharajasa apadihatasa/Lisiasa*.

This coin, which was for sale on *eBAY*, 2000, item # 408796294, belongs to a bilingual series struck in the name of Lysias known from more than ten coins, but interestingly, it is the first known specimen with the monogram  $\mathbb{R}$ . Of course, this monogram, in both the forms  $\mathbb{R}$  and  $\mathbb{R}$ , though rare, is attested in Lysias' coinage, see for example, *BN*, series, 4 B, 8 D & E, 9 A. The lower part of the Kharoshthi legend is off flan, yet the upper portion of 'a'  $\text{𑀅}$  is clearly visible. So the name of the king with this monogram has to be read as *Lisiasa*. The dark patina of the coin is characteristic of silver coins from both Mir Zakah deposits (*BN*, pp. 37-9).

### 2. AR ATTIC-STANDARD TETRADRACHM



*Obv.* Diademed bust of king to right, wearing a *kausia*.

\*Reprinted from *ONS Newsletter*, no. 172, Summer 2002, pp. 15-16 (with Ta-Cheng Li).

Rev. Poseidon standing facing, holding a long trident in his right hand, and in his left a palm with ribbon. Legend in Greek:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΘΕΟΥ / ANTIMAXOY.

To l.  $\exists$ , to r.  $\text{𐌰}$ . The letter 'B' under Poseidon's armpit. *BN*, series 1. 16.19 g., 32 mm.

The first coin bearing these two monograms came to our notice from the Kuliab hoard found in January 1998 in the region of Kuliab, situated in modern Tadjikistan, about 8 to 10 km from the Qizil Mazar in the Qizil Su Valley, on the right bank of the Oxus River (Bopearachchi 1999). The hoard seems to have comprised 800 tetradrachms and drachms. We had access to 205 coins, 52 tetradrachms, 48 drachms and 105 obols (Bopearachchi 1999). The second specimen bearing the same monograms appeared in the *CNG, Mail Bid Sale*, 50, no. 1016. The third specimen which we publish here, was for sale in *Dmitry Markov Coins and Medals, Mail Bid Auction*, 10, no. 207. The inverted 'E' first appeared to us as an engraving error, like no. 137 of the Kuliab hoard (Bopearachchi 1999), where instead of the usual  $\text{𐌰}$ , we get  $\text{𐌰}$ , with an inverted 'N'. Curiously enough, the three coins known until now bearing the combined monograms:  $\exists$  &  $\text{𐌰}$  are all struck from different dies. Consequently, it is more difficult to consider this 'anomaly' as a pure accident. Nevertheless, we have no explanation to justify the presence of such inverted letters.

We further observe, the presence of a small letter 'B' under Poseidon's armpit when viewed from some angles. Since we did not have access to the other two coins bearing the same combined monograms, it is very difficult to detect from the photographs alone, whether this letter is present or not. Could it be a secret signature of the engraver?

### 3. AR ATTIC-STANDARD TETRADRACHM





Obv. Diademed bust of Heliocles I to r.

Rev. Apollo standing facing, head left, holding arrow in right hand; bow in left hand, resting on ground.

Legend in Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ. To l.  $\text{𐌰}$  or  $\text{𐌰}$ .

This coin was for sale on *eBAY*, 1999, item # 195365205, and was described as 'Obv—Diademed bust of Eucratides II right. Rev—Apollo standing, facing, holding bow and arrow'. The portrait on the obverse is certainly not of Eucratides II. Certain facial characteristics are closer in style to the middle-aged portrait of Heliocles I as depicted on his coins. Furthermore, on the known

coins of Eucratides II with the parallel legend arrangement on the reverse (cf. *BN*, series 1), the two diadem ends of the king's portrait on the obverse fall downwards in parallel straight lines from the knot (see for example *Trésor de Qunduz*, nos. 248-340). The diadem with undulate ends flying in the air, similar to the one on the present coin, are not attested on the tetradrachms of Eucratides II with parallel legends. On the contrary, this type of diadem arrangement is known from some issues of Heliocles II (see for example *Trésor de Qunduz*, nos. 396. 480 & 518).

The reverse of the coin depicting Apollo standing facing, head to left, holding arrow and bow belongs to the first series of Eucratides II as indicated by the Greek legend (cf., series 1). This monogram  with its variant  is the commonest of all the tetradrachms of Eucratides II. The Qunduz hoard alone had 26 specimens with this monogram. Yet not a single reverse die identical to the present coin is so far reported. Besides, one may also observe, on the coins bearing this monogram, that the position of the arrowhead pointing to the upper middle portion of the monogram is not so far attested in Eucratides II's coins. The two words of the legend are not arranged symmetrically either, the one on the left being slightly slanting.

This coin is most probably a mule. We have no proof whatsoever for showing any family relationship between Eucratides I and his successor, Eucratides II. We know that Eucratides I was assassinated by a son who shared the kingship with him, so the murderer in question would have been one of his successors, Eucratides II, Plato or Heliocles I, known to us through their coins. What is certain is that Eucratides II was a successor of Eucratides I along with Plato and Heliocles I in southern Bactria. Like Plato and Heliocles I, Eucratides II seems to have struck only silver coins of Attic standard, which are correctly attributed to Bactria. The possibility of such a mule could be explained by the fact that most of the coins of the three kings henceforth limited to a restricted area in Bactria. were struck in the same mint.

## REFERENCES

- Bopearachchi, O. (1991), *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- (1999), 'La circulation et la production monétaires en Asie Centrale et dans l'Inde du Nord-Ouest (avant et après la conquête d'Alexandre)', *Indologica Taurinensia*, pp. 15-121.
- Trésor de Qunduz*: R. Curiel and G. Fussman (1965), *Le trésor monétaire de Qunduz* (MDAFA, XX), Paris.

## Over-struck and Double-struck\*

Drawings by François Ory

The Triton mail bid sale (August 2001, no. 849) published a silver tetradrachm of Graeco-Bactrian Euthydemos I with excellent photographs. Although the types were not exceptional for Euthydemos I coinage, we were struck by one feature which appeared to us as some traces of an overstrike. Later this coin was acquired by Wilfried Pieper, and we could examine it carefully. We were puzzled by this coin and asked ourselves many questions: is it over-struck, double-struck or both over- and double-struck ? Here is the description of the coin:

AR. Attic-standard tetradrachm (16.47 g)

*Obv.* Diademed head of young king to right.

*Rev.* Herakles, seated on a rock, holds in right hand club which rests on a pile of three rocks ending in a comma shape at the bottom.

Legend in Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ.

Monogram to right: Α, Dies adjusted ↓ (cf. O. Bopearachchi and W. Pieper, *Ancient Indian Coins*, Brépols, Turnhout, 1998, pl. 32, no. 16).



\*Reprinted from *ONS Newsletter*, no. 178, Winter 2004, p. 20 (with Wilfried Pieper).

On the reverse there are no traces of an undertype; on the contrary, the double-striking can be seen over the head and the hand of seated Herakles and in some part of the Greek legend. The obverse also has some traces of double-striking at the level of the king's nose. Amazingly, beyond the first outline, there is a very clear contour of a head, starting from the forehead going up to the neck. On close examination, it becomes clear that this outline does not correspond to the features of Euthydemos as depicted on the coin. This difference is quite clear from the outline of the forelock, lips, chin and neck. If the first contour corresponds to a double-striking, where does the second outline come from? Is it from an overstrike? When examining the possibilities of an overstrike, we realized that Diodotos, Euthydemos' predecessor could be a good candidate. The contour of the face is more that of an old man with double chin and fleshy lips. Curiously enough, these features tally with those of the old portrait of Diodotos (cf. O. Bopearachchi, *SNG*, Part 9, New York, 1998, no. 77).





We learn from Polybius (XI, 39), about the circumstances in which Euthydemos acceded to the throne. According to his testimony, Euthydemos seized the Bactrian throne by doing away with the descendants of the reigning Diodotid family. In this context, it is always plausible to find a coin of Euthydemos overstruck on a coin of Diodotos. If it is the case, then we have to accept that it was both over-struck and double-struck. If not, we have to look upon it as triple-struck. We know that double-striking is usually more visible on the reverse than on the obverse, simply because, when striking a coin, the punch (with the reverse die) held in the hand, which receives the blow from the hammer, is less stable than the obverse die fixed into an anvil set on the floor. This is the reason why double-striking is more detectable on the reverse (see for example, O. Bopearachchi, *BN*, 1991, pl. 14, no. 1; pl. 23, nos. 15 & 16; pl. 39, no. 2). When all these arguments are taken into consideration, we are tempted to consider, with caution, this coin as double- and over-struck.

## 1. MENANDER I



- \*Reprinted from *ONS Newsletter*, no. 178, Winter 2004, pp. 18-20.



The first specimen of this series, belonging to the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal preserved in the Indian Museum of Calcutta, has been known to us since its first drawings produced by Alexander Cunningham (1884: 250, no. 13, pl. XII, fig. 8). In spite of the very bad condition of the coin, Cunningham gave an accurate description of the types. The monogram shown on his drawing: , however, does not correspond to the one referred in the text as no. 58: . Furthermore, he did not pay much attention to the unusual disposition of the legend. Unlike on many other series of Menander I, here the name of the king is followed by the epithet 'soter', in other words instead of the usual ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ/MENANΔΡΟΥ, we read ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/MENANΔΡΟΥ/ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. These two errors committed by Cunningham from the very beginning were repeated by many of his successors. Percy Gardner (1886: 169, no. 4; pl. XXXI, no. 10) in the British Museum catalogue of Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India, reproduced the drawings by Cunningham without correcting the monogram or the legend arrangement. V.A. Smith (1906: 27, no. 96; pl. V, no. 11), reproducing for the first time the photographs of this coin in his catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum of Calcutta, gave the correct legend arrangement, but did not read the Greek letter 'theta' to the left. R.B. Whitehead (1914: 63, pl. XIV) mentioned the coin referring to Gardner and Smith, without further comments. A.N. Lahiri (1965: 159, pl. XXVI, no. 5) in his corpus of Indo-Greek coins, committed two mistakes, firstly he read, with a question mark, the 'theta' as , and secondly proposed the disposition: 1. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, top. ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ r. MENANΔΡΟΥ. This incorrect disposition of the Greek legend was repeated by M. Mitchiner (1975, series 234) and by the present author (*BN*, series 30). Further to this Mitchiner repeated the incorrect monogram:  shown on the first drawing by Cunningham. This confusion was caused by the extremely bad condition of the coin.

The present coin, though still uncleaned, but almost in mint condition, enables us to propose an accurate description of this exceptional series. As we know, Menander was no doubt the most important Greek king that ever ruled in the Indian territories. He is superior to all the Greek kings who ruled before and after him in India, not only by the number of coins, but also by the number of different series both silver and bronze.

Apart from this series, now known through two specimens, the double-humped camel, popularly known as the Bactrian camel, is not so far attested on any of the Indo-Greek coin types. However, in ancient times they were clearly distinguished from the so-called Arabian camels which had only one hump. Among the different delegations depicted on the façades of the stairways of the Apadana at Persepolis, the Bactrians are represented with a double-humped camel (see E.F. Schmidt, 1953, pl. 41). We learn from the Greek historian Herodotus (III, 90-95, and VII, 62-8) of the fifth century BC that the Bactrians were in his time, paying tribute to the Persian kings or supplying troops to serve in their armies. Aristotle, in his *Historia Animalium*, clearly states that the Bactrian camels have two humps compared to Arabian camels, which have only one (Loeb, 498b, 8). The Greek critic and grammarian,

Aristophanes of Byzantium (257-180 BC) who became the chief librarian of the Museum of Alexandria in Egypt at the age of sixty, made the same observation (*Aristophanis historiae animalium subjunctis Aeliani Timo*, Ch. 2, section 447, line 1). Furthermore, the same author (section 459, line 1) says the Bactrian camel lives for a hundred years while the others only fifty.

The Indo-Scythian Azes was the next, after Menander I, to depict the double-humped camel on rare series of his coinage. On Azes's coins, a double-humped Bactrian camel is shown mounted by the king holding an axe (see Senior 2001: 81.10-81.30; Bopearachchi 2003: 19-20 and Bopearachchi and Sachs 2003).

The next striking feature of this rare series of Menander I is the disposition of the Greek legend. This legend arrangement is unusual compared to many of Menander's later series where the name of the king is placed to the right. Menander I on the present series followed a similar arrangement adopted by one of his predecessors, Apollodotos I (cf. *BN*, series 3-6). One may also observe that the early bronze issues of Menander I (cf. *BN*, series 17-22) go through an experimental phase before adopting the legend arrangement which became conventional for Indo-Greek bronze coinage. Perhaps it would make sense to consider this series as an early issue of Menander I. Although it is difficult to interpret the exact meaning of the letter 'theta' on the reverse which also stands for the numeral 9, the weight of the two coins (one in IMC 19.64 g, the present coin 19.65) may correspond to an octuple of the Indo-Greek standard unit of 2.45 g, in other words  $2.45 \times 8 = 19.60$  g. This weight standard was used by Menander I for his first group of coins. With a second group of square copper coins, Menander made an attempt to introduce a new standard for the issues of this metal (see Bopearachchi 1990: 52-4).

## 2. MAUES

Bronze. 27.5 × 25 mm; 11.21 g. Provenance: Pandayale.






*Obv.* Zeus enthroned and half turned to left, holding sceptre in left hand, and

on outstretched right hand a small figure of Nike who holds a wreath in her right hand. The forepart of an elephant with upraised trunk to right at the foot of the throne. Legend in Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑ/ΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕ/ΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ.

*Rev.* Naked Herakles standing facing, crowning himself with his right hand, and carrying club, palm and lion's skin in his left arm.

Legend in Kharoshthi: *rajatiraja/sa mahata/sa Moasa*.

Monograms: to left . (See fig. no. 1 B and drawing no. 1 B)

This coin series of Indo-Scythian Maues is known through a coin published by R.C. Senior (2001: 10.1) now in the Ashmolean Museum. Once again the new coin published here is in better condition. Apart from a minor mistake committed in his drawing (vol. III, p. 2, 10.1) where the name of the king in Kharoshthi is drawn as *ma*: , but not as *mo*:  the description and drawings by Senior of his coin are accurate.

The findspot of this coin is also important in many aspects. Pandayale, a remote village situated in the tribal area of Mohmand Agency, to the south of the Bajaur area, brought to light many Indo-Greek bronze coins and overstrikes. They were mentioned in two articles published by the present author. The first overstrike (see Bopearachchi. 2001) is a bronze issue of Heliocles II (*BN*, series 7) overstruck on a lifetime coin of Hermaios (*BN*, series 9), and the second (see Bopearachchi 2002) is a coin of Agathocleia (*BN*, series 3) overstruck on a coin of Diomedes (*BN*, series 10). Six more overstrikes from the same area are now grouped in a forthcoming article (Bopearachchi 2004):

- Agathocleia (*BN*, series 3) over Menander I (*BN*, series 36);
- Strato I (*BN*, series 30) over Diomedes (*BN*, series 10);
- two bronze coins of Heliocles II (*BN*, series 7) over Agathocleia (*BN*, series 3);
- two bronze coins of Heliocles II (*BN*, series 7) over Strato I (*BN*, series 29).

Maues, who seemed to have come to power in the heart of Indo-Greek territories, adopted many coin types of his Indo-Greek predecessors. The enthroned Zeus holding Nike on his outstretched right hand with the forepart of the elephant at the foot of the throne is a true copy of the Indo-Greek Antialcidas's reverse type *par excellence* (see for example, *BN*, series 1-4). On the reverse of this series, Maues depicts naked Herakles standing facing, crowning himself, a type inaugurated by Demetrios I (see *BN*, series 1-3) and reproduced by Lysias (see *BN*, series 1-7). No doubt, the inspiration would have come from the coinage of Lysias who was a close contemporary of Antialcidas. Like any form of art, monetary types, too, are a means of communication. The choice of the double-humped Bactrian camel by Menander I, and Zeus and Herakles faithfully copied from the types of the two close Indo-Greek contemporaries by Maues is not a pure coincidence.

## POSTSCRIPT

With the kind authorisation of the Director of the Indian Museum of Calcutta, we were able to reproduce below digital photographs the first coin depicting double-humped Bactrian camel and head of the bull published by Alexander Cunningham (1884: 250).

## REFERENCES

- Bopearachchi, O. (1991), *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- (1990), 'Ménandre Sôter, un roi indo-grec. Observations chronologiques et géographiques', *Studia Iranica*, 19: 39-85.
- (2001), 'Some Interesting Coins from the Pandayale Hoard', *ONS NL*, no. 169: 19-21.
- (2002), 'Diomedes Overstruck by Agathocleia', *ONS NL*, no. 172: 13-14.
- (2003), *An Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coin Hoard from Bara (Pakistan)*, Seattle.
- (2004), 'L'apport des surfrappes à la reconstruction de l'histoire des Indo-Grecs' in *Mélanges en honneur de Jean-Claude Gardin*, ed. H.-P. Francfort, Paris.
- Bopearachchi, O. and C. Sachs (2003), 'Azès I. no. 121', in *Catalogue de l'Exposition: De l'Indus à l'Oxus. Archéologie de l'Asie Centrale*, ed. O. Bopearachchi, C. Landes and C. Sachs, Lattes, p. 142, no. 121.
- Cunningham, A. (1884), *Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East*, London, 1884, rpt. Delhi-Varanasi, 1970, rpt. Chicago, 1969, series of articles, appeared in *NC* 1868, 1870, 1872, 1873.
- Gardner, P. (1886), *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum: Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India*, London.
- Lahiri, A.N. (1965), *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, Calcutta.
- Mitchiner, M. (1975-6), *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, 9 vols., London.
- Schmidt, E.F. (1953), *Persepolis. I. Structures. Reliefs. Inscriptions*, Chicago.
- Senior, R.C. (2001), *Indo-Scythian Coins and History*, London.
- Smith, V. A. (1906), *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta. Including the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 1, Oxford.
- Whitehead, R.B. (1914), *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. 1: *Indo-Greek Coins*, Oxford.



MENANDER I: Bronze coin, Indian Museum of Calcutta.

## Was Indo-Greek Artemidoros the Son of Indo-Scythian Maues?: Amluk Dara Hoard Revisited\*

The history of the Greeks who ruled for more than two centuries in Central Asia and India after the conquest of Alexander the Great continues to reveal the mysteries of their past. A coin hoard containing 17 bronze coins at Amluk Dara near Barikot (Biri-kot-ghawandai) in the middle Swat Valley in Pakistan published by R.C. Senior in 2006 brought to light 8 coins of Artemidoros<sup>1</sup> eliminating once and for all the doubts some numismatists had regarding the authenticity of the first coin of the same series published by Senior in 1998.<sup>2</sup> The re-examination of these coins in a good state of preservation has led me to the conclusion that the translation of the reverse legend in Gandhari proposed by Senior making Artemidoros the son of Indo-Scythian Maues is not absolutely certain. Apart from this, one more reason encouraged me to republish the hoard. I was able to examine the coins of this hoard before and after cleaning (see photograph taken before cleaning, Figure 1. The same hoard published by Senior was based on photographs taken before cleaning and, as we shall see later, deposits of mud on the coins may have prevented him from seeing some minute details. Since I examined the coins personally, accurate dimensions



FIGURE 1

\*Reprinted from *Numismatika Chronika*, no. 27, 2008-9, pp. 25-36.

<sup>1</sup> Senior, 2006: 151-2.

<sup>2</sup> The coin was first published in *The Decline of the Indo-Greeks* in the series Monographs of H.N.S., 1998.



and weights are given in the catalogue. The hoard as published by Senior was composed of one coin of Archebios,<sup>3</sup> 8 of Maues and 8 Artemidoros. Out of 8 coins of Artemidoros, I could examine only 7. The eighth specimen has already appeared in a recent sale catalogue.<sup>4</sup> The photographs were taken by me after cleaning. All the coins are illustrated (enlarged about 40 per cent) following the numbering in the catalogue which follows.

## CATALOGUE

### ARCHEBIOS


*Obv.:* Bust of Zeus to r. wearing diadems, holding the sceptre over the left shoulder. Legend in Greek:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙ/ΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦ[Ο]/ΡΟΥ ΑΡ Χ[ΕΒΙΟΥ].



*Rev.:* Palms and *pilei* of the Dioskouri. Legend in Kharoshthi:  
*maharajasa dhralmikasa jayadhara/sa arkhebiya[sa].*

*No. 1:* 8.16 g, 21 × 22 mm. *BN*, series 13. The same coin in Senior, 2006, no. 17.

Only the upper part of the monogram, , can be seen. It looks more like the one published in O. Bopearachchi & A. ur Rahman, 1995, no. 517.<sup>5</sup> The

<sup>3</sup>The coin of Archebios is overstruck on a coin of Menander I, see below no. 1 of the catalogue. Senior (2006: 151), who could not examine the coin personally, admits that there are some traces of an overstrike, but the bad photograph may not have enabled him to detect the undertype which is quite clear on my photograph (see no. 1 and the drawing).

<sup>4</sup>*Triton* XII, 6-7 January 2009, 101, no. 410. For the photographs of the same coin taken before cleaning, see Senior, 2006: 152, no. 15.

<sup>5</sup>The interpretation of the monogram proposed by Senior (2006: 151, no. 17) is incorrect.

coin is overstruck on a coin of Menander I. In the field to the right, vertically parallel to the name of Archebios, [M]ENANΔPOY appears quite clearly. Some traces of the lower part of a bust most probably of Athena (cf. *BN*, series, 19) can also be seen very faintly (see the drawing). On the reverse, apart from the traces over the distorted left *pilos*, no other indication of the undertype could be detected. However, the very clear appearance of Menander's names on the obverse alone is sufficient evidence for considering the undertype to be of Menander I.

#### MAUES OR MAUOS<sup>6</sup>



*Obv.:* Apollo standing half-turned to l., holding in r. hand an arrow and in l. a bow resting on the ground. Legend in Greek:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ

*Rev.:* In a dotted border, tripod. Legend in Kharoshthi:

*rajatiraja/sa mahata/sa moasa.*

*No. 2:* 8.24 g, 21 × 24 mm. Senior, 2001, type 8.1. The same coin, R.C. Senior, 2006, no. 5.

*No. 3:* 8.16 g: 20 × 22 mm. Senior 2001, type 8.1. The same coin, Senior, 2006, No. 4.

Both coins are most probably from the same obverse die.

\* \* \*



*Obv.:* Naked Herakles standing facing, carrying club and lion skin in l. arm and r. hand on hip. Legend in Greek:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ

*Rev.:* Lion standing to l. with raised r. foreleg. Legend in Kharoshthi:

*rajatirajasa mahatasa/moasa.*

<sup>6</sup>We know his name from the Greek inscriptions on his coins, where it is written in the genitive case (Μαύου). Thus the nominative case could be Maues or Mauos.

No. 4: 8.27 g, 26 mm. Senior 2001, type 12.1. The same coin, Senior 2006, no. 3.

This coin and the one illustrated in R.C. Senior 2001, type 12.1 are from the same obverse die and this coin and the one in O. Bopearachchi & A. ur Rahman, 1995, no. 687 are from the same reverse die.

\* \* \*



Obv.: Artemis with radiate halo walking to r., head facing, holding an arrow in the 1. hand. Legend in Greek:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ

Rev.: Bull walking to 1. Legend in Kharoshthi: *rajatirajasa mahatasa/ moasa.*

No. 5: 9.83 g, 24 mm. Senior 2001, type 13.2. The same coin, Senior 2006, no. 1.

No. 6: 9.54 g, 25.5 mm. Senior 2001, type 13.2. The same coin, Senior 2006, No. 2.



\* \* \*

Obv.: Lunar goddess (Selene) with crescent over the headdress, standing facing, holding a long sceptre; two stars on either side of the head.

Legend in Greek:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ

Rev.: Nike walking to l., holding palm in 1. hand, and wreath in outstretched r. hand. Legend in Kharoshthi:

*rajatirajasa mahatasa / moasa.*

No. 7: 11.22 g, 24 × 22 mm. Senior, 2001, type 17.1. The same coin, Senior, 2006, no. 6.

This coin is an overstrike, but apart from some traces of corrupted letters

on the reverse, no other element pointing to the identity of the undertype is visible.

\* \* \*



*Obv.:* Zeus enthroned half turned to l., head facing, holding sceptre in l. hand, and outstretched r. hand on a small radiate figure standing at feet. The small figure is probably the personification of the thunderbolt (*vajrapurusha*). Legend in Greek:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑ/ΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕ/ ΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ

*Rev.:* Female figure standing facing, wearing a turreted crown, holding billowing cloak and a long transversal sceptre. Legend in Kharoshthi: *rajataraja/sa mahata/sa / moasa*.

*No. 8:* 10.36 g 21 × 22 mm. Senior 2001, type 19.1. The same coin, Senior 2006, no. 7.

*No. 9:* 10.33 g 22 × 23.5 mm. Senior 2001, type 19.1. The same coin, Senior 2006, no. 8.

\* \* \*

#### ARTEMIDOROS



*Obv.:* Artemis standing facing, head slightly to r., with bow slung over left arm, drawing an arrow from quiver with r. hand. Legend in Greek:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ Α/ΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΑΡ/ ΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ

*Rev.:* Bull walking to r.

Legend in Kharoshthi:

*rajatarajasa / moasa putrasa ca / artemidorasa*.

*No.10:* 8.74 g, 21 × 22 mm. Senior 2001: 233, type H. 13. The same coin, Senior 2006, no. 13. With monograms Σ to r. and Π to l.

On the reverse, the fourth and fifth letters *ra* and *ja* of the epithet *rajatarajasa*

are joined by a stroke which may have resulted from a mistake of the engraver.

*No. 11:* 8.73 g, 19 × 21 mm. Senior 2001: 233, type H. 13.3.

*No. 12:* 8.60 g, 22 × 21 mm. Senior 2001: 233, type H. 13.3. The same coin, Senior 2006, no. 9.

*No. 13:* 8.47 g, 20 × 21 mm. Senior 2001: 233, type H. 13.3. The same coin, Senior 2006, no. 14.

*No. 14:* 8.30 g, 22 × 19 mm. Senior 2001: 233, type H. 13.3. The same coin, Senior 2006, no. 11.

*No. 15:* 7.72 g, 20 × 21 mm. Senior 2001: 233, type H. 13.3. The same coin, Senior 2006, no. 12.

*No. 16:* 7.43 g, 22 × 22 mm. Senior 2001: 233, type H. 13.3. The same coin, Senior 2006, no. 16.

*No. 17:* 8.23 g, 22 × 23 mm. Senior 2001: 233, type H. 13.3. The same coin in Senior 2006, no. 15 and *Triton* XII, 6-7 January 2009, 101, no. 410. Not having been able to examine this coin personally, I have reproduced its scanned photographs published in the *Triton* Sale Catalogue. All the seven coins listed above (nos. 11-17) and the two other coins from unknown provenances published by Senior (1998: 55 and 2001: 233, type H. 13, Senior, 2006, x, 1) are struck from the same obverse and reverse dies.

As mentioned earlier, the hoard is represented by the coins of three kings: Archebios, Maues and Artemidoros. According to the chronological framework that I proposed elsewhere, Archebios may have reigned c. 90-80 BC and Maues would have come to power c. 85 BC.<sup>7</sup> On the basis of the numismatic sequence, I preferred to make Artemidoros a contemporary of Archebios and assumed that he began his reign c. 85 BC.<sup>8</sup> This chronological sequence may have been weakened by a coin published by Senior in 1998, which he considered to be an issue of Artemidoros claiming his filial association with Maues. Senior deciphered the legend in Gandhari on the reverse of the first coin as *rajadirajasa moasa putrasa artemidorasa*, and proposed to read it as *Artemidoros, son of the king of kings Maues*.<sup>9</sup> The first coin published by Senior is from the same obverse and reverse dies of seven out of eight other coins found in the Amluk Dara hoard catalogued here (see above nos. 11-17). Unfortunately, on the first coin published in 1998 the *ca* between *putrasa* and *artemidorasa* was not visible. Without the *ca*, Senior may have taken the name as an apposition to *putrasa*. On the nine other coins of the same series which came to light in 2006, the *ca* between *putrasa* and *artemidorasa* is very clear. Senior rectified

<sup>7</sup> See Bopearachchi, 1998, nos. 1285-1316, and Bopearachchi, in Bopearachchi & Pieper, 1998: 207-15.

<sup>8</sup> See Bopearachchi, 1998, nos. 1272-84.

<sup>9</sup> Senior 1998: 55 and 2001: 233, type H. 13.

his reading and proposed *rajadirajasa moasa putrasa cha artemidoras*.<sup>10</sup> He then wrote:

This presumably is meant to read *King of Kings Maues and his son Artemidoros* rather than simply *Artemidoros, son of the king of kings Maues*. However, should the *Cha* be a shortened form of *chatrapa* rather than meaning ‘and’, then one could propose *Satrap Artemidoros, son of Maues, the King of Kings*. Both interpretations would suggest that Maues was still regnant when Artemidoros struck these coins.<sup>11</sup>

The confusion caused by the *ca* (certainly not *cha*) made me seek the advice of Gérard Fussman and Harry Falk, two authorities on the subject.<sup>12</sup> Both proposed the following deciphering: *rajatirajasa moasa putrasa ca artemidorasa*. It is very clear that the *cha* read by Senior is incorrect; it is certainly *ca* meaning ‘and’, so his hypothesis that Artemidoros was a satrap should first of all be discarded. Gérard Fussman points out that the syntax of the legend permits several translations, so the reverse legend should be read in the light of the obverse Greek legend. The obverse legend reads *of the invincible king Artemidoros*. In this context Fussman prefers to read the reverse legend as *of king of kings and son of Maues, Artemidoros*.<sup>13</sup> He then admits that the son can also be an adopted one. If we accept Fussman’s analysis, contrary to the translation proposed by Senior, Artemidoros was the king of kings (*rajatiraja*), not Maues. Yet Fussman shares the same opinion as Senior by admitting the possibility that Artemidoros was the son of Maues. Harry Falk proposed the reading: *of king over kings Maues and the son of Artemidoros*. According to Falk, Maues struck this series with the son of Artemidoros, whose name is as yet unknown to us. He then draws attention to a similar document where the Graeco-Bactrian Antimachos I seemed to have ruled together with Eumenes and another Antimachos (II). A king or a prince named Eumenes has not so far been attested on coins.<sup>14</sup> Against Senior’s reading Falk points out that *ca* used in the legend is enclitic, but not proclitic, and in such a sequence of epithets a *ca* is unnecessary, and not known elsewhere, whereas a filial relationship is expressed without a *ca*, as in the case of Špalagadama. Thus any *ca* must refer to two persons at the same time. If we follow Falk’s analysis, Artemidoros had a son whose name is as yet unknown to us, and he may have reigned jointly with Maues, possibly in a transitional phase at the end of Artemidoros’ reign. Falk sees a parallel to Špalahora calling himself *loyal to*

<sup>10</sup>Senior, 2006: 151.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>This paragraph is entirely based on my personal communication with both scholars and reproduced with their approval.

<sup>13</sup>According to Fussman: *du roi des rois et fils de Moa, Artemidora*.

<sup>14</sup>These three names are mentioned in a tax receipt from Sangcharak in Afghanistan, published by J.R. Rea (1994); see also *NomKhron* 16/1997. In the first line of the document, one reads: *In the reign of God Antimachos and Eumenes and Antimachos*. The second Antimachos mentioned in the document may be Antimachos Nikephoros, known from coins.



*the mahārāja (his) brother* on the reverse, while the obverse is in the name of the overlord Vonones. In this context, Artemidoros, as the son of Maues, disappears from the Scythian genealogy, and maintains his place as a normal Indo-Greek king in Gandhara.

We are confronted with many problems concerning the syntax of the legend, so I may leave this question open to the specialists. Yet I would like to make few observations purely from the numismatic point of view. Since both obverse and reverse types as well as the obverse legend are purely reproduced from the known bronze series of Artemidoros,<sup>15</sup> the coin series under discussion with a different legend on the reverse (see above nos. 11-17) cannot be separated from the bronze issues of Artemidoros (cf. *BN*, series 7) where the Indo-Greek king's name as the issuer appears both in the obverse and the reverse legends, in another words in Greek and Gandhari. However, if it was really a coin issued by Artemidoros, one cannot account for the presence of the epithet *rajatiraja* 'king over kings' which has never been attested on Indo-Greek coinage before or after Artemidoros.<sup>16</sup> This epithet appears only on the coinages of the Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians, and the first ruler to use it was Maues.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, if we consider that the series under discussion was issued by Maues, the epithet *rajatiraja* has some sense and, on the contrary, it looks awkward if the issuer was the Indo-Greek Artemidoros. One may also argue that if the coin was issued by Maues alone why did he not issue the series in his own name on both sides? Furthermore, another question remains unanswered, unless future discoveries clarify the matter: why did Artemidoros (if he was the issuer) not declare his filial liaison with Maues on silver coins or at least in Greek on the obverse, as many Graeco-Bactrians<sup>18</sup> and Indo-Greeks did on their pedigree issues prior to him?

Leaving these tricky questions aside, let us come back to the composition of the hoard. It seems to have been accumulated during a very limited time (less than 15 years), since the kings represented are almost contemporary. Until the discovery of the Sarai Saleh hoard, Artemidoros was long considered to be a short-lived, minor king because his coinage is limited in number and types.<sup>19</sup> Thanks to the discovery of the Sarai Saleh hoard with its unprecedented

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *BN*, series 7.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. The epithet *rajatiraja* is attested on a bronze series struck in the name of Eukratides (cf. *BN*, series 23) but, as I have shown elsewhere, this series should be considered as posthumous (see *BN*, 118-21).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. R.C. Senior, 2001, types 1-3; 8-28 for Maues; types 30-60 for Azilises; types 76-91 for Azes, etc.; types 218-22 for Gondophares; type 231 for Abdagases, etc.

<sup>18</sup> For example, Eukratides I issued silver coins commemorating his parents Heliokles and Laodike, cf. *BN*, series 13-16.

<sup>19</sup> See Bopearachchi & Rahman 1995: 140-4; Bopearachchi 1999: 66-7. Sarai Saleh is situated in the North-West Frontier, in Abotabad district, between Haripur and Bagra about 20 miles north-east of the ancient city of Taxila. In January 1994, while levelling the ground to build the tomb of a spiritual leader known as Sain Baba who had died three years earlier, a bulldozer hit a bronze jar filled with coins. According to a reliable source, the hoard

number of coins and also coin types depicting Artemis, Nike and the king on horseback, it has become evident that he was no doubt an important king.<sup>20</sup>

As far as the chronology of Archebios is concerned, apart from the monogram pattern discussed elsewhere,<sup>21</sup> we now have at our disposal a series of overstrikes of Archebios over the coins of Strato I, Zoilos I, Peukolaos and Epander and a coin of Telephos over a coin of Archebios giving a very tight chronological frame for him between Epander and Telephos.<sup>22</sup> The overstrike over a coin of Menander I from the present hoard (see no. 1 and the drawing) only adds to the list one more king whose coinage was overstruck by Archebios' mint masters. I have also shown that Archebios was the last Greek king to reign over Taxila before the arrival of the Indo-Scythian Maues,<sup>23</sup> as Hermaios was the last Greek king to reign over Paropamisdae before the Yuezhi occupation.<sup>24</sup>

I have pointed out in my earlier work that it was c. 85 BC that the Scythian prince named Maues may have occupied Taxila.<sup>25</sup> Many historians until recently believed that a *terminus ante quem* for the arrival of Maues at Taxila is provided by the copper-plate inscription of Patika found at Taxila in 1862.<sup>26</sup> According to Richard Salomon, the formulation of the date is ambiguous, as it can be understood to mean either *in the year 78 of [the era founded by] the Great King, the Moga*, or *in the year 78 [during the reign of] the Great King Moga*.<sup>27</sup> However, the attribution of the date of the Taxila copper plate of Patika to the Indo-Greek era was and is still in the vogue. W.W. Tarn thought that the beginning of this era was 155 BC;<sup>28</sup> he was followed by many other scholars.<sup>29</sup> They thought that this unknown era, called *the old Saka era*, coincided with Menander's ascension to kingship in the Indo-Greek territories. This hypothesis was based on the belief that the so-called Bajaur inscription refers to the 4th day of the month of Karttika of an illegible year in the 'reign' of *Maharaja*

---

probably consisted of 1,500 drachms and 500 tetradrachms of Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian kings. The composition of this hoard, the very high frequency of certain monograms, and its provenance are extremely important to understanding the chronological sequence for the Greek and Scythian kings who were the successors of Maues in Taxila and Pushkalavati.

<sup>20</sup> See Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995: 140-4; Bopearachchi 1999: 66-7; R.C. Senior 2001: 231-3, types H.1-H.14.

<sup>21</sup> See Bopearachchi, in Bopearachchi and Pieper 1998: 208-15.

<sup>22</sup> For a detailed description of these overstrikes, see O. Bopearachchi 2008B: 258-9, 261.

<sup>23</sup> Bopearachchi 1991: 110-12.

<sup>24</sup> Bopearachchi & Rahman 1995: 37-44. Bopearachchi 1997.

<sup>25</sup> Bopearachchi, in Bopearachchi & Pieper 1998: 207-15.

<sup>26</sup> Konow 1929: 23-9, no. XIII.

<sup>27</sup> See Salomon 2005: 371.

<sup>28</sup> Tarn 1951: 335, 344-6, 494-502.

<sup>29</sup> For a summary of all the hypotheses, see Bopearachchi, in Bopearachchi and Pieper 1998: 181.

*Minadra* (Menander).<sup>30</sup> The attribution of the date 155 BC was also hypothetical. Furthermore, the authenticity of the Bajaur inscription has been contested by Harry Falk,<sup>31</sup> who in 2002 expressed the view that the date given in the Taxila copper plate of Patika represents an era founded by Maues, and argued that it must have begun about ten years before the Azes/Vikrama era of 58/7 BC, in other words between 78 and 68 BC.<sup>32</sup> Recently Senior, who considers the year mentioned in the Taxila copper plate inscription as *the year 78 of the Great King, the great Moga (Maues)*, makes Maues begin his reign as early as 125 BC.<sup>33</sup>

The newly-found inscription bearing a triple date, referring to the eighth day of Shravana in the regnal year 27 of Vijayamitra, year 73 of the era which is called of Azes and year 201 of the Greeks (*Yonana*) published by Richard Salomon,<sup>34</sup> calls into question the hypothetical *old Saka era* based on the Bajaur inscription.<sup>35</sup> According to Salomon, since the Azes era is apparently the same as the modern Vikrama era, the date of the inscription would correspond approximately to AD 15. This collocation of dates enables him to pinpoint the *year of the Greeks* as 186/5. He has put forward all the arguments that can be used for or against this hypothesis. I personally agree with the assumption that the Azes era is equivalent to the Vikrama era.<sup>36</sup> Richard Salomon does not exclude the possibility that the year 78 of the Taxila copper plate inscription may thus refer to the Indo-Greek era of 186/5, and dates from c. 108/7 BC. However, Salomon acknowledged that this hypothesis is *far from certain*.<sup>37</sup> It is almost certain that the term *samvatsara* ([*samvat*] *tésarye*) usually refers (in Kharoshthi inscriptions) to a year of an era, so we are almost certain that the 78th year is of an unspecified era, but are we certain that it refers to the same Greek era of 186/5? If so, the reign of Maues has to be placed c. 108 BC, which is too early as far as the numismatic sequence is concerned. It can also refer to an era founded by Maues, in which case, the Indo-Greek era will automatically be left out. I do not exclude the possibility that the great Graeco-Bactrian king, as well as the Indo-Scythian ones, attempted to create his own era, but without success. The animosity towards rival clans may have pushed most of the great kings to abandon the era created by their predecessors in favour of a new era.<sup>38</sup>

A Greek text recently published by Willy Clarysse and Dorothy Thompson

<sup>30</sup> Majumdar 1937 and Sircar 1942.

<sup>31</sup> Falk 2005.

<sup>32</sup> Falk 2002: 87-8.

<sup>33</sup> Senior 2006: xlii.

<sup>34</sup> See Salomon 2005.

<sup>35</sup> Majumdar 1937 and Sircar 1942.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> See Salomon 2005: 373.

<sup>38</sup> This hypothesis was elaborated in Bopearachchi in Bopearachchi and Pieper 1998: 178-80.

is directly related to this hypothesis.<sup>39</sup> This parchment was found in a cave in Yousufdhara not far from Bactra (Balkh), the capital of ancient Bactria. The record of the sum of 100 drachms of coined silver suggests a contract established during the reign of Antimachos in the year 30. Clarysse and Thompson correctly assume that the year 30 cannot be a regnal year. Having discussed all the possible eras to which this important document makes allusion, the authors come to the conclusion that it may be a new era celebrating the recognition of the Bactrian kingdom by Seleucid Antiochos II in 206 BC. About the circumstances in which Euthydemos acceded to the throne we know only what can be reconstituted from the words Polybius attributes to him (XI, 39). Besieged in Bactra by Antiochos III, Euthydemos denies before Teleas, an envoy of the Seleucid king, ever having committed any act of rebellion against his ancestors. This rebellion had been instigated by others and though he had assumed power in Bactria, it had been by annihilating the descendants of these rebels. Taking this text literally—and there is no reason not to do so with a historian such as Polybius—it would be at Diodotos II's death, he, and Diodotos I being the *real rebels* referred to in the text, that Euthydemos seized the Bactrian throne by doing away with the descendants of the reigning Diodotid family. According to Justin (XLI, 4), when Seleukos II directed his forces against the rebel satraps of the north-eastern provinces, Diodotos was succeeded to the throne of Bactria by a son of the same name. Polybius is thus in agreement with Justin's account, saying that Euthydemos took possession of Bactria by dethroning the descendants of those who had first revolted. In Polybius' account (XI, 39) one will note that at the time of the siege of Bactra it was Demetrios, son of Euthydemos I, who was appointed by his father to finalize the agreement which brought about a reconciliation between his father and Antiochos III. We are also told that the Seleucid promised to give his daughter in marriage to prince Demetrios. So the recognition of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom by the Seleucid king may have given a legitimacy to these Greeks who may have considered the year 206 BC as the beginning of a new era.<sup>40</sup> Consequently, one cannot reject the existence of other eras in the realm of the Greeks in Central Asia and India. Apart from the year of Maues of the copper plate inscription of Patika, all the other years in relation to eras mentioned in various inscriptions found in the Indo-Greek territories seem to tally with the general chronology adopted by many scholars.<sup>41</sup>

As far as the coin types are concerned Maues was not a great innovator. Most of the types depicted on his coins were either directly copied or inspired by his Greek predecessors. Zeus standing or seated, Nike, Apollo, Herakles, Poseidon, lion, elephant, elephant head, bull, tripod, aegis and caduceus are

<sup>39</sup> Clarysse and Thompson 2007.

<sup>40</sup> Bopearachchi 1991: 47-51, and more recently, Bernard in Bernard, Pinault and Rougemont 2004: 338-56.

<sup>41</sup> R. Salomon 2005, has discussed in detail the implications of the 'New Greek Era' in relation to other major years mentioned in inscriptions.

all copied from the Greek predecessors.<sup>42</sup> One of the types inspired by the coinage of the Indo-Greek Antialkidas, Amyntas and Hermaios is the reverse type depicting Zeus enthroned half turned to left, holding sceptre in left hand, and resting his outstretched right hand on a small radiate figure standing at his feet (see no. 8). The radiate figure is an innovation. This may probably be the personification of the thunderbolt, known in Brahmanical iconography as *vajrapurusha*.

I publish here the second specimen of an interesting bronze coin depicting most probably a syncretic image of Zeus-Poseidon.



*Obv.:* Zeus-Poseidon standing to 1., wearing *himation*, holding a long trident in 1. hand and gesturing with his r. hand. Legend in Greek:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ

ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ

*Rev.:* Horse prancing to 1. Legend in Kharoshthi: *rajatirajasa mahatasa / moasa*. Monogram to 1: 

7.21 g, 27 mm. Senior 2006: 1, type 2.1.

The prancing horse reminds us of the same type depicted on a bronze series of Maues.<sup>43</sup> The obverse and reverse dies of the present coin are different from those of the coin published by Senior.<sup>44</sup> Contrary to Senior, I do not think that Zeus on this coin is *evolving into a form of Śiva*.<sup>45</sup> The trident the god holds is evocative of the same weapon that Poseidon carries on a series of Maues' coins where the god is depicted thrusting his right foot on a river god.<sup>46</sup> On some silver series of Maues, the sceptre Zeus holds ends in three prongs,<sup>47</sup> instead of the usual point.<sup>48</sup> The transition from the single prong to three prongs and ultimately to a trident is not that exceptional.

Regarding the find spot of the Amluk Dara hoard with eight bronze coins of Artemidoros, the question which comes to our mind is whether to consider

<sup>42</sup>For a detailed analysis of these types see Senior 2006: xlvii-xlviii. For all these coin types see Senior 2001, vol. II: 1-6.

<sup>43</sup>Senior 2001, type 6.

<sup>44</sup>Senior 2006: 1, type 2.1.

<sup>45</sup>Senior 2006, 1, type 2.1. On the origin and development of Śiva image in Gandhara on coins as well as in plastic art, see Bopearachchi 2008A.

<sup>46</sup>Senior 2001, type 28.

<sup>47</sup>See for example, Senior 2001, type 1.1T.

<sup>48</sup>See for example, Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995, no. 681.

the area near Barikot (Biri-kot-ghawandai) the centre of his political power. Prior to this discovery, some have argued<sup>49</sup> that since his coins are also found in great numbers in the Sarai Saleh hoard, Artemidoros ruled in this area. Sarai Saleh, situated in Abotobad district about 30 kilometers north-east of the ancient city of Taxila, is quite a way from Barikot in the middle Swat Valley. However, one should bear in mind that silver coins, because of their intrinsic value compared to bronze coins, travel even beyond the areas where they were minted. We also observe that the combined monograms Σ and Ν have not so far been attested on the coins of Maues. If Artemidoros was the son of Maues, does it mean that Artemidoros did not inherit the kingdom of his father? Alternatively, if Artemidoros was an Indo-Greek contemporary of Maues, the question does not arise because two kings could have lived in two different localities. Two out of five most representative monograms of Maues Κ, Α appear on the coins of Telephos and three: Ν, Β, Δ on the coins of Apollodotos II, both kings being Maues' successors.<sup>50</sup> Apart from the two monograms: Σ and Ν on the so-called pedigree series (nos. 10-17), the others appearing on his silver coinage, e.g. Ξ, Ψ, Ω are also enigmatic<sup>51</sup> as they are not attested on the coinages of his Greek or Scythian predecessors or successors. However, to my knowledge not a single coin of Artemidoros was found in the excavations conducted by the Italian archaeologists at the ancient site of Barikot.<sup>52</sup> I am thus inclined to think that until further archaeological evidence emerges, it is too hazardous to attribute a precise area to Artemidoros. Similarly, it is also perilous to assume without further proof that the coin series with the reverse legend *rajatirajasa moasa putrasa ca artemidorasa* is an issue of Artemidoros claiming his filial relationship to Maues. There are more questions and fewer answers regarding this enigmatic Greek ruler in Gandhara, so one has to be very careful before coming to rapid conclusions.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I express my great appreciation to my colleagues Gérard Fussman, Harry Falk and Nicholas Sinus-William for their unfailing help, advice and guidance. I also appreciate enormously the cooperation of Bob Senior. I owe special thanks to François Ory for the drawings and I would like to offer my sincere gratitude to Mrs. Marion J.A. Tzamali, whose suggestions have greatly improved the clarity of the final draft.

<sup>49</sup>For example, Senior 1998: 56.

<sup>50</sup>See Bopearachchi, in Bopearachchi and Pieper 1998: 208-15, particularly 211.

<sup>51</sup>See Bopearachchi and Rahman 1995, nos. 498-510; Bopearachchi 1998 nos. 1272-84, Senior 2001: 231, H.1-H.11.

<sup>52</sup>Callieri 2003: 211-16 and 2007.



## REFERENCES

- Bernard, P., G.-J. Pinault and G. Rougemont, 'Deux inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Centrale', *Journal, des Savants*, 2004: 227-356.
- Bopearachchi, O. (1991), *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
- (1997), 'The Posthumous Coinage of Hermaios and the Conquest of Gandhara by the Kushans', *Gandharan Art in Context. East-West Exchanges at the Crossroads of Asia*, ed. R. Allchin, B. Allchin, N. Kreitman and E. Errington, pp. 189-213.
- (1998), *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek Coins. The Collection of the American Numismatic Society*, Part 9, New York.
- (1999), 'La circulation et la production monétaires en Asie Centrale et dans l'Inde du Nord-Ouest (avant et après la conquête d'Alexandre)', *Indologica Taurinensia, Official Organ of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies*, Turin, XXV: 15-119.
- (2007), 'Some Observations on the Chronology of the Early Kushans', *Res Orientales*, XVII, *Des Indo-Grecs aux Sassanides: données pour l'histoire et la géographie historique*, 41-53.
- (2008a), 'Les premiers souverains kouchans: Chronologie et iconographie monétaire', *Journal des Savants*, January-June, 3-56.
- (2008b), 'L'apport des surfrappes à la reconstruction de l'histoire des Indo-Grecs', *Revue numismatique*, 245-68.
- Bopearachchi, O. and W. Pieper (1998) *Ancient Indian Coins*, Brépols, Turnhout.
- Bopearachchi, O and A. ur Rahman (1995), *Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan*, Karachi.
- Callieri, P. (2003), 'Les villes du nord-ouest du sous-continent indien des Indo-Grecs aux kouchans', in *De l'Indus à l'Oxus. Archéologie de l'Asie Centrale*, ed. O. Bopearachchi, Ch. Landes and Ch. Sachs, Association IMAGO - Musée de Lattes, Lattes, pp. 211-16.
- (2007), 'Barikot, an Indo-Greek urban centre in Gandhara', in *On Cusp of an Era: Art in the Pre-Kushana World*, ed. D.M. Srinivasan, Leiden, pp. 133-64.
- Clarysse, W. and D.J. Thompson (2007), 'Two Greek Texts on Skin from Hellenistic Bactria', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, pp. 273-9.
- Falk, H. (2002), 'Frühe Zeitrechnung in Indien', in *Vom Herrscher zur Dynastie (Vergleichende Studien zu Antike und Orient)*, Bremen, pp. 77-105.
- (2005), 'The Introduction of Stupa-worship in Bajaur', in *Afghanistan, ancien carrefour entre l'Est et l'Ouest*, ed. O. Bopearachchi and M-F. Boussac, Turnhout, pp. 347-58.
- Konow, S. (1929), *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, *Kharoshthi Inscriptions with the Exception of Those of Asoka*, Calcutta.
- Majumdar, N.G. (1937), 'Bajaur Casket of the Reign of Menander' *Epigraphia Indica*, XXIV: 1-8.
- Rea, J.R. (1994), 'A Tax Receipt from Hellenistic Bactria', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 104: 261-7.
- Salomon, R. (2005), 'The Indo-Greek Era of 186/5 BC in a Buddhist Reliquary Inscription', in *Afghanistan, ancien carrefour entre l'Est et l'Ouest*, ed. O. Bopearachchi and M-F. Boussac, Turnhout, pp. 359-401.
- Senior, R.C. (1998), in R.C. Senior and D. MacDonald, *The Decline of the Indo-Greeks: A Re-appraisal of the Chronology from the Time of Menander to that of Azes*, Monograph of the Hellenic Numismatic Society, Athens.

——— (2001), *Indo-Scythian Coins and History*, London.

——— (2006), *Indo-Scythian Coins and History*, vol. IV. *Supplement*, London.

Sircar, D.C. (1942), 'A Note on the Bajaur Casket of the Reign of Menander', *Epigraphia Indica*, XXVI: 318-21.

Tarn, W.W. (1951), *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 2nd edn., Cambridge.

## A Note on Some Interesting Indo-Greek Coins\*

Numerous Indo-Greek coins of historical importance come to light everyday, And it is sometimes impossible to keep a systematic track of them. Almost twenty years after the publication of *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques, Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (1991), the time has come to present a revised corpus of all the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins. I wish to achieve this target by the end of 2011. In the meantime, I thought that it would be fruitful to publish important rarities without further delay. This short article is written with this in mind.

### MENANDER II

We have shown elsewhere, on the basis of stylistic features, monograms and composition of hoards, that Menander II Dikaios should be separated chronologically from Menander I Soter.<sup>1</sup> The drachms of Menander II depicting the king on prancing horse remind us of the same reverse type on Artemidoros' coins found in the Sarai Saleh hoard. It may suggest that the type in question is the work of the same engraver,<sup>2</sup> and may further indicate that both kings are close contemporaries ruling in the Taxila region. The first coin catalogued here was allegedly found at Taxila as well.

Coins of Menander II which differ from those of the great king bearing the same name by monetary types and monograms are still rare. Until the publication of the Bibliothèque Nationale catalogue he was known through 15 coins. Since then about ten more coins have surfaced in the coin market. These coins can be divided into seven different coin types bearing six different monograms. The combination of types on the obverse and reverse makes the first drachm published below unique.

\*Reprinted from *ONS Newsletter*, no. 205, Autumn 2010, pp. 19-21.


<sup>1</sup> On the question of two homonymous kings in the name of Menander, see O. Bopearachchi, 'Ménandre Sôter, un roi indo-grec. Observations chronologiques et géographiques', *Studia Iranica*, 20, 1990: 39-85.



<sup>2</sup> For example compare the drachm of Menander II (cf. *Pre-Kushan Coins in Pakistan*, no. 497) with that of Artemidoros (cf. *Pre-Kushan Coins in Pakistan*, no. 510).

## 1. MENANDER II. AR. INDIAN-STANDARD DRACHM. (2.42 g, 16 mm)



*Obv.* Diademed bust of king to l., seen from the back, thrusting a spear from upraised r. hand. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ / ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.


*Rev.* Winged Nike walking to r., holding palm in l. hand and wreath in outstretched r. hand. *Maharajasa dhramikasa / Menamdrasa*. To 1. .


As far as coins of Menander II are concerned, the spear-thrower is known through a unique coin in a private collection.<sup>3</sup> The reverse of that coin depicts Zeus seated, holding Nike, with the *chakra* at his side. On the new coin catalogued below, the reverse is characterized by the winged Nike walking to right. Nonetheless, the monogram  is common to both series. The obverse and reverse types of the next coin of Menander II (no. 2) are known through four coins bearing the monogram .

## 2. MENANDER II. AR. INDIAN-STANDARD DRACHM. (2.43 g, 16 mm)



*Obv.* Diademed bust of king to r. King is shown wearing a helmet with bull's horn and ear. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ / ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

*Rev.* Diademed king, wearing a crested helmet, on prancing horse to r. *Maharajasa dhramikasa / Menamdrasa*. To 1. .

The new coin catalogued above bears a new monogram  never attested before for this series, but known through other series of the same king.<sup>5</sup> It is also worth mentioning that, unlike the other known coins of this series, the helmet worn by the king is decorated with bull's horn and ear as on the coins of Eucratides I.<sup>6</sup>







<sup>3</sup>O. Bopearachchi, *BN*, Menander II, series 4.

<sup>4</sup>O. Bopearachchi, *BN*, Menander II, series 3; *Pre-Kushan Coins in Pakistan*, no. 497; *ANS*, *SNG*, nos 1270 & 1271.

<sup>5</sup>O. Bopearachchi, *BN*, Menander II, series 2.A.


<sup>6</sup>For example, see O. Bopearachchi, *BN*, Eucratides I, series 4 & 5.

## PEUCOLAOS


At present it is generally accepted that Archebios was the last Greek king to rule in Taxila before the occupation of this city by the Scythian, Maues. The posteriority of Archebios in relation to Peucolaos is attested by two overstrikes of the former over the tetradrachms of the latter.<sup>7</sup> Apart from this, the combination of two monograms:  and  common to both rulers is another factor that marks them as close contemporaries.<sup>8</sup> Until 1991, Peucolaos was known only through four tetradrachms and five bronzes.<sup>9</sup> Since then, two more tetradrachms and one drachm, which remains unique until today, have been published.<sup>10</sup> The hitherto unique drachm published in *Triton*, XIII, no. 264 has the usual double monograms, to left  and to right . The new drachm catalogued below is characterized by a single monogram . The tetradrachm of Peucolaos published by R.C. Senior also has a single monogram .

3. PEUCOLAOS AR. INDIAN-STANDARD DRACHM (2.09 g, 17.5 mm).  
PROBABLY FROM SHAIKHAN DHERI (NEAR PESHAWAR).



- Obv.* Diademed bust of king to right ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ / ΠΙΥΚΛΑΟΥ. It is interesting to note that the king's name is written as ΠΙΥΚΛΑΟΥ instead of ΠΕΥΚΛΑΟΥ.
- Rev.* Zeus standing to left, extending his right hand in gesture of benediction and holding a long sceptre in his left hand.  
*Maharajasa dhramikasa tratarasa / Piukulaasa.* To left .

## APOLLODOTOS II

Our next coin is of Apollodotos II. Although the denomination and the types are already attested,<sup>11</sup> the monogram  on the obverse and the combination of two Kharoshthi *aksharas* on the reverse are so far unknown for this series.

<sup>7</sup> O. Bopearachchi, 'Monnaies indo-grecques surfrappées', *Revue Numismatique*, 1989, pp. 49-79, particularly pp. 71-2, nos. 16 and 17

<sup>8</sup> Cf. O. Bopearachchi, *BN*, Archebios, series 1D; 2 D, E; 4 C, D; 6 A, B; 9 A; 10 A; 13 A & B; Peucolaos, series 1A.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. O. Bopearachchi, *BN*, Peucolaos, series 1 & 2.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. R.C. Senior, 'A few more new Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian discoveries', *ONS Newsletter*, no. 195, Spring 2008, pp. 14-17, no. 1; *CNG, Triton*, XIII, no. 263 and *CNG, Triton*, XIII, no. 264.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. O. Bopearachchi, *BN*, Apollodotos II, series 15.

Furthermore, the obverse monogram has not been seen in the whole coinage of the Indo-Greeks until now. This is also the first coin of this series bearing a monogram on the obverse.<sup>12</sup> The monogram  $\overline{\alpha}$  engraved on two rare silver series of Vonones with Spalahores is almost the same as the one on Apollodotos II's coin. The only difference is that the monogram on the coins of Vonones with Spalahores is devoid of the Greek letter *rho* attached to the extreme right of the horizontal bar over the *alpha*.<sup>13</sup>

4. APOLLODOTOS II AE. (15.32 g, 26 × 25 mm)



*Obv.* Apollo standing to right, with quiver on back and holding an arrow with both hands. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ / ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ. Monogram to left  $\overline{\alpha}$ .

*Rev.* Tripod. *Maharajasa* / *tratarasa* / *Apaladatasa*. To left  $\gamma$  & to right  $\pi$ .

COIN OF HELIOCLES II OVERSTUCK ON  
A COIN OF AGATHOCLEIA AND STRATO

Eight coins of Heliocles II struck over bronzes of Agathocleia are known to date.<sup>14</sup> The ninth overstrike described below increases the abundance of overstrikes of Heliocles II, also known through other coins struck over the coins of Eucratides I, Strato I, Antialcidas, and Hermaios.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Cf. R.C. Senior, *Indo-Scythian Coins and History*, London, 2001, p. 27, types 65.1 T and 65.1 D.


<sup>14</sup>All these overstrikes are discussed in O. Bopearachchi, 'L'apport des surfrappes à la reconstruction de l'histoire des Indo-Grecs', *RN*, 2008: 245-68, particularly pp. 249-50 and 259.

<sup>15</sup>For a complete recapitulation of these overstrikes, see O. Bopearachchi, *RN*, 2008: 245-68.



## 5. OVERSTRIKE. 8.34 g, 22 × 20 mm



- Obv.* Diademed bust of Zeus to right. Of the Greek legend of Heliocles II, apart from the first four letters, the rest can be seen, viz. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ / ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.<sup>16</sup> When the coin is turned upside down, further to the upper part of the helmeted bust of Athena to right, the following letters can be detected: ΕΟΤΡΟΠΙΟΥ / ΑΓΑΘΟ.<sup>17</sup>
- Rev.* Elephant walking to l. Of the Kharoshthi legend, only the first three *aksharas* are not visible *Maharajasa* / *dhramikasa* / *Heliyakreyasa*. Some traces of the monogram  are just visible. When the coin is turned upside down, from the undertype the following *aksharas* are detectable: *tarasa dhra/mikasa*.

<sup>16</sup>Cf. O. Bopearachchi, *BN*, Heliocles II, series 7.

<sup>17</sup>Cf. O. Bopearachchi, *BN*, Agathocleia and Heliocles II, series 3.

## The Emergence of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek Kingdoms\*

According to the classical sources, Euthydemos I was the third king of a Graeco-Bactrian kingdom founded by Diodotos I. The history of these Greeks in Bactria goes back to the conquest by Alexander the Great of the eastern satrapies of the Achaemenid Persian empire—Bactria, Sogdiana, Paropamisadaï, Arachosia, Seistan and Gandhāra—between 329 and 326 BC.<sup>1</sup> His conquests changed the geopolitical map of the region with far reaching consequences. After the death of the Macedonian conqueror on 10 June, 323 BC, his empire was divided among a number of his former generals and associates. Seleukos I became the governor of Babylonia. In 306 BC he declared himself king and founded his new capital at Seleukeia on the Tigris. Likewise he became the king of most of the satrapies of the old Achaemenid empire, such as Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, Chorasmia, Parthia, Aria, Sogdiana and Bactria.<sup>2</sup> Seleukos I contested Alexander's Indian territories south of the Hindu Kush with the Mauryan king, Chandragupta, but eventually agreed to cede them in exchange for a corps of 500 war elephants that he obtained from the Indian king.<sup>3</sup>

According to Justin's abbreviated version of Pompeius Tragus' *Philippic History* (41.4), at the time when Parthia was beginning its attempt to throw off the yoke of the Seleukids – towards the middle of the third century BC—a certain Diodotos, who was then the Seleukid satrap of Bactria (see no. 58 in the Pitchfork collection), revolted against his suzerain, and gave birth to an independent kingdom in Bactria.<sup>4</sup> These Greek kings issued reduced Attic weight coins for circulation in Bactria and Sogdiana.

According to the Greek historian Polybius (11.39), the Greek Euthydemos became the king of Bactria by killing the successor of Diodotos. Besieged in Baktra by Antiochos III in 206 BC, Euthydemos denied ever having committed any act of rebellion against the Seleukid king's ancestors. Rather, Euthydemos

\*Reprinted from N. Wright (ed.), *Coins from Asia Minor and the East: Selection from the Colin E. Pitchfork Collection*, Adelaide, 2011, pp. 47-50, 167-79.

Colin Pitchfork Collection. Permission courtesy of C. Pitchfork. Photo: Robert Climpson.

<sup>1</sup> On the conquests of Bactria and India by Alexander the Great, see Bosworth 1988; Green 1991: 297-349; Holt 1993; id. 2003; id. 2005; Le Rider 2003; Briant 2010: 127-38.

<sup>2</sup> Le Rider and de Callatay 2006.

<sup>3</sup> Bernard 1985: 85-95.

<sup>4</sup> Bopearachchi 1994; Holt 1999; Coloru 2009: 157-73.

claimed to have taken possession of Bactria by dethroning the descendants of those who had first revolted. The recognition of Euthydemos' rule over the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom by the Seleukid king provided a sense of legitimacy to the Greek ruling class who appear to have considered the year 206 BC as the beginning of a new era for dating purposes.<sup>5</sup> Euthydemos selected Herakles as his major monetary type (see no. 89). There are two significant reasons behind his choice: firstly, the king was originally from Magnesia on the Meander, in Ionia,<sup>6</sup> where Herakles enjoyed much popularity; secondly, he wished to identify himself with Alexander, who was none other than a new Herakles, the mortal who was raised to the pantheon of Olympian gods for his bravery and courage.

The importance of the reign of Euthydemos I (c. 230-200 BC) and that of his son Demetrios (c. 200-185 BC) is revealed by an inscription from the Kuliab area in Tadzikistan published by Georges Rougemont and Paul Bernard.<sup>7</sup> The inscription is a dedication by a certain Heliodotos to the goddess Hestia of a fire altar, erected during the reign of Euthydemos, who is declared 'the greatest of all the kings'. Furthermore, it refers to his son Demetrios Kallinikos, 'the glorious conqueror'. Paul Bernard is probably correct in assuming that the glorious victories to which the inscription refers took place during the siege of Bactria by Antiochos III. In Polybius' account (11.39), one should also note that at the time of the siege; it was Demetrios the son of Euthydemos I who was appointed to finalize the agreement which brought about a reconciliation between his father and Antiochos III. We are also told that the Seleukid was so impressed by Demetrios that he promised to give his daughter in marriage to the prince.

After the death of Euthydemos I, Demetrios I took advantage of the decadence of the Mauryan empire following the death of Asoka, the greatest of all the Mauryan kings, and pushed the Greek conquests further south, extending his kingdom beyond the Hindu Kush Mountains. Die-struck bronze coins depicting a horse and elephant and sometimes bearing Greek letters should be considered the first Greek coinage of India.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, Demetrios showed himself wearing an elephant's scalp, symbolizing his triumph over India (see no. 90). Demetrios adopted a standing Herakles crowning himself as the reverse type of his silver coinage, reminding us of the seated Herakles on his father's coinage. The symbolism of the obverse portrait with the elephant scalp and Herakles crowning himself on the reverse was so powerful that Lysias, a later Indo-Greek king, adopted the same iconographic types.

Demetrios I's younger brother and successor, Euthydemos II, came to power in a period when two other kings, Agathokles and Pantaleon, had also entered

<sup>5</sup> Bopearachchi 1991: 47-51, and more recently, Bernard et al. 2004: 338-56.

<sup>6</sup> Bernard 1985: 131-3.

<sup>7</sup> Bernard et al. 2004: 338-56.

<sup>8</sup> Bopearachchi 1999: 84-5.

the political scene (c. 185-180 BC).<sup>9</sup> Euthydemos II can be differentiated from his father by the morphology of the face depicted on the silver coins and other characteristics of the coin types. The reverse type of Euthydemos II's silver coins is quite similar to that of Demetrios I, except for the fact that Herakles is shown already crowned and holding in his outstretched right hand another wreath (see no. 91). We know that Euthydemos II, Agathokles and Pantaleon were all contemporaneous, as each of the three kings issued their own series of cupro-nickel coins which bear more or less the same monograms.<sup>10</sup> Agathokles and Pantaleon are also considered the initiators of the first bilingual coins which were intended for circulation in the territories of Indian culture.<sup>11</sup>

Among other types, the silver coins of Agathokles (185-170 BC) depict the Hindu deities Balarāma-Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, the earliest depictions of these two gods ever attested in India. Saṃkarṣaṇa-Balarāma is shown holding a *musala* (pestle) and a *hala* (plough) while Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa holds a *cakra* (wheel) and a *śankha* (conch-shell).<sup>12</sup> It is important to underline that by issuing these coins Agathokles conveyed his respect for local beliefs. Agathokles also issued monolingual coins for circulation in Bactria which depicted a new reverse type: Zeus holding a small figure of the goddess Hekate, who carries two torches (no. 92).

Agathokles and his later contemporary, Antimachos I (c. 176-165 BC), were the first two Bactrian kings to issue commemorative or 'pedigree' coins. These two kings of the independent Bactrian kingdom proclaimed their attachment to their predecessors by striking commemorative coins. Alexander the Great and their Bactrian predecessors, except Euthydemos II, are commemorated in these series: Diodotos Soter, Diodotos Theos, Euthydemos I (see no. 93), Demetrios I, and Pantaleon.<sup>13</sup>

Antimachos, whose name is now attested in two inscriptions, appears to have been a very important Graeco-Bactrian king as well. A new document recently published by Willy Clarysse and Dorothy Thompson holds a significant place.<sup>14</sup> This parchment was found in a cave in Yousufdhara not far from Bactra (Balkh), the capital of ancient Bactria. It records a transaction of the sum of 100 drachms of coined silver dated to the reign of Antimachos in the year 30. Clarysse and Thompson correctly assume that the year 30 cannot be a regnal year. Having discussed all the possible eras to which this important document might refer, the authors come to the conclusion that it may be the new era

<sup>9</sup> Bopearachchi 1991: 56-9.

<sup>10</sup> Bopearachchi 1991: 55-6.

<sup>11</sup> Bopearachchi 1991: pls.7-8, series 9-11 for Agathokles and pl. 9, series 6 for Pantaleon.

<sup>12</sup> On the iconography of these two divinities, see Filliozat 1973: 113-23.

<sup>13</sup> Bopearachchi 1991: pl. 8, series 12-18 for Agathokles and pl.10, series 9-10 for Antimachos I.

<sup>14</sup> Clarysse and Thompson 2007.

celebrating the recognition of the Bactrian kingdom by the Seleukid king Antiochos III in 206 BC. If this is true, Antimachos' ascension to the Bactrian throne has to be placed in the year 176 BC. This particular year tallies perfectly with a Greek era of 176 BC proposed by Harry Falk and Chris Bennett based on a new reading for the inscription on the so-called Trasaka reliquary.<sup>15</sup>

Richard Salomon published an inscription bearing a triple date, referring to the eighth day of Shravana in the regnal year 27 of Vijayamitra, the year 73 of the 'Azēs' year, and the year 201 of the Greeks (*yonana*).<sup>16</sup> According to Salomon, since the Azēs era is apparently the same as the modern Vikrama era, the date of the inscription would correspond to approximately AD 15, and to the 'year of the Greeks' 186/5. Harry Falk and Chris Bennett re-examined the inscription on the so-called Trasaka reliquary already published by Gerard Fussman and disputed the hypothesis that the Vikrama era is equivalent to the Azēs era.<sup>17</sup> Falk read the year no. 172 where previously only the month known as 'intercalary Gorpaios' had been seen. Comparing all Near Eastern intercalary systems, it became clear that the date should refer to the Arsakid intercalary system. In none of the systems, including the Arsakid, would a running year 172 based on the *yavana* start in 185 BC produce an intercalary Gorpaios. With a shift to 47 BC, this synchronism is possible. If the Azēs era is to be dated in the year 48/7, the year 201 of the Greeks mentioned in the Bajaur inscription published by Salomon must be placed in the year 176/5 BC, giving us some precious indication on how to place in chronological order some of the Greek, Parthian, Scythian and Kushan kings who reigned in India.<sup>18</sup>

On his monolingual silver coins, Antimachos I depicts himself wearing the Macedonian *kausia* (see for example no. 94). The distinctive *kausia* a flat, broad-brimmed felt hat, was worn by Macedonian soldiers, persons of high rank and, above all, by Alexander the Great himself as a symbol of sovereignty.<sup>19</sup> Fredricksmeyer holds the opinion that the *kausia* was worn by tradition in Macedonia long before the time of Alexander III. However, an alternate view is that the *kausia* did not appear in the Mediterranean until 325/4 BC, and that its adoption must therefore be related directly to Alexander the Great.<sup>20</sup>

Eukratides I, the last Greek king to reign over Bactria and India (c. 170-145 BC), is credited with issuing the largest gold denomination ever struck in antiquity.<sup>21</sup> Our main source of information on Eukratides is Justin (41.6) who says that a certain Demetrios—probably the Graeco-Bactrian king, Demetrios II—was overthrown by the usurper Eukratides, who became a powerful king in Bactria and invaded parts of India. The so-called pedigree coins issued by

<sup>15</sup> Falk and Bennett 2009.

<sup>16</sup> Salomon 2005.

<sup>17</sup> Falk and Bennett 2009.

<sup>18</sup> Falk 2001.

<sup>19</sup> Polyb. 4.4-5; Arr. *Anab.* 7.22.

<sup>20</sup> Fredricksmeyer 1986; Kingsley 1991: 59-76.

<sup>21</sup> Bopearachchi 1991: pl. 16, series 4.

Eukratides bear witness to his usurpation. On the reverse of the coins commemorating his parents Heliokles and Laodike, one may observe that only his mother wears the royal diadem, but not his father (no. 96).<sup>22</sup> Alexander the Great, after he had defeated his opponent Darius III Kodomannos in 330 BC, started wearing a diadem; from this moment onwards it became a symbol of royalty. All the Bactrian kings likewise are shown wearing the diadem. It appears as if Heliokles, Eukratides I's father, was not of royal blood because he is depicted without a diadem. On the reverse of his other silver coins, Eukratides I depicted a type so far unattested in the Bactrian coinage: the Dioskouroi—the heavenly twins Kastor and Pollux, sons of Zeus—on horseback holding palms and spears, prancing to right or standing facing, each holding a spear (see for example no. 95). We also learn from Justin that Eukratides was assassinated by a son who shared the kingship with him and who, far from concealing the murder, declared that he had killed 'not a parent, but a public enemy'. He brutally drove his chariot through the dead monarch's blood and ordered his body to be cast out unburied.

Who killed Eukratides I? This is one of the questions for which no convincing answer has so far been furnished and most of the proposed solutions are based on pure speculations. It is possible to determine that Eukratides I was succeeded simultaneously by three different kings, Eukratides II, Plato and Heliokles I. However, despite the repetition of the names Eukratides and Heliokles, there is no proof to show what family relationships, if any, existed between the rulers; nor is it possible to say who shared the kingship with Eukratides I and ultimately killed him. Eukratides II (c. 145-140 BC) adopted the reverse type previously employed by the Indo-Greek king Apollodotos I (c. 174-165 BC), Apollo standing facing, head left, holding arrow in right hand, bow in left hand, resting on ground (see no. 97).

Both Eukratides II and Plato appear to have only struck silver coins of Attic standard, attributed to Bactria. This would seem to suggest that neither king ruled over the Indo-Greek provinces, which from around 165 or 155 BC formed the kingdom of Menander I, the only Greek king to appear as a clearly identifiable character in Indian literature.

The parricide of Eukratides I may have been Heliokles I (c. 145-130 BC) who was the last Greek king to reign in Bactria. At the end of the reign of Heliokles I, around 130 BC, the Greeks were completely overpowered by the nomadic Yuezhi from the Central Asian steppe. From this period onwards Greeks had no further control over the Hellenized provinces north of the Hindu Kush.<sup>23</sup> However, the Greek sovereigns who had already conquered a large part of the territories south of the Hindu Kush, Menander I and his successors, continued to reign there for another one hundred and fifty years. The reverse type employed by Heliokles I, Zeus standing holding the thunderbolt (see

<sup>22</sup> Bopearachchi 1991: pl. 19-20, series 68-71.

<sup>23</sup> Bopearachchi 1998: pl. 29.



no. 98), was later copied by Heliokles II (c. 110-100 BC), a king who ruled only in the Indo-Greek territories south of the Hindu Kush mountain range.<sup>24</sup>



#### 89 EUTHYDEMOS I

c. 230-200 BC

AR tetradrachm; axis ↓; diam. 25 mm; wt. 16.46 g.

Obv. Head of Euthydemus I r., diademed; dotted border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ; Herakles seated left on rock, holding upturned club in right hand which rests on a pile of rocks; inner right field, ⚡

Bopearachchi 1991: Euthydème I, no. 5B.



#### 90 DEMETRIOS I

c. 200-185 BC

AR tetradrachm; axis ↑; diam. 32 mm; wt. 16.94 g.

Obv. Draped bust of Demetrios I right diademed and wearing elephant scalp headdress; dotted border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ; Herakles standing facing, crowning himself with wreath in r. hand, holding club and lion skin in left hand; inner left field, ⚡.

Bopearachchi 1991: Démétrios I, no. 1C.

<sup>24</sup> For this coin type on Heliokles II's coins, see Bopearachchi 1991: pl. 42, series 1-6.



## 91 EUTHYDEMOS II

c. 185-180 BC

AR tetradrachm; axis ↑; diam. 32 mm; wt. 16.89 g.

Obv. Draped bust of Euthydemus II right diademed; dotted border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ; Herakles standing facing, wearing wreathed crown, holding a second wreath in right hand, club and lion skin in left hand; inner left field, Ϟ.

Bopearachchi 1991: Euthydème II, no. 1C.



## 92 AGATHOKLES

c.185-170 BC

AR tetradrachm; axis ↑; diam. 30 mm; wt. 16.56 g.

Obv. Draped bust of Agathokles right diademed; dotted border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ; Zeus standing facing, holding miniature goddess facing, who wears polos and carries two torches in right hand, grounded sceptre in left hand; inner left field, Ϟ.

Bopearachchi 1991: Agathocle no. 1D.



## 93 AGATHOKLES

c.185-170 BC

AR tetradrachm; axis ↑; diam. 35 mm; wt. 15.74 g.

Obv. ΕΥΘΔΗΜΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ; Head of Euthydemos I right diademed; dotted border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ; Herakles seated left on rock, holding upturned club in right hand which rests on a pile of rocks behind right knee; inner right field, ⚔.

Bopearachchi 1991: Agathocle no. 16B.



#### 94 ANTIMACHOS I

c. 176-165 BC

AR tetradrachm; axis ↑; diam. 32 mm; wt. 16.94 g.

Obv. Draped bust of Agathokles right diademed and wearing *kausia*.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ; Poseidon standing facing, diademed, holding trident in right hand, filleted palm branch in left hand; inner right field, ⚔.

Bopearachchi 1991: Antimaque I, no. 1D.



#### 95 EUKRATIDES I

c. 171-145 BC

AR tetradrachm; axis ↑; diam. 32; wt. 16.89 g.

Obv. Bust of Eukratides I left; seen from behind, wearing crested, Boiotian helmet adorned with bull's ear and horn, r. hand visible holding horizontal spear across chest; fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ. Dioscuroi mounted right charging with couched kontoi, palm branches over shoulders; in right field, ⚔.

Bopearachchi 1991: Eucratide I no. 8B.



## 96 EUKRATIDES I

c. 171-145 BC

AR tetradrachm; axis  $\nwarrow$ ; diam. 31 mm; wt. 16.88 g.

Obv. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ; Draped bust of Eukratides I right., wearing crested, Boiotian helmet adorned with bull's ear and horn; fillet border.

Rev. ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ; Jugate draped busts of Heliokles and Laodike right.; in left field,  $\phi$ ; fillet border.

Bopearachchi 1991: Eucratide I, no. 15A.



## 97 EUKRATIDES II

c. 145-140 BC

AR tetradrachm; axis  $\nwarrow$ ; diam. 31 mm; wt. 16.76 g.

Obv. Draped bust of Eukratides II right., diademed; fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ; Apollo standing left., holding arrow in r. hand, resting l. hand on grounded bow; in l. field,  $\chi$ .

Bopearachchi 1991: Eucratide II, no. 1.




## 98 HELIOKLES I

c. 145-30 BC

AR tetradrachm; axis ↑; diam. 28 mm; wt. 16.39 g.

Obv. Draped bust of Heliokles I right., diademed; fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ; Zeus standing facing, holding thunderbolt in right hand, grounded sceptre in left hand; inner left field, blundered monogram .

Bopearachchi 1991: Hélioclès no. 10.

## REFERENCES

- Bernard, P. (1985), *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum IV. Les monnaies hors trésors. Questions d'histoire Gréco-bactrienne (Mémoires de la Délégation française en Afghanistan, XXVIII)*, Paris.
- Bernard, P., G.-J. Pinault and G. Rougemont (2004) 'Deux nouvelles inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Centrale', *Journal des Savants*: 227-356.
- Bopearachchi, O. (1991), *Monnaies Gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques, Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- (1994), 'L'indépendance de la Bactriane', *Topoi*, Lyon, 4/2: 513-19.
- (1998), *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek Coins: The Collection of the American Numismatic Society*, part 9, New York.
- (1999) 'La circulation et la production monétaires en Asie Centrale et dans l'Inde du Nord-Ouest (avant et après la conquête d'Alexandre)', *Indologica Taurinensia, Official Organ of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies*, Turin, XXV: 15-19.
- Bosworth, A.B. (1988), *Conquest and Empire: The Reign of Alexander the Great*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Briant, P. (2010), *Alexander the Great and His Empire*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Clarysse, W. and D.J. Thompson (2007), 'Two Greek texts on skin from Hellenistic Bactria', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*: 273-79.
- Coloru, O. (2009), *Da Alessandro a Menandro. Il regno Greco di Battriana*, Fabrizio Serra Editore, Pisa.
- Falk, H. and C. Bennett (2009), 'Macedonian intercalary months and the era of Azes', *Acta Orientalia*: 197-216.
- Filliozat, J. (1973), 'Représentations de Vasudeva et Samkarsana au IIe siècle avant J.C.', *Arts Asiatiques*: 113-23.
- Fredricksmeier, E.A. (1986), 'Alexander the Great and Macedonian Kausia', *American Philological Association*: 215-27.
- Green, P. (1991), *Alexander of Macedon, 356-323 B.C.: A Historical Biography*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Holt, F.L. (1993), *Alexander the Great and Bactria*, E.J. Brill, Leiden.
- (1999), *Thundering Zeus. The Making of Hellenistic Bactria*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- (2003), *Alexander the Great and the Mystery of the Elephant Medallions*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- (2005), *Into the Land of Bones: Alexander the Great in Afghanistan*, University of California Press.

- Kingsley, B. (1991), 'Alexander's Kausia and Macedonian Tradition', *Classical Antiquities*, 10: 59-76.
- Le Rider, G. (2003), *Alexandre Le Grand. Monnaie, finances et politique*, Presse Universitaire de France, Paris.
- Le Rider, G. and F. de Callataÿ (2006), *Les Séleucides et les Ptolémées. L'héritage monétaire et financier d'Alexandre le Grand*, Editions du Rocher, Paris.



## Two Exceptional Indo-Greek Numismatic Documents\*

Numismatists and historians have continually asserted that, due to the rarity of textual sources and the limited nature of the archeological documentation, the rich monetary material minted by the Greek kings of Central Asia and of North-West India remain, for the moment, the foundation of the historic approach that we can have to the study of their reigns, and may well remain so for a long time. We give an account here of the very latest numismatic discoveries, spectacular discoveries which come to us from far away.

### I. HELIODOTOS, NEW INDO-GREEK SOVEREIGN

Here we are dealing with a gold coin (2.73 g; 12.5 mm × 13 mm) found in Indian Kashmir just several months ago. Here I must deeply thank professors Miltiade Hatzopoulos and Harry Falk who helped me decipher the legends. It turned out to be an unpublished coin of a new Indo-Greek sovereign. The coin is square, like the gold one of Zoile II from Mir Zakah that I published elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

On the obverse, we see the effigy of the sovereign, reminiscent of the portrait of Eucratides I. On the reverse, there is a monetary type rather common with the Graeco-Bactrians and the Indo-Greeks: Heracles standing facing, crowning himself with his right hand and holding in his left the palm and the club, with the lion skin draped over his arm. On the obverse we read ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΛ(I) ΟΔΟΤΟ(Y) and on the reverse we read *maharajasa* [...] and, clearly, *heliyatotal/ sa* (fig. 1).

Harry Falk lets us know that it is the same name in Greek that had been translated into Pakrit, but the 't' in the place of the 'd' is a mistake. It should presumably have read 'Heliodotasa.' In any case, the name of the sovereign is without a doubt that of Heliodotos. It is also interesting to note that this name is attested to in the Greek inscription from Kuliab.<sup>2</sup> Like Nashthenes, son of Shatran, this Heliodotos thus emerged from the shadows, adding himself

\*Reprinted from 'Deux documents exceptionnels en numismatique indo-grecque', *Cahiers numismatiques*, no. 189, 2011, pp. 3-6.

<sup>1</sup> O. Bopearachchi, 'Two unreported coins from the second Mir Zakah deposit', *News Letter, Oriental Numismatic Society*, no. 165, Autumn 2000, pp. 15-16.

<sup>2</sup> B. Bernard, G.-J. Pinault and G. Rougemont, 'Deux nouvelles inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Centrale', *Journal des Savants*, 2004, pp. 333-56.



FIGURE 1: Gold coin of Heliodotos (enlargement).

to the forty-four other Indo-Greek sovereigns already known by their coins. Additional proof, if there were any need for it, that the history of the Indo-Greeks is first and foremost a numismatic history.

## II. A COIN DIE OF DEMETRIOS I

A document of extreme importance, that not only concerns Graeco-Bactrian coinage but also the whole of Greek money, was discovered in the north of Afghanistan, most probably near the ancient Greek village of Aï Khanoum.<sup>3</sup> It consists of a coin die with the Graeco-Bactrian reverse type of Demetrios I, considered 'king of the India(s).' The silver series already known for this sovereign have on the obverse the head wearing an elephant scalp, which gives him the air of an Indian conqueror.<sup>4</sup> The face of the die is engraved with a young and beardless Heracles, standing facing and crowning himself with his right hand; the left arm, on which hangs the lion skin, holds the club. The legend, in Greek, is engraved vertically on both sides of the hero, and reads: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ / ΔΕΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (fig. 4). The dimensions of the minted surface —37 × 35 mm (fig. 3)—correspond to those of the tetradrachms of Demetrios I,<sup>5</sup> which vary between 31 and 34 mm. This die tells us that the surface of the die is larger than that of the coin.

To my knowledge this is the only Bactrian coin die known until now. Maryse Blet-Lemarquand and I are currently conducting a detailed study of this die, based on analyses of the metals. The objective of this note is to briefly introduce it. Several observations can be made regarding the monogram engraved on the die, as well as on the minting technique. The monogram on the die ϕ (cf.

<sup>3</sup> The site of Aï Khanoum was dug under the direction of P. Bernard by the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan (DAFA) between 1964 and 1978.

<sup>4</sup> See O. Bopearachchi, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1991, series 1-3, p. 164-5.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. series 1, p. 164.

*BN*, series 1, F) is the most attested one in all of the coinage of Demetrios I, and was adopted by Euthydemes II, Agathocles, Pantaleon, and Antimachos I. It disappeared from the Graeco-Bactrian coinage with the issues of Eucratides I (*BN*, p. 387).<sup>6</sup> Unlike the monogram  $\mathfrak{R}$ , that I have attributed to the city of Ai Khanoum, and many others, this monogram  $\Phi$ , does not appear in the bilingual coinage of the Indo-Greeks. The clear conclusion is that it is a sign from a Bactrian workshop. If the find spot the die communicated to us by the collector is correct, it could be that the workshop was situated in the middle valley of Oxus, more precisely, at Ai Khanoum.

The low height of this die (fig. 2), 39 mm, indicates that it was not directly held in the hand, but rather by pincers. The surface that received the blow from the hammer is damaged in two places, with one of the fractures more significant than the other. We can also see several cracks in the convex body of the die, certainly caused by the pressure of the hammer blows. The surface bearing the reverse is almost intact (fig. 3). It is especially interesting to consider that, among the thirty-odd tetradrachms of Demetrios I known carrying this monogram, we did not find a single coin struck with this die. Other discoveries may confirm that this die was used for the minting, though it is possible that not a single coin was issued from this die. The die could in fact have been damaged from the start, and consequently condemned. We know that ancient dies were subject to systematic destruction in order to avoid illegal minting. The crack seen in this tool is such that it seems obvious that it was no longer usable. The analyses of the alloy of which the die is made will perhaps provide information as to its premature degradation.

<sup>6</sup> The tetradrachm carrying the name Didotos Soter (*BN*, series 16) with the same monogram is a commemorative coin probably struck by Agathocles; see O. Bopearachchi in O. Bopearachchi and A. ur Rahman, *Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan*, Karachi, 1995, p. 56.



FIGURE 2.A: Coin die.



FIGURE 2.B: Coin die with the large fracture.



FIGURE 2.C: Surface with the damages caused by the blow from the hammer.



FIGURE 3: Engraved surface of the die.



FIGURE 4: Inverted image of the die-surface.



---

Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and  
Kushan Numismatics

---





## A Gold Coin of the Indo-Parthian Ruler Abdagases II\*

The coin that is examined in this article was found, according to Muhammad Riaz Babar, our source of information, by an inhabitant of Chilas (near Gilgit) whose testimony he personally recorded. This villager, while retrieving hewn stones from the ruins of an ancient monument to build his house with, uncovered a terracotta vase that contained, among other things, the gold coin under discussion, a bronze bracelet and beads of coral, blue and yellow glass and terracotta (Fig. 1).

We were unfortunately not able to examine this coin directly and it must be noted that our observations were made using the photographs (Fig. 2) that were sent to us by M.R. Babar, to whom we express our sincere thanks. Joe Cribb, keeper of the oriental coins of the British Museum, who actually handled the coin, was kind enough to give us some valuable information to which we will allude while discussing the question of its authenticity. The coin has since entered the private collection of Professor Ikuo Hirayama in Japan, and he has kindly permitted us to publish it.

### DESCRIPTION

#### OBVERSE

Draped bust of the ruler to l., wearing a tall, rounded tiara mounted with several lines of pearls, with a knot at the rear attaching a long billowing ribbon and holding in front of him an arrow. Legend in Parthian letters: *'bdgšy MLKYN MLKA (Abdagaš Šahān Šāh)*: 'Abdagases king of kings' (see below). Struck with insufficient strength on the portrait, on the highest part of the relief.

#### REVERSE








Within a beaded border, ☿: *tamga* (clan symbol) called 'gondopharian'. No legend. Weight: 6.2 g, diameter: 18 mm.

#### READING OF THE OBVERSE LEGEND.

The reading of the title is certain, employing the two Aramaic ideograms

\*Reprinted from Franz Grenet and Osmund Bopearachchi, 'Un monnaie en or du souverain Indo-Parthe Abdagases II', *Studia Iranica*, 25, 1996/2, pp. 219-31.

*MLKYN MLKA* specific to the Parthian language (whereas in Pehlavi we have *MLKAN MLKA*). That of the name of the king is also certain. Let us examine the letters one by one:<sup>1</sup>

- the *aleph* presents two variations: cursive for the initial letter of the name of the king (vertical incurved branches ) , more angular at the end of *MLKA* . the first is identical to one of the attested variations on the ostraca of Nisa, which go from 151 to 12 BCE. The second is the one that we usually find on Parthian and Indo-Parthian coins of the first century BCE, and especially those of Abdagases II where the name of the king appears in an abbreviated form (Alram 1142).
- The *beth* is short and very open , as on the abbreviated legend that is already known, which led M. Alram to prefer for this a reading of 'wd although this is incompatible with the most probable etymology of the first element of the name Abdagases (ancient Iranian *abda-* 'marvellous'). The same form of the *beth* is found at Nisa (a variation), on the ostrakon of Shahr-i Qumis (same period), and especially on a coin of Sanabares I, that bears on the obverse the complete name of the king (Alram 1192).
- the *daleth*  can be found at Nisa, on the ostraca of Koša-depe (near Nisa and of a slightly later date), and on Parthian coins of the first century.
- the *gimel*  can be found at Nisa (a variation), at Koša-depe, and on an ostrakon of Merv probably dated to the end of the first century. It cannot be mistaken for a *beth* because of the elongation on the right of the inferior bar.
- the *šin*  is the only letter that presents some difficulties, as the line that normally branches to the right from the left hand bar has been reduced to almost nothing. However the tendency of this line to atrophy can be observed at Nisa (a variant: ) and on the ostraca of Nippur dating to the first or the second century CE. On the other hand on our coin the left hand bar curved outwards, clearly differentiates it from a *daleth* on which this bar curves inwards.

The Parthian form of the name thus corresponds letter for letter with that of the homonym mentioned among the dignitaries of Šāpūr I on the inscription of the Ka'ba of Zoroaster (ŠKZ pthe 28).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We use the very useful table of the evolution of the Aramaic alphabet in the Iranian East that was published in V.A. Livshits, 'New Parthian Documents from South Turkmenia', *Acta Antiqua Scientiarum Hungaricae* 25, 1977, pp. 157-85 (table p. 167; reproduced in a more legible format in his article 'Novye parfjanskije nadpisi iz Turkmenii i Iraka', *Èpigrafiika Vostoka* 22, 1984, pp. 18-40, table pp. 20-1). Livshits also provides photographs and references for the original documents. For the coins our main references, here and for the rest of the article, refer to the index of M. Alram, *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*, IV: *Nomina propria iranica in nummis*, Vienna 1986.

<sup>2</sup> In its Greek version: ΑΒΔΑΓΑΣ, probably to be corrected to ΑΒΔΑΓΑΣ. In the Pehlavi

## DATE OF THE COIN

If we accept the distinction proposed by M. Alam between two Abdagases,<sup>3</sup> our coin must be attributed to Abdagases II, the only one of the two whose known coinage includes on the obverse a legend in Parthian letters (Alam 1142). Abdagases II, like Abdagases I before him, bears in the Greek legends of his coins the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ that corresponds with the *MLKYN MLKA* of our gold coin.<sup>4</sup> *h*

The portrait of the obverse of our coin shows, apart for the arrow, a great similarity to that of the tetradrachm of Sanabares I (Alam 1196, our fig. 3):<sup>5</sup> the same tall and rounded tiara surmounted by a border of pearls, the same draping of the clothing, the same arrangement of the ribbon. This issue of Sanabares I is attributed to Arachosia, using as a criterion the obverse type with a Nike.

M. Alam had already noted the analogy between the other types of Sanabares I (1191-94) and one of those attributed by him to Abdagases II (1142), all these types having been hypothetically placed at Sistan based on the reverse (sitting archer, more stylized on the issues of Abdagases II).<sup>6</sup> We reproduce here

---

version: 'd *hšy*, probably to be corrected to 'dw' *hšy* (Ēwaxš), see N. Sims-Williams, *Sogdian and other Iranian Inscriptions of the Upper Indus*, II, London 1992 (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicum, Part II, III/II/2), p. 27. M. Back (*Die Sassanidischen Staatsinschriften*, *Acta Iranica* 18, 1978, pp. 175-6) notes the parallelism with the name of Vologeses: Parthian *wlgšy* (Walagaš) / Pehlavi *wrd' hšy* (Walaxš), whose first element might come from the Ancient Iranian. *varya-* 'chosen, remarkable', with the evolution *-ry-* > *-l-* typical of Scythian dialects. The etymology of the second element, apparently common for the two names, remains problematic.

<sup>3</sup> M. Alam, 'Die Vorbildwirkung der arsakidischen Münzprägung', *Litterae Numismayicae Vindobonenses*, 3, 1987, especially pp. 136-8.

<sup>4</sup> The first Abdagases, as indicated by the legend written in Kharoṣṭhī on the reverse of his bilingual coins: *Gudupharabhrataputra Avadagaša*, was the 'son of the brother' of Gondophares. We are now certain of the chronology of Gondophares: we must place the beginning of his coinage around 20 CE and the end not before 46 CE. This dating is based on three facts: (1) The inscription of Takht-i Bahi dated in the Vikrama era, (2) the overstrikes of Gondophares over the last posthumous series of Hermaios and the overstrikes of Kujula Kadphises over Gondophares, (3) the composition of coin hoards. See most recently J. Cribb, 'New Evidence of Indo-Parthian Political Identity', *Coin Hoards* 7, 1985, pp. 282-300; O. Bopearachchi, *Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian Coins in the Smithsonian Institution*, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., 1993, pp. 57-60.

<sup>5</sup> For the distinction between the two Sanabares, see most recently: F. Chiesa, 'Osservazioni sulla monetazione Indo-Parthica. Sanabares I e Sanabares II: incerezze ed ipotesi', *Festschrift Herbert A. Cahn zum 70. Geburtstag*, Basel 1985, pp. 15-20; M. Alam, art. cit., above no. 3; H. Koch, 'A Hoard of Coins from Eastern Parthia', *American Numismatic Society Notes and Monographs*, New York 1990, especially pp. 57-61.

<sup>6</sup> Until further notice, we are keeping to these attributions accepted by the bibliography, even though the only place where the provenance of the types has been confirmed by discoveries made during excavations is Kandahar, where the reverses with a Nike really are predominant (coins discovered by the archaeological mission of the British Institute for Afghan Studies, under publication). D. Mac Dowall proposes for his part to extend the

(Fig. 4) a nice unpublished specimen of this type of Sanabares I.<sup>7</sup> An apparently intermediary stage of the degeneration of this type of the archer can be observed on an issue of Pacores, also attributed to Sistan (Alram 1189).<sup>8</sup>

We are thus dealing with a group that is closely tied to three rulers: Sanabares I—Pacores—Abdagases II (hypothetical sequence), all, if we follow M. Alram, having been struck both in Sistan (archer reverse) and in Arachosia (Nike reverse).<sup>9</sup> To this we can add Sarpedonos, known only from a few coins with the Nike and whom M. Alram places after Sanabares I. For absolute dating we possess the following elements:

- We know of a number of overstrikes of Pacores (issues with the Nike) over Soter Megas.<sup>10</sup> The question of the identity of this ruler and of his place in the Kushan dynasty has only recently had new light shed on it. It is in fact very probable that we should identify him with Vima Taktu that the Bactrian inscription discovered in Rabatak near Surkh Kotal

---

area of circulation of this type to Sistan ('The Dynasty of the later Indo-Parthians', *Numismatic Chronicle* 1965, pp. 137-48; 'The Interrelation between Indo-Parthian and Kushan Chronology', in *Histoire et cultes de l'Asie centrale préislamique. Actes du Colloque international du CNRS (Paris, 22-28 novembre 1988)*, ed. P. Bernard and F. Grenet, Paris 1991, pp. 243-9, pls. CI-CII). This would open the possibility of shifting the series with the archer further to the north, in Aria, or even Margiana, in the regions that had been, since the first conquests of Mithridates I, acquired by the Arsacides for whom the archer was the traditional type. In any case it is certain that Sanabares I issued this type of coin at Merv, see below no. 9.

<sup>7</sup> This drachm (weight 4.30 g) was found at Haripur, about 20 km to the north of Taxila. The photographs of this coin were given to us by M.R. Babar.

<sup>8</sup> M. Alram places Abdagases II before Pacores, but the gradual stylization of the archer on the issues attributed to Sistan would rather indicate the inverse sequence.

<sup>9</sup> Furthermore the coins of Sanabares I are found in large numbers in Merv: M.E. Masson, 'Vostočno-parfjanskij pravitel' Sanabar', *Numizmatičeskij sbornik. Trudy gosudarstvennogo istoričeskogo muzela* (Moskva), 26, 1957, pp. 34 sqq.; V.M. Masson, *Das Land der tausend Städte*, München 1982, p. 151. Despite the reservations expressed by M. Alram, there is no doubt that the kingdom of Sanabares I, to whose series the specimens published by M.E. Masson belong, extended up to the Margiana. This is also the case as far as Sanabares II is concerned, as certain of his coins in the hoard published by H. Koch (op. cit. above, no. 5) and now in the Getty Museum bear the monogram of the Merv mint, next to those of Abarshahr (Nishapur), Heart and Traxiana (uncertain provenance). Already D. Sellwood (*An Introduction to the Coinage of Parthia*, 2nd edn., London 1980, pp. 304-7) had situated the bronzes of Sanabares II without a mintmark in Merv, while M. Alram (1195) assigned them to Sistan.

<sup>10</sup> B. Simonetta, 'An essay on the so-called 'Indo-Greek' coinage', *East and West* 1957, pp. 44-66, pl. 3, no. 1; the same overstrike in M. Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, 9 vols., London 1975-6 (henceforth abbreviated to Mitchiner), series 1103, p. 745; D. MacDowall, 'The Interrelation . . .' (art. cited above, n. 6), p. 246 with note 22 (mentions numerous specimens found in the British excavations in Kandahar). It is by mistake that M. Alram (p. 259) turns the overstrike published by Simonetta and Mitchiner into an overstrike of Soter Megas over Pacores.

identifies as the son of Kujula Kadphises and the father of Vima Kadphises, himself father of Kanishka.<sup>11</sup> His reign, which must have been long if we judge from the extreme abundance of his coinage that spread from northern Bactria to Mathura, started at the earliest in the 30s, and ended at the latest in the first years of the second century.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Presented by N. Sims-Williams and J. Cribb, *Third International Conference of the Societas Iranologica Europaea*, Cambridge, September 1995; forthcoming publication by the same authors, 'A New Bactrian Inscription of Kanishka the Great', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 5, 1995 [1996]. We thank J. Cribb and N. Sims-Williams for having allowed us to mention this data and for having provided us with their remarks on our article.

<sup>12</sup> The prime role of Vima Taktu—Soter Megas in the history of the Kushan dynasty has been well presented by D.W. Mac Dowell in his article 'Soter Megas, the King of Kings, the Kushāna', *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* 30, 1968, pp. 28-48. It may appear surprising that we still cannot propose even more exact dates for this ruler, given that we have from him a dated inscription: the Bactrian inscription DN I of Dašt-e Nāwūr (Afghanistan), that Sims-Williams has just returned to him (appendix to the article just cited). There exists in fact a double uncertainty: as to the moment of the reign when the inscription appeared and the era to which the date '279' refers:

(a) The beginning of the inscription as Sims-Williams now proposes to read it calls Vima Taktu 'The great saviour of kings' (*šaonano . . . i bôgo storgo*), a formula whose two last terms correspond to 'Soter Megas' ('the saviour, the great') on the coin legends in Greek; he is not qualified explicitly as 'king of kings', contrary to what is the case in all his legends in Greek and in Kharoṣṭhī, but the Bactrian title employed in the inscription may have been meant as the equivalent of *šaonano šao*. The Kharoṣṭhī version DN III reads *rajatirajasa*, without the certainty of being able to restore the complete royal title that we would normally expect to be *maharajasa rajatirajasa*. Furthermore the fact that line 5 of DN I says (it seems) that 'by his own will he obtained the throne' does not allow us to claim that the inscription comes at the beginning of his reign, as the end of the text is almost completely lost to us.

(b) According to G. Fussman, first editor of the DN I, who attributed it to Vima Kadphises, the date 279 refers either to the Arsacid era of 247 BCE (that could have been introduced to Arachosia, a province that borders the Dašt-e Nāwūr by the Indo-Parthians), or to an era of Bactrian Independence that may have been inaugurated by Diodotos I between 247 and 239 (G. Fussman, 'Documents épigraphiques kouchans', *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 41, 1974, pp. 38-40; *ibid.*, 'Nouvelles inscriptions Śaka: ère d'Eucratide, ère d'Azès, ère Vikrama, ère de Kaniška'; *ibid.*, 47, 1980, pp. 30-43). Thus we would reach the mid 1930s. But there is a possible alternative with the (supposed) era of Eucratides of c. 171 BCE, which would take us to around 108, or even the era (also supposed) of Menander, on the condition, however, that we started it earlier from c. 155 (the generally accepted date) to c. 165 (date suggested by new numismatic data, see O. Bopearachchi in his book of synthesis on the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek history, forthcoming, to be published by the British Museum). We would thus obtain for the DN I a date around 115, acceptable if the inscription is from the end of the reign of Vima Taktu, if Vima Kadphises did not then have a long reign, and if the enthronement of Kanishka can be lowered to around 125-30. These difficulties do not appear to be insurmountable. J. Cribb on the other hand proposes that Kanishka was enthroned between 100-20, based on the sequence of Kushano-Sassanid reigns and the synchronization that we can establish between them and those of the later Kushanas ('Numismatic Evidence for the Kushano-Sasanian Chronology', *St. Ir.*



- The arrow that Abdagases II holds on our coin offers another possible point of contact with the coinage of Soter Megas, on which the personages shown on the obverse (sometimes a conventional portrait of the helmeted ruler imitated from the Indo-Greek coinage, sometimes a radiate divinity who is without a doubt Apollon-Mithras) always feature this attribute (Figs. 5-6). But we also find the arrow much later, on the coins of Ardamitra, a local ruler of south-east Iran at the beginning of the third century, and who may have been the last representative of the Indo-Parthian dynasty.<sup>13</sup>
- The presence on the obverse of the ‘Sistanian’ drachms of Abdagases II, behind the head of the ruler, of the first letters of his name (*‘bd*, *‘b*), copies a habit that does not seem to have appeared in Parthian coinage before 78-80, during a period of clashes between Pacores II on the one side and Vologeses I followed by Vologeses II on the other.<sup>14</sup> Among the immediate predecessors of Abdagases II we also find this characteristic

19, 1990, pp. 151-93 and pls. I-VIII, pp. 176-7 for the Kanishka era). The existence, at least in India, of an era of Eukratides or rather of Menander, long suspected, has recently been confirmed by an inscription of Mathūra dated to the era of ‘the Greek kingdom’ (G. Fussman, ‘L’indo-grec Ménandre ou Paul Demiéville revisité’, *Journal Asiatique* 281, 1993, pp. 111-17).

The last indication, the testimony of the *Hanshu*, compiled around 125 CE but using information gathered during the campaigns of Ban Chao around 90, seems to indicate that at this time Vima Taktu was on the throne. Everything in fact depends on the way we read the names of the Kushan rulers mentioned in the text. Fussman (cited articles in the *BEFEO*, pp. 45-6 and 38-9 respectively) rightly notes that the characters pronounced in modern Chinese do not produce anything identifiable. But if we adopt the reconstructions of the ‘Early Middle Chinese’ (EMC), proposed by E. Pulleyblank (*Lexicon of the reconstructed pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin*, Vancouver 1991), we obtain at least, as Sims-Williams notes, ‘partial phonetic correspondences’: it is possible to recognise *Kujula* in *k<sup>h</sup>uwszuw-k<sup>h</sup>iak* (given by the *Hanshu* as the founder of the Kushan empire, who died in his eighties), and, in a more definite manner, *Vima* in the first syllable of *jiam-kaw-trin* (his son and successor, final conqueror of north India, last ruler known to the chronicle). We now know that the Vima, son and successor of Kujula, is Vima Taktu. An amalgam between the two Vimas is not, however, totally impossible, given the very summary character of this document.

<sup>13</sup> For a good illustration of a coin of the American Numismatic Society, see P.O. Harper, *Silver Vessels of the Sasanian Period*, vol. I: *Royal Imagery*, New York 1981, p. 104, fig. 29.

<sup>14</sup> D. Sellwood, *An Introduction* . . . , op. cit. above no. 9, pp. 223, 232, who considers that Vologeses I, having reigned since 51, took this initiative imitating his competitor Pacores II who appeared in 78. However the same author, in his contribution to the *Cambridge History of Iran*, 3: *The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods*, ed. E. Yarshater, Cambridge 1983, suggests a date that is slightly earlier for the appearance of the abbreviated name on the coins of Vologeses I (p. 319, legend to pl. 7, coin 12: ‘c. 70 AD’). This habit of adding the abbreviated name disappears after 80 and does not appear again until the beginning of the 3rd century, under Vologeses VI and Artaban IV.

on the 'Sistanian' drachms of Sanabares I (Alram 1191, 1193, and our Fig. 4).

- The occasional appearance, also on the obverse, of the whole name with the titles in Parthian, gives us another point in common between Abdagases II (our gold coin) and Sanabares I ('Sistanian' drachm bearing *s'nbry MLKA* . . . (?): Alram 1192). For this detail the Parthian model, if it exists, is not yet known: the complete name with the title 'king' (*MLKA*) is only attested later, around 140, with the contestant Mithridates IV (Alram 416), and the title 'king of kings' (*MLKYN MLKA*) only under Vologeses IV, who reigned from 147 to 191 (Alram 419-20). On these Arsacid coins the Parthian inscription is furthermore engraved on the reverse, contrary to the Indo-Parthian coins.

Thus we place the reign of Abdagases II in the first quarter of the first century in Arachosia-Sistan, or even further to the north (and accepting for the time being, as do those who hold that we should distinguish between two Abdagases, that the Indian issues in this name all belong to Abdagases I).<sup>15</sup> In his kingdom he followed Sanabares I and Sarpedonos. He follows or immediately precedes Pacores, the adversary of Soter Megas. The possibility of simultaneous reigns cannot be excluded. In the first half of the second century comes Sanabares II, doubtless after some time and surely not within the same territorial limits.

The reverse of the gold coin, occupied by the *tamga* of Gondophares, attests that, as his predecessor of the same name Abdagases I explicitly declares himself on the Indian issues to be the nephew of Gondophares, Abdagases II belonged to the descendants of this ruler.<sup>16</sup>

The fact that the coin was found near Gilgit, on a commercial route which was very busy during the first centuries of our era, evidently does not allow any inference concerning the place of its minting. The presence of a Parthian legend, which is moreover developed and different from all others, indicates beyond contestation that it was issued in an Iranian province. The similarity of the portrait to that of the tetradrachm of Sanabares I, held to be Arachosian, may indicate a similar provenance.

<sup>15</sup> The Indo-Parthians struck coins in their own names, but in each region they adopted for their issues the types of their predecessors. It is thus that the issues of Gondophares in the region of Sagala have as type the royal bust and Athena Alkedemos, already popular with the last Indo-Greek rulers and the Indo-Scythian Rujuvula (see J. Cribb, art. cit. above no. 4, pp. 282-6). In the region of Taxila, the coins of Gondophares have as their main types the king on horseback and Athena or Zeus (see Mitchiner, series 1128 and 1129). The coins with the types of the royal bust and the Nike are mainly situated in the region of Arachosia (and Sistan?). Abdagases II, who appears not to have exercised authority over Indian lands never struck bilingual issues.

<sup>16</sup> The identification of the *tamga* on the coins of Sanabares I, proposed by K.W. Dobbins, 'Sanabares and the Gondophares Dynasty', *Numismatic Chronicle* 1971, pp. 135-42, was contested by R.N. Frye, *The History of Ancient Iran*, p. 201, no. 72.

## THE QUESTION OF AUTHENTICITY

This specimen is the only gold coin of a Parthian dynasty known with certainty up to now.<sup>17</sup> The only comparable examples are:

- A gold coin with the types of Gotarzes I (c. 91-90 BCE) found in the royal necropolis of Tillia-tepe to the west of Bactria, with a barbarised Greek legend and a countermark engraved in the die. For these reasons the authors of the publication consider it to be a local imitation of a drachm.<sup>18</sup>
- A gold coin with the types of Vologeses (191-208) bearing on the reverse the Parthian legend *wlg]šy MLKA* partially off-flan over a barbarized Greek legend, acquired in Pakistan and kept in the Cabinet des Médailles of Paris where it is classed among the fakes (Fig. 7).<sup>19</sup>

The gold piece that we publish here today, unique of its kind in Indo-Parthian coinage and without a sure equivalent in Parthian coinage in general, at first sight inevitably raises, certain doubts about its authenticity. When it arrived in London, some English dealer who prefer to remain anonymous condemned it as a fake. Our informant is for his part positive as to the find spot and the circumstances of discovery that we related at the beginning of this article. If this information is reliable, the question of its authenticity does not need to be asked. We have no reason, from our experience, to doubt the sincerity of our informant. What of the intrinsic criteria?

Joe Cribb who examined this coin confirmed that the specimen is certainly struck and not cast. In our opinion, from a technical point of view, the obverse of this coin does not pose any problems. An imperfection does, however, exist on the reverse: when the coin is oriented to 12:00, we can observe a flattening. If the coin was struck, such an accident could have come about because of a die break. For a die to be damaged, it must be worn out. It is also not impossible that the coin was overstruck or double struck. The discovery of other gold coins of this type would allow us one day to pronounce more exact judgement on this point. Furthermore the reverse, which normally receives the striking, is not concave. But such a characteristic can be observed when the striking is too weak, which is precisely what we were able to deduce by observing the obverse (see the description at the beginning of the article).

The covering of the whole reverse by the *tamga* has never before been attested on the silver coinage. We note that on Indo-Parthian silver coinage

<sup>17</sup> D. Sellwood, *An Introduction . . .*, p. 8: 'Gold coin may have been struck, but rather as ceremonial medallions than for currency. However, I have not, myself, seen a genuine specimen'.

<sup>18</sup> G.A. Koshelenko and V.I. Sarianidi, 'Les monnaies de la nécropole de Tillia-tepe (Afghanistan)', *St. Ir.* 21, 1992, pp. 24-5, 29-30, pl. I, fig. 6.

<sup>19</sup> This coin comes, according to Raoul Curiel the donator, from an isolated village situated in the north-west of Peshawar. It was acquired by Mr. Curiel through the intermediary of a keeper at the Peshawar Museum. The types are similar to those of the silver drachms of Vologeses V (cf. Sellwood, type 863; Alram 424).

the *tamga* always appears associated with the principal type.<sup>20</sup> However, it appears alone on the reverse of a series of bronzes of Gondophares.<sup>21</sup>

If the attribution of this coin to Arachosia (or to Sistan?), far from Indian territories, is exact, we would be surprised not to find a legend in the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet on the reverse. The absence of a Greek legend on the reverse is also not a convincing argument to cast doubt on its authenticity, because a legend in the national language might have been considered the most appropriate for an exceptional and prestigious issue.

In fact, by its appearance alone, this Parthian inscription speaks very strongly in favour of the authenticity of the coin. The Parthian name of the king up to now known from its Greek transcription is found here in its real form. As we have mentioned, this has hitherto been attested only from a unique homonym, which, to our knowledge, was never cited in the publications relative to Indo-Parthian numismatics: the link between the name ABΔΑΓΑΣΗΣ and that of the Sassanid dignitary *'bdgšy* was only explicitly made by O. Sprengling in an article in 1940,<sup>22</sup> and even he did not return to the subject in his classic work *Third Century Iran* (Chicago 1953). For his part M. Alram, working from the abridged name as he believed it should be read, and without citing Sprengling, reconstructed a form *'wdgšy* (with a question-mark). But his book only appeared in 1986 and is very expensive. . . . On the other hand, the form of the letters is not what we could copy from an alphabet, or even from the indexes of Parthian coins. The analogies that we have indicated with the variants that are specific to ostraca of eastern Iran can only be found by consulting specialized articles that are difficult to access.

The weight of the coin, 6.2 g, is almost the double of that of Tillia-tepe (3.35 g), whose antiquity cannot be doubted, even if it is a local imitation. The coin with the type of Vologeses V of the Cabinet des Médailles, up to now considered to be a fake, has a weight almost identical to ours (6.3 g). Is it by chance that the weight of 3.35 g represents exactly the value of 10 silver drachms (1 Arsacid drachm = 4 g or slightly more), when applying the relative value of gold and silver of 12.1 attested for the Kushan empire from the reign of Kadphises?<sup>23</sup> For our part we prefer to consider that the coin of the Cabinet des Médailles is, like that of Tillia-tepe, an issue that is probably not official (or provincial), but authentic and made following the metrology of the gold coins of the state, coins for which that of Abdagases II offers us now the first specimen.

<sup>20</sup> It normally appears on the obverse either to the l. or to the r. of the horse (e.g. Mitchiner, series 1116 and 1132).

<sup>21</sup> See Mitchiner, series 1113-15.

<sup>22</sup> 'Shahpuhr I, the Great, on the Kaabah of Zoroaster (KZ)', *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*, 67, 1940, p. 414: 'a good enough Parthian name, known from coins and Western authors, given by Justi as Abdagaeses or Abdagases, remarkably like our Greek'.

<sup>23</sup> D. Mac Dowall, 'The weight standards of the gold and copper coinages of the Kushana dynasty from Vima Kadphises to Vasudeva', *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* 22, 1960, pp. 62-74.

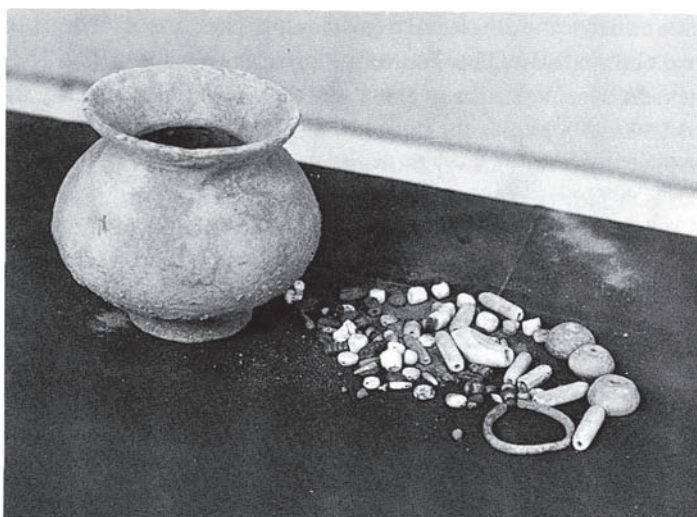


FIGURE 1: The terracotta vase in which the gold coin of Abdagases II was found.



FIGURE 2: Gold coin of Abdagases II, I. Hirayama collection (enlarged 3 times).



FIGURE 3: The tetradrachm of Sanabares I of the American Numismatic Society, New York (cf. Alram 1196).



FIGURE 4: Unpublished specimen of a drachm of Sanabares I from Haripur. On the obverse, Parthian legend *sa*.



FIGURE 5: Bronze coin of Soter Megas with a conventional portrait of the helmeted king on the obverse.



FIGURE 6: Bronze coin of Soter Megas with a portrait of Apollo-Mithras on the obverse.



FIGURE 7: The gold coin with the type of Vologeses V of the Cabinet des Médailles of Paris.



## Naštēn, a Hitherto Unknown Iranian Ruler in India\*

A large number of Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coins found in Afghanistan during the last few years are now beginning to reach the bazaars in Pakistan. According to reliable sources of information, it seems that a second 'source' of coins was discovered accidentally at Mir Zakah in 1992 by Afghans.<sup>1</sup> Among these coins, discovered in thousands, there are many new series previously unreported. The coin in question here belongs to this second group.<sup>2</sup> The aim of this paper is to introduce this coin, which offers a new contribution to our knowledge of the rulers who governed Bactria and India during the obscure period between the decline of the Greek power and the beginning of the Kushan empire.

It is claimed that the coin was found in August or September 1992, and was brought to the Peshawar market for sale. The obverse of the coin had a black layer of sulphide while the reverse had a heavy incrustation of a greenish salt, possibly due to contact with some copper material, perhaps either a pot or other coins; such prolonged contact has partly corroded the obverse. The coin was cleaned by Aman ur Rahman at the request of its present Afghan owner.<sup>3</sup>

\*Reprinted from *Studies in Silk Road Coins and Culture: Papers in Honour of Professor Ikuo Hirayama on His 65th Birthday*, ed. Katsumi Tanabe, Joe Cribb and Helen Wang, 1997, pp. 67-74.

<sup>1</sup> The village of Mir Zakah is situated 53 km ENE of the city of Gardez in Afghanistan. In May 1947 the inhabitants of the village found a 'source' of coins which they tapped for some time before the Afghan authorities were able to intervene and carry out a methodical collection. The coins in this deposit were then entrusted to the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan (DAFA) for study and were published by Curiel and Schlumberger (1953). It is well known that the coins in the deposit came from two sacred basins into which it is alleged it was the custom in ancient times to throw small coins and other various small objects as offerings. The recently discovered second Mir Zakah deposit seems to contain a large quantity of posthumous Hermaeus and debased Indo-Scythian coins. For further details of the second Mir Zakah deposit, see Bopearachchi (1994).

<sup>2</sup> The coin discussed in this article was brought to my knowledge by my friend, Aman ur Rahman of Pakistan, who kindly provided the photographs, details of its provenance, physical measurements and the cleaning procedures which he used. This coin is now in the private collection of Ikuo Hirayama. I am most grateful to him for allowing me to publish it.

<sup>3</sup> He used a zinc and dilute (5 per cent) caustic soda solution, followed by a rinse in water, then a dilute (5 per cent) sulphuric acid solution. After a second rinse in water and blow-drying, a glass-fibre pencil was gently brushed over the coin to remove the more stubborn deposits.

Visually, the coin appears to be made of slightly debased silver. The flan is quite circular with a minimum diameter of 30 mm and a maximum diameter of 32 mm. The mean thickness is 2 mm, while the depth of the carving is deep and approximately 0.5 mm on both sides. The die axes are perfectly parallel. The cleaned coin weighs 14.35 g. This weight may correspond to a tetradrachm of Attic weight. When compared with the normal Attic standard Bactrian coins, there is a difference of 2 g; this may be due to the fact the coin is slightly debased and corroded.

The obverse design shows, within a bead and reel border, the bust of a diademed king to right, wearing a helmet with a long, flowing crest and draped in a mantle. In the left field is the Kharoshthi *akṣara* *Ṣ sam* (no. 1).

The helmet is a peculiar shape: its top, instead of being semi-circular like that of Graeco-Bactrian<sup>4</sup> and Indo-Greek<sup>5</sup> issues, has two 'humps'.<sup>6</sup> This shape of helmet can also be observed, to a certain extent, on a rare coin series of Kujula Kadphises (nos. 4-5).<sup>7</sup> In contrast to the so-called Bactrian helmet, the rim of this helmet is excessively long and sharp.<sup>8</sup> This typical characteristic is also seen on some posthumous imitations of Eucratides (no. 3).<sup>9</sup> The ornamental device of an ear and horn of a bull which is usually found adorning the side of the helmet on the Greek issues is not represented on this coin (for comparison see the coin of Eucratides I: no. 2). The curved earflap which is usually visible on the Bactrian issues is reduced on this coin to a simple triangle. The king's right ear is not visible. Under the helmet, long plaits of hair fall on to the nape of the neck. Compared with the Greek issues, the drapery covering the shoulders is awkwardly engraved.

The portrait of any Bactrian or Indo-Greek king, for example Eucratides (no. 2) or Amyntas, wearing the so-called Bactrian helmet is always characterized by an armour-plate which can be seen on the right shoulder under the drapery

<sup>4</sup> The term 'Graeco-Bactrian' is used, as a rule, for the coins issued by the Greek kings who ruled in Bactria-Sogdiana north of the Hindu Kush. These coins were minted in conformity with the Attic standard and they bear Greek legends on the reverse. The designation applies also to the coins bearing the same characteristics which were issued by the kings who reigned in the regions bordering the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush.

<sup>5</sup> The coins issued by the Greek kings who reigned south of the Hindu Kush, but which were intended for their Indian-speaking subjects in territories of Indian culture, are designated as 'Indo-Greek'. They are minted according to the so-called Indian standard and carry bilingual legends, generally in Greek on the obverse and in an Indian language (Prakrit written in the Kharoshthi script, or, very rarely, Brahmi characters) on the reverse.

<sup>6</sup> See Bopearachchi (1991), abbreviated hereafter with a BN number. See, for example, Eucratides I, series 4; Amyntas, series 1 & 2.

<sup>7</sup> See Mitchiner (1975-6) type 1052. I am extremely grateful to my good friend, Joe Cribb, for drawing my attention to these coins, and for authorizing me to illustrate a certain number of coins in the British Museum collection.

<sup>8</sup> Compare this portrait, for example, with those of the Bactrian or Indo-Greeks, such as Eucratides I or Amyntas, cf. BN, Eucratides I, series 4; Amyntas, series 1 & 2.

<sup>9</sup> Mitchiner type 496.

of the mantle.<sup>10</sup> It is interesting to observe that all these distinctive features are missing on this coin. In contrast with the excellent execution of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek portraits, the king on our coin has poorly worked eyes, nose and especially lips. Were it not for these anomalies, it would be easy to assume that the engraver of the dies had in front of him a coin of a Greek king for use as a prototype. Indeed, the portrait on this coin closely resembles that of Amyntas on the famous double decadrachms found in the Qunduz hoard.<sup>11</sup> The most remarkable feature on the obverse of this coin is, of course, the finely executed Kharoshthi inscription *akṣara*  $\text{𑀅}$  *saṃ* which I shall discuss later.

The reverse design shows a king on a prancing horse to right, wearing a helmet<sup>12</sup> with a long, flowing crest. The king appears to be unarmed,<sup>13</sup> and his hands seem to hold the reins of the horse.

The ribbons of the diadem and the cape floating behind him indicate the rapid movement of the horse. There appears to have been no attempt to depict this king on horseback in protective armour, and it is difficult to determine whether or not he has a breast-plate. He appears to wear a tunic and trousers. No leg-shields are visible. These features closely resemble the king on horseback depicted on a finely executed coin of Apollodotus II.<sup>14</sup> Yet, once again, we are confronted with an awkwardly engraved copy of an Indo-Greek prototype: the king on horseback.

The reverse type showing a rider and horse prancing to right first appeared on the coins of Antimachus II, and on early examples the diademed king was represented without armour (no. 6).<sup>15</sup> Later, on the coins of Philoxenus (no. 7)<sup>16</sup> and Hippostratus (no. 8),<sup>17</sup> the king appears with both leg-shield and breast-plate. Unlike the Indo-Greeks, the Indo-Scythians are all represented wearing armour (nos. 9-10).

The reverse has two legends, parallel to each other above and below the horse. The reconstitution of the legends proved to be a difficult but fascinating exercise. We are grateful to Paul Bernard and Frantz Grenet for their help in proposing the following reading: *Nastēnēs/Xatrannou*.

<sup>10</sup> *BN*, Eucratides I, series 4 & 5; Amyntas, series 1 & 2.

<sup>11</sup> Curiel and Fussman (1965) nos. 619-23; *BN*, Amyntas, series 1 & 2.

<sup>12</sup> The king on the reverse most probably wears a helmet with two humps similar to the one on the obverse.

<sup>13</sup> The king on some of the issues of Hermaeus and Hermaeus and Calliope, in addition to this attire, is armed with a spear and a bow and arrows (*BN*, Hermaeus et Calliope, series 1 & 2; Hermaeus, series 7 & 8).

<sup>14</sup> *BN*, Apollodotus II, series 4. This series is so far attested by a unique specimen in the private collection of Adrian Hollis.

<sup>15</sup> *BN*, Antimachus II, series 1.

<sup>16</sup> *BN*, Philoxenus, series 1-9.

<sup>17</sup> *BN*, Hippostratus, series 3-7.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{HACTH}^{\text{H}}\text{NHC} &= \text{NACTH}^{\text{H}}\text{NHC} = \text{Nastēnēs} \\ \Xi\text{ATPANN}^{\text{O}}[\text{Y}] &= \Xi\text{ATPANN}^{\text{O}}[\text{Y}] = \text{Xatrannou} \end{aligned}$$

The upper legend is almost complete, but the one below is not. The first letter of the upper legend, when compared with the second N on the same line or with the double N of the bottom legend, looks like an H. Upon close examination, however, one can see that the bar in the middle is not horizontal but oblique. The fifth letter that we read as *eta* (H) can also be read as a ligature of EI, with the horizontal bar of the *epsilon* touching the *iota*, but this impression may have been created by the corrosion of the coin. It should be stressed that this variant does not affect the etymology for the name that we propose below.

The name Nastēnēs can be explained in terms of Iranian onomastics. Frantz Grenet is of the opinion that it is most probably: Naštēn < \*Našta-aina—hypocoristic with the suffix -aina-. The abbreviated name contains the past participle *Našta*—from one of the two verbs *nas*: either <sup>1</sup>*nas* ‘to disappear’, or <sup>2</sup>*nas* ‘to attain’.<sup>18</sup>

In the lower legend, the right branch of the A and the upper right extremity of the Ξ can be seen. The last letter which is completely off the flan has to be a Y since it is probably a patronymic in the genitive case. Although the reading of [Ξ]ATPANN<sup>O</sup>[Y] is not entirely certain, there are two main reasons for reading it as such. First, from an Iranian point of view, there is no alternative reading for the remaining letters of the legend that is convincing. Secondly, the name ΞATPANNOS is twice attested in the inscriptions on vases found in the Ai Khanum excavations.<sup>19</sup> According to Frantz Grenet, who has studied the names of Iranian origin attested in the inscription found at Ai Khanum, Xšaθān < xšaθrā in ancient Iranian + suffix -ān: ‘son of Xšaθra’ or descendant of Xšaθra.<sup>20</sup> In the onomastics xšaθra—can have two meanings: either the common meaning of ‘power’, or the Zoroastrian meaning indicating the third divine entity, Xšaθra vairya, which can be translated as ‘desirable force’, ‘kingdom’ (in the eschatological sense).

If the reading proposed here is correct, this coin must be considered as an issue of a ruler named Naštēn son of Xatran (son of Xšaθrān). Presumably, the name would show that the issuer, Naštēn, is not a Greek but an Iranian, most probably a Bactrian Iranian. This may also be supported by the obverse portrait. As suggested earlier, this portrait, which does not suggest a genuine representation of the ruler, may be a copy of a Bactrian prototype. If so, one cannot attach much importance to his diadem. Since the title βασιλεὺς (gen. βασιλ’έως) does not appear on the coin, as it did on the issues minted by his Greek predecessors, it is reasonable to think that Naštēn son of Xatran may

<sup>18</sup> Regarding the problems involved with the onomastics of the legend, see Boppearachchi and Grenet (1993).




<sup>19</sup> See Rapin (1983), especially pp. 332-3 and 340-1; Rapin (1992) pp. 100 and 102.

<sup>20</sup> Grenet (1983), especially p. 375.


never have been a king, but rather a ruler or a prince who governed a limited territory under the authority of a central power.

Dating the coin is not easy either, and there are a number of observations that need to be taken into consideration. Various anomalies mentioned earlier concerning the engraving, such as the bad rendering of helmet, hair, nose, eyes, mouth, drapery, the absence of armour on the right shoulder, of his right ear, and of the ear and horn of a bull on the side of the helmet, may indicate that the engraver had lost, to some extent, the 'savoir-faire', which was one of the dominant features of Graeco-Bactrian and early Indo-Greek coins.



The fact that the coin is of slightly debased silver also demands serious consideration, because hitherto known Graeco-Bactrian tetradrachms are usually struck in good metal containing at least 95 per cent silver. Elsewhere I have attempted to show that the first debased Indo-Greek coins were minted c. 55 BC by the Yuezhi, who, after the death of Hermaeus, gradually conquered Indian territories south of the Hindu Kush mountains.<sup>21</sup>

It is very difficult to explain with certainty the role of the Kharoshthi *akṣara*  *sam* has not yet been attested on Indo-Greek coins.<sup>22</sup> However, it appears quite clearly on coins of Azilises. On some series the character is written with the upper loop joining the vertical bar ;<sup>23</sup> on other series of the same king there is an opening under the upper loop .<sup>24</sup> In each of these cases the *akṣara* appears as an associate element to the principal monogram. This suggests the possibility that it may represent a mint mark.

It is also interesting to note that lunate *sigmas* are not attested in any of the Graeco-Bactrian issues, but only on the very rare bronze series of Nicias,<sup>25</sup> and on the coins of Strato II struck during the latter part of his reign.<sup>26</sup> The date of Strato II's reign could be placed at c. 25 BC-AD 10.<sup>27</sup>

The observations made above may not enable us to draw an absolute chronology for this coin. Nevertheless, three factors should be emphasized in this connection: first, the debasement of the silver content of coins which begins c. 55 BC; secondly, the appearance of the Kharoshthi *akṣara*  on the coins of Indo-Scythian kings c. 40 BC; and thirdly, the evidence of lunate *sigmas* on the last issues of Strato II c. 10 BC. These factors suggest a *terminus post*

<sup>21</sup> See Bopearachchi (1992).

<sup>22</sup> The Kharoshthi *akṣara*  which in my catalogue (1991) I proposed should be read as a monogram associated with another principal monogram (see catalogue under Hippostratus, series 5) H, is an incorrect reading of the *akṣara* . This coin is in the collection of H. Fowler, and I recently had the opportunity of examining it closely.

<sup>23</sup> Mitchiner type 801, q: see p. 517 for the last six illustrations; Mitchiner type 802, 1, p. 518 for the last two illustrations; Bopearachchi (1993) p. 94 & pl. 17: nos. 231, 234 and 235.

<sup>24</sup> Mitchiner type 776, e.g.

<sup>25</sup> BN, Nicias, series 6.

<sup>26</sup> BN, Straton II, series 6-8.

<sup>27</sup> BN, pp. 139-41; see also Bopearachchi (1991), pp. 235-42.

quem of c. 50 BC for the issue of this coin. When the Yuezhi were united under Kujula Kadphises (no. II) c. AD 30, they became a powerful empire, and from that period onwards the smaller principalities disappeared from the political scene.<sup>28</sup> In this way, the coin of Naštēn can be placed between c. 50 BC and c. AD 30.

We are also confronted with the problem of the geographical location of Naštēn's territories. Aman ur Rahman was first informed by the dealer that the coin was found in Badakhshan province. The same dealer recently confessed that it had, in fact, been found in the second Mir Zakah deposit. Whatever the interpretation we give to the Kharoṣṭhi *akṣara* on the obverse, it is certain that it can only be placed in an Indian context. However, we do not rule out the possibility that Naštēn may have been a ruler of a territory north of the Hindu Kush, and may have ordered a mint south of the Hindu Kush to strike his coins. Without further commitment, we may consider Naštēn as a ruler who governed a small territory north or south of the Hindu Kush after the decline of the Greek power. As indicated earlier, he is probably one of the short-lived rulers who emerged during the obscure period between the decline of the Greek power and the beginning of the Kushan empire under the reign of Kujula Kadphises, lord of the Kushan clan.

<sup>28</sup> Regarding the chronology of Kujula Kadphises' accession to the throne, see Cribb (1993).

## REFERENCES

- Bopearachchi, O. (1990), 'Graeco-Bactrian Issues of the Later Indo-Greek Kings', *Numismatic Chronicle*, pp. 79-104.
- (1991), *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné*. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- (1991), 'Les derniers rois indo-grecs: une autre hypothèse', *Histoire et Cultes de l'Asie Centrale pré-islamique*, Paris, Colloque international, 22-8 November 1988, pp. 235-42.
- (1992), 'The Posthumous Coinage of Hermaios and the Conquest of Gandhara by the Kushans', *Papers on the Crossroads of Asia*, Ancient India and Iran Trust Conference, Cambridge, 4-7 October (in press).
- (1993), *Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian Coins in the Smithsonian Institution*, Washington D.C.
- (1994), 'Récentes découvertes de trésors de monnaies pré-sassanides trouvés en Afghanistan et au Pakistan', *Cahiers Numismatiques (Revue trimestrielle de la Société d'études numismatiques et archéologiques)*, September, pp. 7-14.
- Bopearachchi, O. and F. Grenet (1993), 'Naštēn; un souverain iranien inconnu entre Grecs et Kouchans', *Studia Iranica*, 22: 299-307.
- Cribb, J. (1993), 'The 'Heraus' Coins: Their Attribution to the Kushan King Kujula Kadphises, c. AD 30-80', in *Essays in Honour of Kenneth Jenkins and Robert Carson*, London.
- Curiel, R. and D. Schlumberger (1953), *Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan*, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan 14, Paris.



- Curiel, R. and G. Fussman (1965), *Le trésor monétaire de Qunduz*, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan 20, Paris.
- Grenet, F. (1983), 'L'onomastique iranienne à Aï Khanoum', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* CVII; 373-81.
- Mitchiner, M. (1975-6), *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, London.
- Rapin, C. (1983), 'Les inscriptions économiques de la trésorerie hellénistique d'Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan)', *Bulletin de Correspondence hellénique*, CVII: 315-72.
- (1992), *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum*, VIII. *La trésorerie du palais hellénistique d'Aï Khanoum. L'Apogée et la chute du royaume grec de Bactriane*, MDFA, pp.100 and 102.

## ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Silver tetradrachm of Naštēn (enlargement).
2. Silver tetradrachm of Eucratides I. Bibliothèque Nationale: BN no. 48.
3. Posthumous imitation of Eucratides I. Bibliothèque Nationale: BN no. R.3681.116, Le Berre Collection.
4. Bronze coin of Kujula Kadphises. British Museum: BM 1888-12-8-531.
5. Bronze coin of Kujula Kadphises. British Museum: BM 1860-12-20-275.
6. Silver drachm of Antimachus II. Bibliothèque Nationale: BN no. 12.
7. Silver tetradrachm of Philoxenus. Bibliothèque Nationale: BN no. 20.
8. Silver tetradrachm of Hippostratus. Bibliothèque Nationale: BN no. 6.
9. Silver tetradrachm of Azes I. Bibliothèque Nationale: BN R.3681.891, Le Berre Collection.
10. Silver tetradrachm of Azes I. Bibliothèque Nationale: BN 1971.635, Le Berre Collection.
11. Bronze coin of Kujula Kadphises. British Museum: BM 1894-5-6-1680.



1



2



3



4



5



6



7

8



9



10



11



PLATE 1: Naštēn; 2 Eucratides I; 3 Eucratides I (posthumous imitation);  
4-5 Kujula Kadphises; 6 Antimachus II; 7 Philoxenus; 8 Hippostratus;  
9 Azes I; 10 Azes II; 11 Kujula Kadphises

## Indo-Parthians\*

The history of the Parthians who reigned over India, known as Indo-Parthians, still remains obscure. The task of establishing even a simple chronology for these kings is far from clear in many cases. Because of the scarcity of ancient texts and of the available archaeological data, numismatic evidence constitutes the main source for the reconstruction of their history. Likewise the names of most of the Indo-Parthian kings, like those of Indo-Greeks and Indo-Scythians, are known to us from their coins alone. These coins in general carry a great deal of information for the understanding of their role in a historical context. Hence, very particular attention is given in this paper to the analyses of information conveyed to us by coins. It is beyond the scope of this paper to deal with the chronology of the later Indo-Parthians, our only intention here is to discuss the chronological markers of the early phase of the Parthian rule in India in relation to their Greek and Scythian predecessors and Kushan contemporaries and to show how the numismatic evidence enables us to understand their penetration into these territories.<sup>1</sup>

The coins struck by the Indo-Parthians are divided into four principal categories. This classification is made by taking the weight standards, coin types and particularly the geographical distribution of coins.<sup>2</sup>

The series of copper coins of the Indo-Parthians with the royal portrait on the obverse and a winged Nike on the reverse is generally attributed to Arachosia (see nos 1-6). In this series they revived the Greek practice of using royal portraits. As David MacDowall (1965: 137) correctly pointed out, these Indo-Parthian copper coins of the Nike type were struck as the principal coin denomination of Arachosia and were themselves intended to pass as copper tetradrachms of the Indian standard. They directly follow the copper tetradrachms struck in the name of Hermaeus (cf. *BN*, series 20). This last series of the posthumous imitations of Hermaeus struck to a weight of 9 to 9.5 g corresponds to the Indian standard silver tetradrachms of the Indo-Greeks.

The silver drachms of Parthian type depicting bust of the king on the obverse and king enthroned crowned by a winged Nike on the reverse<sup>3</sup> are considered

\* Reprinted from *The Arsacid Empire: Sources and Documentation*, ed. Josef Wiesehöfer, Frantz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, 1998, pp. 389-406.

<sup>1</sup> This question is partly discussed in the article by Grenet/Bopearachchi 1996. For further reading on this question, see Simonetta 1958, 1978 and Alram 1987.

<sup>2</sup> For further details see Cribb 1985b; MacDowall 1965; Mitchiner 1975/6, vol. 8; Simonetta 1958, 1978.

<sup>3</sup> Mitchiner 1975/6, types 1112-40.

as a series intended to supplement the existing Parthian coinage of silver drachms in Drangiana (see no. 7).<sup>4</sup>

By issuing billon series of Indian standard, correctly attributed to the Gandhara region, the same Parthians continued the coin design of king on horseback introduced by their Indo-Scythian predecessors (see nos 8 & 9). This coinage follows the billon series issued by the last Indo-Scythian king Azes II.<sup>5</sup>

A fourth series of copper drachms struck according to the Indian standard depicting head of the king on the obverse and Athena Alkidemos on the reverse is attributed to the east Punjab. This coinage follows the very rude coins issued by the Indo-Scythian Rajuvula.<sup>6</sup>

These different coinages with peculiar characteristics, issued by the same kings, but in different geographical localities cannot be studied in isolation because they are directly linked with those of their immediate Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian predecessors and Kushan contemporaries. Much progress has been made during the last ten years in this field. A large number of pre-Sasanian coins have been found in Afghanistan and Pakistan in recent years. Among these coins, discovered in their thousands, are a considerable number of unreported monetary types, monograms and overstrikes. Over fifteen important hoards have so far been reported from Pakistan and two major deposits were discovered in Afghanistan.<sup>7</sup> It is interesting, in the light of these recent discoveries, to discuss how these new data enable us to understand the formation of Parthian kingdom in India and the question of the chronology.

Three separate forces were responsible for the gradual collapse of the Greek power in Central Asia and India, the Yuezhi, forerunners of the Kushans, the Scythians, known in India as Sakas and the Indo-Parthians known as Pahlavas. Here is a résumé of the history of this regions since the conquest by Alexander the Great, king of Macedonia (336-323 BC). The conquest of the Achaemenid satrapy of Bactria and Sogdiana in Central Asia (329-327 BC) and the Indian territories south of the Hindu Kush (327-326 BC) by Alexander the Great, king of Macedonia (336-323 BC) provoked, in these regions, a political upheaval with far-reaching consequences. By this conquest, Alexander put an end to the Achaemenid empire and fulfilled his father's ambition to avenge the Persian invasion of Greece of the fifth century. During the years which immediately followed the death of the conqueror in 323 BC, the ruling Macedonians seem to have kept these areas under their control, except the Indus Valley which they lost very soon. Some time later, in the closing years of the fourth century BC the satrapies of Parthia, Aria, Bactria and Sogdiana passed under the control of the Seleucid dynasty established in Syria and Mesopotamia, while the territories south of the Hindu Kush came under the control of the Mauryan

<sup>4</sup>Cf. MacDowall 1965: 137; Mitchiner 1975/6, types 1067-77.

<sup>5</sup>Mitchiner 1975/6, types 1067-78.

<sup>6</sup>Mitchiner 1975/6, types 1142; Cribb 1985b.

<sup>7</sup>See Bopearachchi 1994a, b & c.

king Chandragupta. Towards the middle of the third century BC, Diodotus, the satrap of Bactria and Sogdiana, revolted against his Seleucid master and proclaimed himself king. Thus was born the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. The Greeks of Bactria subsequently pushed their conquests further and extended their kingdom beyond the Hindu Kush mountains. Towards the middle of the second century BC, first Sogdiana and then Bactria were progressively overrun by invasions of nomadic tribes among whom the Yuezhi played a decisive role. However, the Greek sovereigns who had already conquered a large part of the territories south of the Hindu Kush continued to reign there for another one hundred and fifty years until the pressure of invaders, the Yuezhi and Scythians (Sakas), compelled them to abandon progressively their possessions. About 85 BC a Scythian prince, named Maues, occupied Taxila, and around 57 BC another one, Azes I, became the king of the provinces of the west Punjab. Gondophares, the founder of the Indo-Parthian kingdom came to power towards the end of Azes II's reign. About AD 10 the Scythian Rajuvula, the satrap of Mathura (in the middle Ganges Valley) conquered the last Greek bastion which subsisted at Sagala (Sialkot) in the east Punjab, and thus under the reign of Strato II, Greek power in India came definitely to an end. A few years later the great Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian empires collapsed as a result of a major invasion by the Kushans under Kujula Kadphises. The final phase of the Greeks and the emergence of Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians are dated by setting the numismatic sequence within the context of literary references.

Let us now examine the numismatic sequence of the Indo-Parthian predecessors in the Paropamisadae and Arachosia. The key to our understanding of the destruction of Indo-Greek power in the regions of the Paropamisadae and Arachosia by the Yuezhi (who later came to be known as the Kushans), lies in the different coinages struck in the name of the Indo-Greek Hermaeus.<sup>8</sup> While the Indo-Greek Archebius was ruling in the west Punjab, Hermaeus occupied the Paropamisadae and a part of Gandhara. Although the kingdom of Archebius (in the Indus Valley and centred on Taxila) was taken over by a Scythian king named Maues, the Greeks under the leadership of Apollodotus II were subsequently able to regain these lost territories for a short period, but in contrast after the death of Hermaeus, Greek power in the Paropamisadae and Gandhara came to an end.

The Yuezhi who had invaded Bactria then crossed the Hindu Kush mountains, the natural rampart which had once protected the Mauryan empire from Greek expansion, and later the Indo-Greek kingdom from nomad invasion, conquered, fifty years later, the Paropamisadae and Gandhara, dethroning Hermaeus. They were no doubt the same nomads who, having conquered Bactria, copied the silver tetradrachms of Hsiliocles I, the last Greek king to rule north of the Hindu Kush. Having penetrated into the Paropamisadae, the same nomad conquerors

<sup>8</sup> See for the most recent contribution on this subject, Bopearachchi/Rahman 1995: 37-44.



began, as they were accustomed to, to imitate the coins of Hermaeus, the last Greek king to rule in these regions. This is also revealed by the find spots of his coins, both lifetime and posthumous, found in large quantities in the Paropamisadae, Gandhara and the region of Gardez-Ghazni.

The absence of the coins of Maues and of Azes I and the great abundance of coins of Azes II and those minted in the name of Hermaeus in the Paropamisadae suggest that neither Maues nor Azes I ever occupied that region. In the first Mir Zakah deposit, the lifetime and posthumous coins in the name of Hermaeus alone or with that of his wife Calliope are represented by 928 coins, against only one coin of Maues.<sup>9</sup> We have seen more than 3,000 tetradrachms of Azes II and nearly 2,000 specimens of posthumous imitations of Hermaeus among 300 kg from the second deposit of Mir Zakah that we were able to examine rapidly in the Peshawar bazaar.<sup>10</sup> The absence of Azes I's coins in the Paropamisadae is explained by the presence of the imitations of Hermaeus, minted in large number by the nomads who occupied that region for a long period. For these reasons A.K. Narain's hypothesis according to which Azes I conquered the Paropamisadae after the death of Hermaeus c. 55 BC can no longer be maintained.<sup>11</sup> The Greek power in the Paropamisadae came to an end with the Yuezhi invasion. This conquest may have taken place a few years after the time when Archebius lost his territories in the west Punjab to the Indo-Scythian Maues. It is very important to underline here that the Taxila excavations did not yield any of the silver denominations of Hermaeus. The 263 bronze coins in the name of Hermaeus found in the excavations belong to the later posthumous series. The absence of Hermaeus's lifetime and of his earliest posthumous issues in the Taxila excavations is counterbalanced by the presence of hundreds of coins of Maues and Azes I at this site.

<sup>9</sup> Curiel/Schlumberger 1953: 79, 96.


<sup>10</sup> This is one of the largest ancient coin deposits ever attested in the history of mankind. It was discovered accidentally in 1992 in the village of Mir Zakah, 53 km north-east of the city of Gardez in Afghanistan. According to our inquiries, it must have consisted of 3 to 4 tons of gold, silver and bronze coins, in another words about 500,000 specimens. It is also believed that it contained more than 200 kg of silver and gold objects. In the present political situation in Afghanistan, there is very little hope of exploring their immense historical importance. According to some reliable sources, 2.5 tons of coins had been taken to Switzerland for sale. If an organization like UNESCO does not take the initiative, all the coins apart from the best specimens, may one day go into the melting pot. Our knowledge on this hoard is limited to the 418 coins from the deposit now in the Aman ur Rahman collection (cf. Bopearachchi/Rahman 1995: 227-8), the small collection in the Heberdon Coin Room (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford), and the six sacks full of coins, each weighing at least 50 kg that we rapidly examined in February 1994, in the Peshawar bazaar (cf. Bopearachchi 1994c). The hoard is mainly composed of early Indian Coins (bent-bars and punch marked), Greek, Graeco-Bactrian, Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and Kushan coins. The coins of the Indo-Scythian Azes II and the posthumous imitations of Hermaeus comprise the largest portion of all. For further details, see Bopearachchi/Rahman 1995: 11-13.

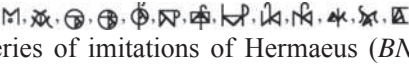
<sup>11</sup> Narain 1957: 162-4.





K.W. Dobbins (1970a: 307-26) should be credited for showing convincingly that all the coins in the name of Hermaeus must be considered as posthumous except the ones characterized by a good style and workmanship and bearing the monograms frequently found on the coins that circulated in the Indo-Greek kingdom before him. We have developed this theory and proposed a classification on the basis of style, monograms, die axis, overstrikes, legends and metal.<sup>12</sup>



In order to understand the chronological sequence of different groups of coins in the name of Hermaeus, we reproduce here the most recent classification proposed by me.<sup>13</sup>

*Group 1:* All the coins of Hermaeus characterized by a good style and workmanship and bearing the monograms: , frequently found on the coins that circulated in the Indo-Greek kingdom before him, belong to the first group. They alone are the lifetime issues of Hermaeus.

*Group 2:* All the coins belonging to the following groups, including group 2 are, according to our classification, posthumous issues. The coins bearing the following principal monograms: , belong to the first series of imitations of Hermaeus (*BN*, Hermaeus, series 10-11). These first series of posthumous imitations of Hermaeus are characterized by a stereotyped portrait of the king whose hair is represented by parallel lines.

*Group 3:* The third group is attested only by a very few specimens bearing mainly the monograms . The king's hair is very similar to that of the preceding series, but the *omicron* and the *rho* of the Greek legend are square, and all the series that follow have the same type of Greek legend (*BN*, Hermaeus, series 12-13).


*Group 4:* The fourth group bears the monograms: . The coins of this group are characterized by a larger and coarser portrait on the obverse, and on the reverse by an enthroned Zeus represented with a non-radiated head. The diadem has looped ribbons (*BN*, Hermaeus, series 14-15).



*Group 5:* In a fifth group with the monograms: , the king's hair takes the form of small bubbles. Instead of facing, Zeus's head turns slightly to the left and his hair is converted into a lion's mane (*BN*, Hermaeus, series 14-15). It is interesting to observe that the coins bearing the monogram  have the characteristics of a transitional phase: some coins are marked with




<sup>12</sup> This classification was first proposed in *BN* 112-25, and was later developed in Bopearachchi 1993: 45-56 and Bopearachchi/Rahman 1995: 37-44.



<sup>13</sup> Bopearachchi/Rahman 1995: 37-44.

the features of the fourth group<sup>14</sup> and the others are close to those of the fifth group.<sup>15</sup>

*Group 6:* Although the sixth group is in many respects very similar to the preceding group, it has two peculiarities; it bears a new monogram: , and is struck in extremely debased silver (*BN*, Hermaeus, series 18-19).

*Group 7:* The coins of the seventh group are made only of bronze and are marked by a degeneration of style and the appearance of two new monograms  and  (*BN*, Hermaeus, series 20-1).

*Group 8:* This group has peculiar features. The two monograms that appeared separately on the coins of the previous group now appear on this issue jointly , , along with a Kharoshthi letter *pra* . The king's face is small and its style is very crude. The ribbons of the diadem make a complete loop. Contrary to all the preceding groups of imitations, the portrait of the king on the obverse is no longer a copy of Hermaeus, but of a Roman emperor. The legends change on the obverse from  $\Sigma\Omega\Theta\text{H}\text{P}\text{O}\Sigma$  to  $\Sigma\text{TH}\text{P}\text{O}\Sigma \Sigma\text{Y}$  and on the reverse from *tratarasa* to *mahatasa* (*BN*, Hermaeus, series 22).

*Group 9:* This group has one of the paired monograms, , and the Kharoshthi letter *pra*  of the preceding group. The Greek legend and the royal portrait are also identical with the preceding group, but on the reverse, instead of the enthroned Zeus, appears a new type, Nike standing holding a wreath. Now the legend on the reverse is *maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa heramayasa* (Mitchiner 1975/6: 1048).

*Group 10:* This is the so-called joint coinage of Su Hermaeus and Kujula. On the obverse we find a larger bust of the king. On the reverse the type as well as the legend are new. With Heracles standing, facing, holding club in the right hand appears the legend *kujulakasa kushana yavugasa dhramatidasa* (Mitchiner 1975/6: 1044).

The most interesting feature of this classification is the gradual debasement of silver in each of the successive groups until its total disappearance. These results were obtained from the neutron activation analysis carried out by J.N. Barrandon on several specimens belonging to different groups of coins issued in the name of Hermaeus. This non-destructive technique is performed on the whole coin to avoid errors due to corrosion and surface enrichment.<sup>16</sup>

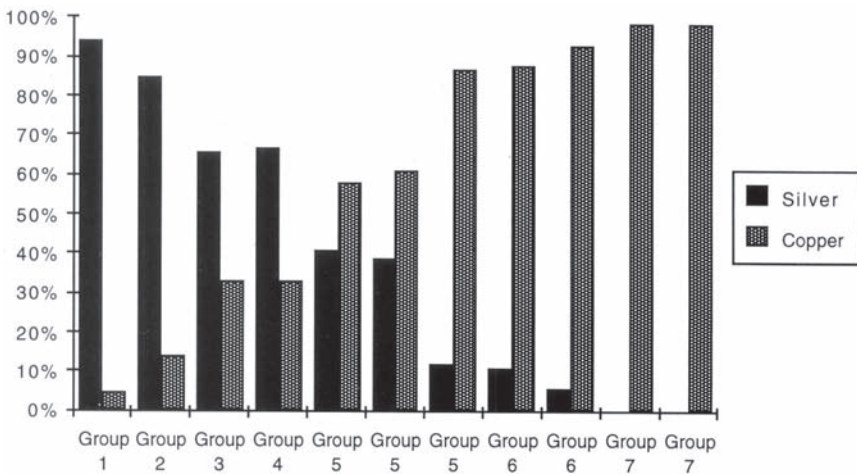
Like all the Indo-Greek coins, the coin of the first group (*BN*, Hermaeus, no. 2; see pl. 1, no. 9) which we consider as a lifetime issue of Hermaeus, is

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Bopearachchi/Rahman 1995, nos. 585-9.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., nos. 595-600, 623-8.

<sup>16</sup> For more details about this method, see Barrandon 1982: 3-15.

marked by a good percentage of silver. It contains 94.1 per cent silver against 4.68 per cent copper. The silver content of the coin of the second group, that is to say, the first series of posthumous imitations of Hermaeus, is reduced to 85.4 per cent (*BN*, Hermaeus, no. 23; see pl. 2, no. 19). The 13.6 per cent copper content of this coin is quite high compared to that of 4.68 per cent of the previous sample. The coin of the third group contains 66.0 per cent silver and 33.0 per cent copper (*BN*, Hermaeus, no. 80; see pl. 2, no. 23). The metal composition of the coin of the fourth group is very much similar to the one of the previous group with its 66.7 per cent silver and 32.9 per cent copper (*BN*, Hermaeus, no. 86). There is a notable drop of the silver content in the three coins of the fifth group that we have analysed. The silver content in these coins is reduced to 41.4 per cent (*BN*, Hermaeus, no. 98), 38.8 per cent (*BN*, Hermaeus, no. 93), 12.0 per cent (*BN*, Hermaeus, no. 97) and the copper content is increased up to 58.4, 61.1, 87.9 per cent. The debasement reaches its final stage with the coins of the sixth group. The two coins of this group that we have analysed give the following composition: 88.8 per cent (*BN*, Hermaeus, no. 114) and 93.4 per cent (*BN*, Hermaeus, no. 111) of copper against only 11.0 and 6.05 per cent of silver. The metal composition of these specimens is such that one has to accept the fact that the coins of this group are still an alloy. The two coins of the seventh group contain 99.85 per cent (*BN*, Hermaeus, no. 145) and 99.25 per cent (*BN*, Hermaeus, no. 154) of copper against 0.005 and 0.72 per cent of silver. Likewise from the seventh group onwards silver disappears completely from the coinage. The results of the spectrum analysis by ultra-violet plasma spectrometry by the Research Laboratory of the French Museums, on the coins of the eighth, ninth and tenth groups and the coins of Vima Kadphises, in the Paris Guimet Museum, show that their silver content



is less than 1 per cent: it means that they all are from a natural copper alloy.<sup>17</sup>

The coins of Apollodotus II and Hippostratus must have been minted during the time when the Yuezhi were issuing the first series of posthumous imitations of Hermaeus. The metal analysis done on two coins of Apollodotus II (BN, no. 15) and Hippostratus (BN, no. 15) gives clear information in this regard. Both of these coins contain 85.0 per cent silver, the same ratio as the specimens of the first series of posthumous imitations of Hermaeus. Although the royal portraits on the coins of Apollodotus II and Hippostratus are similar in style, one may note that the square form of *omicron* and *rho* appears only on Hippostratus's coins.<sup>18</sup> Therefore we are inclined to think that these coins were minted by the same nomads after the death of Hippostratus, perhaps before the conquest of the west Punjab by the Scythian Azes I c. 55 BC.

The extremely debased coins of the 5th and 6th groups can be placed chronologically, without much risk, in the second decade of the first century AD. Towards the end of the reign of Azes II, the silver currency of the Scythians, which had maintained a consistently high standard of weight and purity of metal, was abruptly debased.<sup>19</sup> D.W. MacDowall (1977: 193) rightly pointed out:

The *terminus post quem* for the major debasement seems to be the second decade of the first century AD to judge from the associated find of a good silver drachm of Azilises (predecessor of Azes II) with a silver denarius of Augustus dated AD 11/13; and partially debased silver coins of Jihonika belong to the third decade of the first century AD.

So the debased silver coins of Azes II with a corrupt legend are to be considered as his later issues, and should be placed around the second decade of the first century AD. The appearance of billons in the name of Hermaeus must be related to the same event. If this hypothesis is correct, the coins of the 4th and 5th groups should be placed between 55 BC and AD 20. The debasement came to an end with the disappearance of silver coins from circulation. The appearance of bronze coins of the 7th and the following groups is the result of this phenomenon.

Let us now examine the political changes taking place in the west Punjab region around Taxila. As G.K. Jenkins in 1955 (22-3) correctly pointed out, Greeks under the leadership of Apollodotus II were subsequently able to regain

<sup>17</sup> Here are the results of this analysis; group 8; 0.06 per cent of silver and 99.85 per cent copper. This analysis was conducted on a coin in the Cabinet des Médailles of Paris (BN, Hermaeus, no. 174). The following coins are from the Paris Musée Guimet: group 10 (MG, L. 19653), 0.005 per cent silver and 99.765 per cent copper; group 10 (MG, L. 19654), 0.005 per cent silver and 99.269 per cent copper; Vima Kadphises (MG, L. 19655), 0.010 per cent silver and 97.279 per cent copper.

<sup>18</sup> BN, Hippostratus, series 1, 3, 5, 7, 10, 11.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. MacDowall 1977: 187-95.




the territories of the Punjab which they had lost to the Indo-Scythian Maues. However, they were finally expelled from this region c. 55 BC by another Scythian prince, Azes I, who dethroned Hippostratus, the last Greek king to reign in the west Punjab, including Taxila and Pushkalavati. The overstrikes give a very clear chronological sequence for the Greek and Scythian kings who were the successors of Maues in Taxila and Pushkalavati. The earlier date of Maues in relation to Apollodotus II is revealed by an overstrike by the latter on a bronze of the former.<sup>20</sup> The Indo-Scythian Azes I, on the other hand, overstruck bronzes of Apollodotus II<sup>21</sup> and of his successor Hippostratus.<sup>22</sup>






The new coin series, bearing already attested monograms, but in a new context that have come to light in recent hoards, further confirm the framework proposed by Jenkins (1955) and later developed by me.<sup>23</sup> We give below an updated table of the principal monograms of the Greek and Scythian kings who succeeded Maues in the Punjab.

Monograms									
Kings	Western Punjab						Eastern Punjab		
Maues	ⲕ	ⲕ		ⲙ	ⲙ	ⲙ			
Telephus	ⲕ	ⲕ							
Apollodotus II				ⲙ	ⲙ	ⲙ	ⲙ	ⲙ	
Dionysius							ⲙ	ⲙ	
Hippostratus		ⲙ	ⲙ		ⲙ				
Azes I		ⲙ	ⲙ				ⲙ		
Zoilus II							ⲙ	ⲙ	ⲙ
Apollophanes									ⲙ
Strato II									ⲙ
Rajuvula									ⲙ

On the basis of find spots and the stylistic quality of the coins, the monograms ⲕ, ⲕ, ⲙ, ⲙ, ⲙ, ⲙ and ⲙ are attributed to the west Punjab (Taxila and Charsadda) and ⲙ, ⲙ, ⲙ, to the east Punjab (Sagala). Telephus, who was a close contemporary of Apollodotus II, borrowed two of Maues’s monograms: ⲕ and ⲕ. Apart from the monograms, the posteriority of Telephus is now attested by a bronze coin of this king overstruck on a coin of Archebius.<sup>24</sup> Three principal monograms of Maues are attested on the coinage of Apollodotus II. The monogram ⲙ was inaugurated by Maues, and it reappears first on the coins of Apollodotus II whose later status is attested by an overstrike, and then on those of Hippostratus, under the form ⲙ. The absence of the monogram ⲙ on the coins of Zoilus II can be justified by the fact that he never reigned in

<sup>20</sup> Jenkins 1955: 14; Bopearachchi 1989b: 72, no. 18.  
<sup>21</sup> Bopearachchi 1989b: 76, no. 22.  
<sup>22</sup> Bopearachchi 1989b: 77, 78, nos. 23, 24.  
<sup>23</sup> See for example, *BN* 127 and Bopearachchi 1993: 62.  
<sup>24</sup> Bopearachchi 1995a, for further arguments on Telephus chronology, see Bopearachchi 1989a.

Taxila. A tetradrachm of Apollodotus II from the Sarai Saleh hoard with two combined monograms  and , one next to the other, that we have published elsewhere, now confirms beyond doubt that Apollodotus II was the immediate successor of Maues and that both reigned within a short lapse of time in the same region.<sup>25</sup> The monogram  was attributed to Taxila by Jenkins (1955), and it is interesting to note that most of the coins of Maues from the Sarai Saleh hoard bear the same monogram.<sup>26</sup> This same monogram appeared, without discontinuity, on almost all the coinages of Greek kings who reigned in this region, e.g. Strato I, Heliocles II, Polyxenus, Amyntas, Menander II and Archebius.<sup>27</sup> It was probably from Archebius that Maues picked it up.

The monogram , also introduced by Maues, was taken by Telephus; it appears later under the form  on Hippostratus's coins, and finally becomes one of the most common marks of Azes I, along with  introduced by Hippostratus himself. It was Azes I himself who definitively established the Indo-Scythian dynasty in the region of the west Punjab. A drachm of Apollodotus II from the Sarai Saleh hoard, still unpublished, bearing the monogram , links the coinage of this king with that of Azes.<sup>28</sup> Many coins of Azes I bearing this monogram under the form , were found in the Sarai Saleh hoard.<sup>29</sup> It is

<sup>25</sup> Bopearachchi/Rahman 1995, no. 657, a second specimen with the same monograms was published by Senior 1995, no. 81. Sarai Saleh is situated on the North-West Frontier, in the Abotobad district, between Haripur and Bagra, about 20 miles north-east of the ancient city of Taxila. In January 1994, while levelling the ground to build the tomb of a spiritual leader known as Sain Baba who had died three years previously, a bulldozer hit a bronze jar filled with coins. The villagers present at the site took the scattered coins and rushed to the bazaars of Sarai Saleh, Haripur, Lahore and Peshawar to sell them. According to a reliable source, the hoard apparently consisted of 1,500 drachms and 500 tetradrachms of Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian kings. However, the rarest and unique specimens were acquired by a dealer in Taxila. Apart from the coins already published by R.C. Senior, the most important interesting pieces were purchased by two private Pakistani collectors. Out of 45 coins in Rahman's collection, some coins are unique and some monograms are new to the whole Indo-Greek coinage. Unfortunately, other than the coins mentioned above and the ones that we have published and seen in the bazaars and in the Pakistani private collections, a large number of coins have been dispersed, and it is now difficult to track them down. However, we are in a position to give a general outline of the composition of the hoard. Although it is difficult to give the exact number of coins for each, certainly the following Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian king were represented in this hoard: Menander I (mainly drachms), Zoilus I, Strato I, Lysias, Antialcidas, Heliocles II, Polyxenus, Philoxenus, Diomedes, Amyntas, Epander, Nicias, Menander II, Artemidorus, Archebius, Hermaeus, Hermaeus and Calliope, Maues, Telephus, Apollodotus II, Hippostratus, Vonones with Spalahores, Vonones with Spaladagames, Spalirises with Azes and Azes I. (Bopearachchi/Rahman 1995: 228-9; Senior 1995 published some interesting coins from this hoard, also see Senior Consultants, Butleigh, List 1.)

<sup>26</sup> See for example, Bopearachchi/Rahman 1995, nos. 681-2.

<sup>27</sup> See *BN* 406, no. 244.

<sup>28</sup> This unpublished coin in the collection of Dr. MacDonald was brought to our notice by our good friend R.C. Senior. This coin belongs to the *BN*, series 1.






<sup>29</sup> See for example, Bopearachchi/Rahman 1995, nos. 681-2. 704-9.



noteworthy that stylistically the portrait of the king on the Apollodotus's drachm is similar to the one issued in the west Punjab mints.

The general numismatic sequence proposed by G.K. Jenkins (1955: 2) for the Indo-Scythians: Vonones/Spalahores, Vonones/Spalagadames, Spalirises/Spalagadames, Spalirises, Spalirises/Azes I, Azes I, Azilises and Azes II, still remains valid today. This chronology is further confirmed by a tetradrachm of Spalirises with Azes I overstruck on an early posthumous coin of Hermaeus (BN, no. 10B).<sup>30</sup> We have dated the first group of Hermaeus's imitations to which the overstruck coin belongs between 70-55 BC. As we know today, the coins of Spalirises with Azes I should be dated *c.* 60 BC.

The transition from Azes I to Azilises can be detected from the coins bearing the Greek legend in the name of Azes and the prakrit legend in the name of Azilises on one series (cf. Mitchiner 1975/6, type 764), and exactly the opposite on another series (cf. Mitchiner 1975/6, type 766). The overstrikes discussed by Jenkins (1955: 3) confirm that Azilises was preceded by both Spalirises and Azes I. The transition from the king on horseback holding spear, characteristic of Azes I's coins, to the king holding whip of Azes II's coins, is attested by the coins of Azilises, that depict both types.<sup>31</sup> The next transition from Azes I's coins to Azes II's coins depicting Zeus standing holding Nike, one of the commonest of the latter's coins, can also be traced on coins.<sup>32</sup> It is interesting to note that this reverse type is not generally attested on Azes I's coins, except for this series known to us through five coins.<sup>33</sup> It appears only on those coins of Azes II depicting on the obverse the king on horseback holding a whip. On the exceptional series, which marks the transition between Azes I and II, the obverse is characterized by the king on horseback holding a spear. The final observation to draw from this numismatic sequence is that Hippostratus was the last Indo-Greek king to reign over the region of the west Punjab (Taxila-Pushkalavati) and that he was dethroned by the Indo-Scythian Azes I, who was succeeded by Azilises and Azes II.

Now let us examine the numismatic sequence of the kings who reigned in the east Punjab. As we know now, the royal portrait on silver coins of Apollodotus II, bearing the monograms , , ,  and  attributed to the west Punjab, is of a relatively good workmanship, but the portrait on the coins with

<sup>30</sup> Senior 1996: 14.

<sup>31</sup> For example in the series, Mitchiner 1975/6, type 767-71, the king holds the spear and on *ibid.*, 776-86, the king holds the whip.

<sup>32</sup> Mitchiner 1975/6, type 836.

<sup>33</sup> The coin in the British Museum was first published by Jenkins 1955: pl. III, 8, followed by Mitchiner 1975/6, type 836. The second tetradrachm of this series is in the private collection of Aman ur Rahman, see Bopearachchi/Rahman 1995, no. 750. The unique drachm of this series in the Kabul Museum photographed by R.C. Senior is illustrated in Mitchiner 1975/6, type 837. Two more tetradrachms of this series are in the private collection of R.C. Senior. We have attributed this series to Azes II following M. Mitchiner, yet one cannot exclude the possibility that it was struck by Azes I at the end of his reign.

Δ, Α, Ϸ and Ϸ is larger and coarser. The monogram Ϸ introduced by Apollodotus II, who reigned in the east Punjab as well, was borrowed by his immediate successor Dionysius and then by Zoilus II. Likewise the monogram Ϸ which appears for the first time on the coins of Apollodotus II, reappears for the last time on the coins of Zoilus II. It is not impossible that we will find a coin of Dionysius with the same monogram. Inaugurated by Zoilus II, the monogram Ϸ that we attribute to Sagala continues without interruption on the coins of Apollophanes, then of Strato II and III who were the last Indo-Greek kings in India, and finally on the issues of the Scythian Rajuvula who dethroned the latter. The total absence of Apollodotus II's coins, with the monograms attributed to the east Punjab, and of the issues of Zoilus II, Dionysius, Apollophanes, Strato II and III in the Sarai Saleh hoard is not accidental, because the geographical entity to which the present find spot belongs is the west Punjab. On the contrary, in the important recent coin hoard from Akhnoor published by R.C. Senior (1991a, 1992, 1993), only the issues of these late Indo-Greek kings were attested. The hoard was composed of the coins of Zoilus II, Apollophanes, Strato II & III, Bhadrashya and Azes II. In its composition, this hoard comprises most of the coins found in the Sialkot, Akhnoor and Kashmir regions.<sup>34</sup> The absence of the coins of Hippostratus and Azes I in this hoard is very significant. No objections have been made so far against the numismatic sequence proposed by Jenkins followed by D.W. MacDowall, J. Cribb and me.<sup>35</sup> According to this sequence Strato II & III were the last Indo-Greek kings to reign in India, and they were dethroned by the Scythian Rajuvula<sup>36</sup> whose coinage is characterized by the common Athena Alkidemos, the predominant type of the late Indo-Greeks with the unique monogram Ϸ. Rajuvula's round lead coins of about 8 g and 4 g from the Punjab were derived directly from an east Punjab denomination of Strato II.<sup>37</sup> Rajuvula following Strato II's issues, first struck lead coins according to the standard of 8 g.<sup>38</sup> But later he reduced the weight to 6-5 g, and it is this standard that Azes II used for his coinage.<sup>39</sup> The presence of two coins of Azes II attributed to a later series in the Akhnoor hoard is significant in this context.

It is in this context that we are able to understand, at least to a certain extent, the origin and diffusion of Indo-Parthian coinage and in consequence the early phase of their history. In this complex political situation, the Parthian king, Gondophares, put an end to Scythian rule and established his kingship over

<sup>34</sup> For a résumé of these hoards, see *BN*, 130-1.

<sup>35</sup> Jenkins 1955; MacDowall 1973, 1977; Cribb 1984, 1985a, b; Bopearachchi 1991.

<sup>36</sup> The Mathura Lion Capital inscription refers to the Mahasatrap Rajuvula (Konow 1929: 30-40). Another inscription on the Lion Capital mentions the satrap Soḍāsa, son of the Mahasatrap Rajuvula.

<sup>37</sup> MacDowall 1977: 191. For the lead coins of Strato II, see *BN*, series 3-5 & 7, 8; and of Rajuvula, see Mitchiner 1975/6, types 905, 906.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Mitchiner 1975/6, type 905.

<sup>39</sup> Forthcoming article by J. Cribb.

Gandhara and the neighbouring regions. Gondophares, the founder of the Indo-Parthian kingdom may have begun his rule towards the end of Azes II's reign. The very rare issues of good silver of Gondophares which preceded most of his debased silver tetradrachms may suggest that he began his rule just before the period of debasement.

We share the opinion of those scholars for whom the dated inscription of Gondophares at Takht-i Bahi gives Gondophares's first year of reign as AD 20, considering the Azes era as the Vikrama era. This inscription reads: 'On the 1st day of the month of Vaisākha in the year 103 and in the 26th (regnal) year of the Great King Guduhvara (Gondophares)'.<sup>40</sup> It is now unanimously accepted by specialists that the era of 57 BC, known as the Vikrama era, owed its origin to the first Indo-Scythian king, Azes I.<sup>41</sup> Relying on the date of this era, we can establish with reasonable certainty a chronological sequence for Indo-Parthian Gondophares.

The Parthian king named Gondophares in India is mentioned in early Christian writing as the prince to whose court St Thomas the Apostle was supposedly sent (AD 29 or 33).<sup>42</sup> As George Huxley (1983: 75) correctly pointed out, '... not that Thomas went to India in the second quarter of the first century AD, but that the author of the *Acts* knew the date of Gondophernes'. Huxley further argues that although St Thomas's visit to India is not certain, it does not put into question the dates proposed for Gondophares's reign.<sup>43</sup> These two indications along with the debasement which was carried out during his rule, enable us to fix the reign of Gondophares approximately in the period of AD 20-45.


By publishing a hoard found at Malakand, we have shown how its composition throws considerable light on the history of the Indo-Scythian and

<sup>40</sup> 'On the 1st day of the month of Vaisākha in the year 103 and in the 26th (regnal) year of the Great King Guduhvara (Gondophares)'. D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, New Delhi, 1965: 245.

<sup>41</sup> For essential recent publications on this subject, see Bivar 1981; Dobbins 1970b, 1983; Fussman 1980, 1993 and Salomon 1982.

<sup>42</sup> According to Huxley (1983: 74-5), 'It is certain that there was a king of the name in northwestern India at about the epoch of St Thomas. Gounaphoros in the Greek and GWDNPR in the Syriac match Guduhvara (Gondophernes), the Parthian form of the name, which comes from an Iranian *Vindafarna* and means 'winner of victory'". As Huxley (1983: 75) further pointed out: 'In the earliest testimony to the apostolate of Thomas the saint is said to have been allotted Parthia. At first this may have meant that he went no further than Parthian territory at Edessa, but it became at least plausible to imagine him to have gone so far as a realm in India ruled by a great king of partly Parthian origin, who was known to have reigned there during the inferred period of Thomas' missionary activity'.

<sup>43</sup> Huxley (1983: 75): 'Since trade between upper Mesopotamia and Northwest India both overland and by way of Mesene and the Persian Gulf was frequent during the first centuries AD, knowledge of Gondophernes and his kingdom would have been available in Syriac-speaking communities of Mesopotamia from the mid-first century onwards. The king was specially memorable, because after his reign Pahlava power rapidly declined.'

the Indo-Parthian kings who succeeded the Indo-Greeks in the Gandhara (1993: 57-60). There are a number of characteristics common to all the coins which make the whole hoard a homogeneous unity. The most striking character is that all the coins without exception are of debased silver. All, in spite of their dynastic differences, bear the same stylistic features as if all the dies were engraved by the same hand. In addition, one may also observe that most of the coins, although struck by different kings, bear a group of monograms  that G.K. Jenkins (1955) correctly attributed to Taxila and the west part of the Indo-Scythian kingdom. The fact that the hoard was found in the Malakand region, not far away from the ancient cities of Pushkalavati (near Peshawar) and Taxila, adds a further argument to justify his attribution. Their relatively fine condition, compared to the worn state of most known coins of these series, is also a striking feature of the coins of the Malakand hoard. This phenomenon is also revealed by the homogeneous weight standard, coins weighing between 9.50 g and 10.00 g are represented by 190 coins, that is nearly 75 per cent of the total. One may conclude from these observations that these coins were in circulation in the same geographical area that they were issued and belong approximately to the same chronological period.

By its composition, the Malakand hoard reminds us of the Peshawar hoard published by Joe Cribb (1977). The Peshawar hoard contains coins of Azes I, Azilises, Azes II and Gondophares; the five coins of Azes II and the single coin of Gondophares are of debased silver similar to the ones in the Malakand hoard. These six coins were no doubt the most recent inclusions in the hoard before it was buried. With regard to the chronological order of the issues, the coins in the Malakand hoard begin exactly where the ones in the Peshawar hoard end. The composition of the Malakand hoard adds further evidence to the chronological order proposed by J. Cribb (1985b: 297) when publishing two Indo-Parthian coin hoards. Cribb proposed the following chronological order: Gondophares-Abdagases-Aspavarma. Out of 85 coins of Gondophares in the Malakand hoard, 62 specimens (73 per cent) weigh less than 9.70 g, but out of 55 coins of Abdagases in the same hoard, only 7 specimens (13 per cent) weigh less than 9.70 g. All of Abdagases's coins weigh more than 9.55 g, and nearly 75 per cent of the total weigh more than 9.80 g.<sup>44</sup> The high weight standard of Abdagases's coins compared to those of Gondophares in the same hoard can be explained by the fact that Abdagases succeeded Gondophares, and the coins of the former were in circulation for a lesser period and suffered a lesser degree of wear. Aspavarma, son of Indravarma, '*Indravarnia putra*', apparently a vassal of Gondophares, was the most recent king represented in the Malakand hoard. His three coins, as indicated by their very small number, seem to have been the most recent additions to the hoard before it was buried.

<sup>44</sup> Bopearachchi 1993: 59-60.

In his remarkable study carried out on the Sino-Kharoshthi coins of Khotan, Joe Cribb (1984 & 1985a) shows that the coins of our 8th group in the name of Hermaeus are to be dated to the first half of the first century AD. He correctly concluded that since the portrait of the king on the obverse of these coins (our eighth group) is very much influenced, especially in the treatment of details of the profile and the hair, by the issues of the Roman emperors Augustus and Tiberius, they should be placed *c.* AD 60. Likewise the silver *denarii* of Augustus and Tiberius which were used as models for the coins of the 8th group, give a clear *terminus post quem* for the dating of these posthumous issues in the name of Hermaeus. The coins of the 10th group were the first issues of Kujula Kadphises, lord and the founder of the Kushan clan.

As we know today, both the Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian kingdoms collapsed as a result of a major invasion by the Kushans under Kujula Kadphises. A series of overstrikes shows that there was an intermediate period between the bronze posthumous coins of Hermaeus of the 7th group and the last group. The first series is that of the Indo-Parthian Gondophares over a posthumous bronze coin of Hermaeus of the 7th group. The second is that of Kujula Kadphises over a bronze coin of Gondophares.<sup>45</sup> The evidence of overstrikes suggests that the coinage of our 7th group came before that of Gondophares, and that the so-called joint coinage of Hermaeus and Kujula came after that of Gondophares.<sup>46</sup> The overstrikes of Kujula Kadphises over the coins of Gondophares indicate very clearly that Kujula brought to an end Parthian rule in the Paropamisadae and Gandhara. With the reign of Kujula Kadphises, lord of the Kushan clan, the Yuezhi came to be known as Kushans. So if this hypothesis is correct, the rise of the Kushan empire under Kujula Kadphises in the regions of the Paropamisadae and Gandhara should be placed around the middle of the first century of our era.

This chronology is further supported by the numismatic sequence established by D.W. MacDowall (1973: 225-9) for Jihonika and Kujula Kadphises. He points out that the round copper coins of the bull and lion type of Jihonika<sup>47</sup> seem to have been the model for Kujula Kara Kadphises' bull and Bactrian camel coin.<sup>48</sup> He further argues that Kujula copied not only the denominations and the obverse type of the bull, but the corrupt and misunderstood Greek legend of Jihonika. Having drawn attention to this numismatic sequence, MacDowall (1973: 229) correctly concludes: 'If Jihonika belongs to the decade AD 30-40 in the satrapy west of the Indus with a secure *terminus post quem* of AD 42 and was succeeded in part of his territories by Kujula Kadphises and in other localities by the Pahlavas Indravarma and Aśpavarma, we have at

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Widemann 1972 and Mitchiner 1975/6: 735-6.

<sup>46</sup> On the chronology of Gondophares, see Cribb 1985b: 282-300.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Mitchiner 1975/6: 883.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Mitchiner 1975/6: 1055.

least a date for the issue of Kujula's Bull and Bactrian camel copper coins to *c.* AD 40.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, the chronology of Gondophares in relation to Jihonika is revealed by a series of overstrikes by the latter over the former.<sup>50</sup> In short, according to the numismatic sequence discussed above, the reign of Gondophares should be dated *c.* AD 20-46 and that of Kujula Kadphises *c.* AD 30-60.

The following chronological order proposed by D.W. MacDowall (1965: 141) for the Nike type Arachosian issues is now generally accepted by most scholars for the Indo-Parthians who issued the Nike type coinage: Gondophares, Abdagases, Orthagnes, Pacores and Gondophares II.<sup>51</sup> MacDowall uses four arguments to justify the sequence of these four main kings. Firstly he shows that though the copper coins of each king in this Arachosian series are struck to a remarkably close weight standard, there is a slight difference in weight between coins of one king to another. He then correctly argues that though all these coins were obviously intended to pass as the same denomination, the series suffered a slight but nevertheless perceptible reduction in its weight standard under each succeeding king.<sup>52</sup> Secondly, he further supports this sequence by arguing that Gondophares uses the old *omega*, square *sigma*, and square *omicron*, whereas his successor Abdagases changes to the round cursive forms of odd letters, which both Orthagnes and Pacores continue to use. MacDowall's third argument is the use of titulature in the Arachosian series. Gondophares was content to use the simple titulature 'soter'. It is important to underline that it was the same epithet that appears on the last series of copper coinage struck in the name of Hermaeus (cf. *BN*, series 20 & above Hermaeus, group 7).<sup>53</sup> Orthagnes and Pacores, who never ruled over the former Indo-Parthian territories in the Indus Valley, adopted on their coinage in Arachosia the more grandiose titulature: βασιλεὺς βασιλέων μέγας which their predecessors had used on their Indus Valley coinages following the practice of Azes II. MacDowall's final argument is that this order gives a chronological significance to the direction in which the king's head faces. Gondophares and Abdagases have the right-facing portrait on the Arachosian coinage, and their successors Orthagnes and Pacores have left-facing portraits, the more usual direction in the Parthian regal series. A Nike type coin of Pacores overstruck on a coin of Soter Megas justifies this chronological sequence.<sup>54</sup> We know today thanks to an inscription found at Rabatak near Surkh Kotal, which has

<sup>49</sup> Concerning the chronology of Jihonika see MacDowall 1973.

<sup>50</sup> Mitchiner 1975/6: 735.

<sup>51</sup> On the question of homonymous kings of the name of Gondophares and Abdagases, see Alam 1987: 130-40.

<sup>52</sup> See the frequency table proposed by MacDowall 1965: 148.

<sup>53</sup> MacDowall in 1965 held the opinion that this copper series was part of the lifetime issues of Hermaeus.

<sup>54</sup> Mitchiner 1975/6, type 1103.



been carefully studied by Nicholas Sims-Williams and Joe Cribb<sup>55</sup> that Kujula Kadphises was the great grandfather of Kanishka. This revelation also offers a simple explanation for the Soter Megas coins issued between the coins of Kujula and Wima II Kadphises.<sup>56</sup> This first Wima, named as Wima Tak in the Rabatak inscription, is Soter Megas, Kujula's son that the Chinese sources qualify as the conqueror of India. According to Joe Cribb (in print) Wima I's reign commenced c. AD 80. In this context Pacores who overstruck the coins of Soter Megas should be considered either as contemporary or a successor of the latter.

The sequence for the Arachosian series proposed by MacDowall was further developed by Joe Cribb (1985b: 298) by adding Ubouzanés between Orthagnes and Pacores, and Sanabares after Pacores. Another king of this dynasty, Sanabares, struck rare copper tetradrachms of the Nike type with his name in Greek characters.<sup>57</sup> On his coinage his head faces left and adds *megas* in the titulature. Both facts made MacDowall associate Sanabares with Orthagnes and Pacores rather than with Gondophares the Great and Abdagases. Chronologically MacDowall places Sanabares after Pacores and Gondophares II, since the weights of Sanabares's coins are clearly below the weight range of Pacores and Gondophares.

By publishing a hoard found in the Jammu area, Joe Cribb (1985b) made an important contribution to our understanding of the Indo-Parthians who reigned over the region of east Punjab. Before the discovery of this hoard, apart from the coins of Gondophares, no other Indo-Parthian ruler was known in this area. The hoard added to the series the coins of three rulers known elsewhere in the Parthian realm: Abdagases, Sarpedanes and Sases. It also adds another ruler not previously known, but clearly a member of the same dynasty, Ubouzanés. Apart from the overstrikes mentioned above another numismatic link between Kujula and Gondophares has recently been revealed by a hoard of small silver coins found at Taxila. These coins are generally believed to be issues of the lower Indus region. As Joe Cribb (in print) correctly points out, this belief is supported by the presence in the hoard of Indo-Parthian coins overstruck on coins of Nahapan, the local ruler of the Gujarat region in western India. This hoard contained coins issued by two of Gondophares's successors, Sasan and Sarpedanes, by a third Parthian ruler Satavastres, and by Kujula Kadphises.<sup>58</sup> The Kujula coins appear to be the latest issues.

<sup>55</sup> See the forthcoming article by N. Sims-Williams and J. Cribb (in print) and the communication by J. Cribb, 'The Early Kushan Kings: New Evidence for Chronology', *Weihrauch und Seide, Münzen, Kunst und Chronologie. Ein Symposium des Kunsthistorischen Museums der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Universität Wien*, April 1996.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Cribb 1996.

<sup>57</sup> MacDowall 1965, 144-5.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Cribb 1992.

As mentioned at the beginning, the main purpose of this paper was to discuss the chronological problems involved with the establishment of Indo-Parthian rule in India. Thanks to the new numismatic data, we are able to establish a few chronological markers which form the framework for the reconstruction of the history and the extent of the Indo-Parthian kingdom in India.

#### POSTSCRIPT

The overall framework of the coin sequence proposed in this article is still valid, however, the chronology of the Parthian kings should be replaced according to the new data discussed in chapter 27.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

<i>BEFEO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient</i>
<i>BN</i>	O. Bopearachchi, <i>Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné</i> , Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris 1991
<i>BSFN</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique</i>
<i>EW</i>	East and West
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
<i>JNSI</i>	<i>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India</i>
<i>MDAFA</i>	<i>Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan</i>
<i>NCirc.</i>	Spink's <i>Numismatic Circular</i>
<i>NC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
<i>ONS</i>	<i>Newsletter</i> , Oriental Numismatic Society
<i>RN</i>	<i>Revue Numismatique</i>

#### REFERENCES

- Alram, M., 1987, 'Die Vorbildwirkung der arsakidischen Münzprägung', *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses* 3: 117-42.
- Barrandon, J.N., 1982, 'Méthodes nucléaires d'analyse et numismatique', *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Numismatics, Berne September 1979*, ed. T. Hackens, R. Weiller, and Louvain-la-Neuve, 3-15.
- Bivar, A.D.H., 1981, 'The Vikrama Era. The Indravarma Casket and the Coming of the Indo-Scythians, Forerunners of the Afghans', *Acta Iranica* 7 (*Monumentum Georg Morgenstierne*): 47-58.
- Bopearachchi, O., 1989a, 'Un roi indo-grec: Télèphe. Observations sur l'iconographie de son monnayage et la date de son règne', *Gazette numismatique suisse* 39: 88-94.
- , 1989b, 'Monnaies indo-grecques surfrappées', *RN* XXXI: 49-79.
- , 1991, 'Les derniers souverains indo-grecs: une autre hypothèse', *Histoire et cultes de l'Asie Centrale préislamique. Sources écrites et documents archéologiques*, Paris, 235-42.
- , 1993, *Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian Coins in the Smithsonian Institution*, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.
- , 1994a, 'Grands trésors récents de monnaies pré-sasanides trouvés en Afghanistan et au Pakistan', *International Numismatic News Letter* 24, Printemps, 1994, 2-3.

- , 1994b, 'Recent Discoveries: Hoards and Finds of Ancient Coins from Afghanistan and Pakistan', *Yavanika, Journal of the Indian Society for Greek and Roman Studies* 4: 3-30.
- , 1994c, 'Récentes découvertes de trésors de monnaies pré-sassanides trouvés en Afghanistan et au Pakistan', *Cahiers Numismatiques (Revue trimestrielle de la Société d'études numismatiques et archéologiques)* 121, septembre 1994, 7-14.
- Bopearachchi, O. and A.U. Rahman, 1995, *Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan*, Islamabad.
- Cribb, J., 1977, 'Indo-Scythian Silver Coins from Pakistan', *Coin Hoards* III: 108-13.
- , 1984, 'The Sino-Kharosthi Coins of Khotan: Their Attribution and Relevance to Kushan Chronology (Part 1)', *NC* 128-52.
- , 1985a, 'The Sino-Kharosthi Coins of Khotan: Their Attribution and Relevance to Kushan Chronology (Part 2)', *NC* 138-49.
- , 1985b, 'New Evidence of Indo-Parthian Political History', *Coin Hoards* VII: 282-300.
- , 1992, 'Numismatic Evidence for the Date of the *Periplus*', *Indian Numismatics, History, Art and Culture. Essays in the Honour of Dr. P.L. Gupta*, ed. D.W. MacDowall, S. Sharma, and S. Garg, vol. 1, Delhi, 131-45.
- , in print, 'Numismatic Perspectives on Chronology in the Crossroads of Asia', *Acts, Colloquium on Crossroads of Asia*, Cambridge.
- Curiel, R. and D. Schlumberger, 1953, *Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan (MDAFA XIV)*, Paris.
- Dobbins, K.W., 1970a, 'The Question of the Imitation Hermaios Coinage', *EW* 20: 307-26.
- , 1970b, 'Eras of Gandhâra', *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia* 7: 23-36.
- , 1983, 'The Origin of the Vikrama Era', *Journal of the Asiatic Society* XXV: 23-30.
- Fussman, G., 1980, 'Nouvelles inscriptions flaka: Ère d'Eucratide, ère d'Azès, ère Vikrama, ère de Kanishka', *BEFEO* LXVII: 1-43.
- , 1993, 'L'Indo-Grec Ménandre ou Paul Demiéville revisité', *JA* CCLXXXI: 61-137.
- Grenet, Fr. and O. Bopearachchi, 1996, 'Une monnaie en or du souverain indo-parthe Abdagases II', *Studia Iranica* 25: 219-31.
- Huxley, G. 1983, 'Geography in the *Acts of Thomas*', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 24: 71-80.
- Jenkins, G.K., 1955, 'Indo-Scythic Mints', *JNSI* XVII: 1-26.
- Konow, S., 1929, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II 1: Kharoshthi Inscriptions with the Exception of those of Aśoka, Calcutta.
- MacDowall, D.W., 1965, 'The Dynasty of the Later Indo-Parthians', *NC* 137-48.
- , 1973, 'The Azes Hoard from Shaikhan-Dheri: Fresh Evidence for the Context of Jihonika', *South Asian Archaeology*, ed. N. Hammond, London, 215-30.
- , 1977, 'The Context of Rujuvula the Satrap', *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* XXV: 187-95.
- Mitchiner, M., 1975/6, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, 9 vols., London.
- Narain, A.K. 1957, *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford.
- Salomon, R., 1982, 'The "Avaca" Inscription and the Origin of the Vikrama Era', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 102.1: 59-68.
- Senior, R.C., 1991, 'The Coinage of Strato III, Last of the Indo-Greeks Identified', *ONS* 128.

- , 1992, 'An Indo-Greek Hoard from Akhnoor', *NCir.* C, 299.
- , 1995, 'Some Rare Indo-Greek Coins', *ONS* 143: 7-9.
- , 1996, 'Vonones, Maues and the Early Indo-Scythic Succession', *Oriental Numismatic Studies*, 11-44.
- Simonetta, A.M., 1958, 'A New Essay on the So-Called Indo-Greeks, the flakas and the Pahlavas', *EW* 9: 154-83.
- , 1978, 'The Chronolgy of the Gondoparen Dynasty', *EW* 155-87 (with Comments by Fr. Widemann).
- Widemann, Fr., 1972, 'Une surfrappe de Gondophares sur Hermaïos et une autre de Kozoulo Kadphises sur Gondophares qui apportent deux jalons numismatiques à la chronologie entre les Indo-grecs et le début de l'empire kouchan', *BSFN* 27: 147-51.

## ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Gondophares I. AE. Bust of King to r. / Nike to r. holding wreath. British Museum (inv. no. 1894.5.6.1568. A. Cunningham).
2. Gondophares I. AE. Bust of King to r. / Nike to r. holding wreath. British Museum (inv. no. 1844.9.9.41).
3. Orthagnes. AE. Bust of King to l. / Nike to r. holding wreath. Cabinet des Médailles. Paris (inv. no. R. 3681.1035. M. Le Berre).
4. Orthagnes. AE. Bust of King to l. / Nike to r. holding wreath. Cabinet des Médailles. Paris (inv. no. 1971.642. M. Le Berre).
5. Pacores. AE. Bust of King to l. / Nike to r. holding wreath. Cabinet des Médailles. Paris (inv. no. R. 3681.1036. M. Le Berre).
6. Pacores. AE. Bust of King to l. / Nike to r. holding wreath. Cabinet des Médailles. Paris (inv. no. R. 3681.1038. M. Le Berre).
7. Gondophares I. AR. Bust of King to l. / Seated king. British Museum (inv. no. 19739.12.1).
8. Abdagases. Billon. Bust on horseback to r. / Zeus standing to r. Cabinet des Médailles. Paris (B. Allard 1843).
9. Abdagases. Billon. Bust on horseback to r. / Zeus standing to r. Cabinet des Médailles. Paris (B. Allard 1843).



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



## A New Gold Coin of Abdagases II\*

### CIRCUMSTANCES OF DISCOVERY

In a previous issue of *Studia Iranica*<sup>1</sup> we had published the first gold coin that could be attributed to a ruler of the Indo-Parthian dynasty, and specifically Abdagases II, whose reign we proposed to place in the last quarter of the first century CE (perhaps, as we now believe, prolonged up to the beginning of the second century). A second gold coin of the same ruler, with a different type, has now been brought to our attention, thanks to a letter sent to O. Bopearachchi by R.C. Senior, dated to the 14 October 1997 and accompanied by an excellent photograph. Our correspondent expressed his doubts about the authenticity of the coin, which he tried to attribute to a counterfeiter who had also made the first coin that had appeared near Gilgit. We decided to reserve our judgement until we completed a personal investigation and a direct examination of the new coin. A mission carried out in Pakistan in January 1999 by O. Bopearachchi permitted both actions.

With the agency of Muhammad Riaz Babar, to whom we express all our thanks, O. Bopearachchi was able to meet the Afghan farmer who had found the coin while working on his land not far from the ruins of ancient Qandahar in Afghanistan. It was at that time still in his possession and he allowed him to examine and photograph it (Fig. 1). Struck and not cast, it gives no doubts a priori concerning its technical aspect. It has since been acquired by Mr. Babar who has kindly allowed us to publish it.

### DESCRIPTION

#### OBVERSE

The ruler on horseback to the r., wearing a long caftan, a clipped beard, and a rounded tiara which has in its centre an *appliqué* around which a line of pearls and two floating ribbons behind, pierces with his lance a spotted animal, with a slender snout and long, upright ears (a wolf, or more likely, a fallow deer). The point of the lance exits behind the neck. Above the head of the

\*Reprinted from Franz Grenet and Osmund Bopearachchi, 'Une nouvelle monnaie en or d'Abdagases II', *Studia Iranica* 28 (1999/1), pp. 73-82.

<sup>1</sup> F. Grenet and O. Bopearachchi, 'Une monnaie en or du souverain indo-parthe Abdagases II', *St. Ir.* 25, 1996/2, pp. 219-31.



horse, a miniature male figure, without wings, holds out to the king a crown or a ring. The animal and the human figure are symmetrically inclined on either side of the head of the horse so as to fill the field according to the principle of *horror vacui*. Legend in Parthian letters starting at 08:00, from the right to the left, perfectly legible: 'bdgšy MLKYN MLKA BRY s'nbry MLKA (*Abdagaš šāhān šāh puhr Sānabar šāh*): 'Abdagases king of kings, son of Sanabares king'.

#### REVERSE

A personage dressed in a long caftan flaring out from his waist, wearing a sword, maybe bearded, wearing a bonnet that supports above the occiput a diadem whose two extremities float behind, stands facing, his head l., in front of a horse whose bridle he holds. The horse, also turned l., harnessed, its head surmounted by a topknot, raises its front right leg. Legend in Parthian letters, starting at 07:00, partially off-flan:<sup>2</sup> 'bdgšy MLKYN MLKA RBA [9-10 illegible letters] t' . . y (*Abdagaš šāhān šāh wuzurg (?)*...): 'Abdagases king of kings, great (?) . . . '.

Weight: 6.3 g, diameter: 20 mm.

#### THE LEGENDS

The forms of the characters are, as a whole, near to those that we find on the legend that figures on the obverse of the coins of Abdagases II that we published previously ('bdgšy MLKYN MLKA). In some cases, however, the 'oriental' particularities that link the writing of this coin especially with that found on the ostraca of Nisa are slightly less accentuated on the new specimen: thus for the *aleph* (here always angular), the *beth* (more elongated), the *gimel* (shorter), the *šin* (correctly having a branch that ends above to the right of the left-hand bar and which was missing from the other coin). Among the letters newly attested, the *samek* of *s'nbry* presents the same square form as on a coin of Sanabares I with a Parthian legend<sup>3</sup> and as on the ostraca of Nisa.<sup>4</sup>

The complete legend of the obverse tells us that Abdagases II was the son of Sanabares I, who, as we already know had reigned before him in the same territories (Arachosia, Sistan, probably Aria, and, by adding the Margiana where his coinage is attested, contrary as it seems to that of his son). It is interesting to note that unlike his son, he bears the title 'king' and not 'king of kings'. This corresponds to what is generally indicated by his coins: the circular legends of the obverse which are the most carefully executed, only

<sup>2</sup> We mark with a dot the letters that are partially off-flan.

<sup>3</sup> M. Alram, *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*, IV: *Nomina propria iranica in nummis*, Vienna 1986, coin 1193.

<sup>4</sup> V.A. Livšic, *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 25, 1977, table p. 167; of the same, *Ėpigrafika Vostoka* 22, 1984, table pp. 20-1.

give the title 'king' (Aram 1192, in Parthian: *s'nbry MLKA*...; Aram 1196, in erroneous Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΣΑΝΑΒΑΡΟΥ, written in a square on the reverse<sup>5</sup>), while the reference 'king of kings' only appears on the square legend of a single issue, a legend that is corrupt and in which the titles may have been disturbed by the mechanical reproduction of the issues of other rulers (Aram 1194).

The reverse legend reproduces that of the obverse only in the first part; although what follows is partially off-flan, the part that is legible does not correspond to *BRY s'nbry MLKA*. The two first letters of this part are clearly *aleph*, which supports the reading *RBA*, the Aramaic ideogram for *wueurg* 'great'. It is thus very tempting to suppose that we have here the Parthian equivalent of the three titles 'great', 'epiphanes', 'just', which in the Greek titles of the coins of Abdagases II follow 'king of kings' (Aram 1142: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΒΔΑΓΑΣΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ). However, it seems impossible to restore in any position *ršt* (*rāšt*), the expected Parthian equivalent to ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ. And we would have liked to know what the Iranian equivalent to 'epiphanes' might have been....

#### ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTARY

On the obverse, the type of the hunting king offers an original variant, unique for the coinage of this region and at this time, of the riding king, abundantly attested for the Indo-Scythians, the Indo-Parthians and the Kushans. The figure that carries the crown or ring above is quite reminiscent, by its position and its abstract form, of that on one of the obverse types of Gondophares (Aram 1168), where the Nike had already begun to lose her feminine character.<sup>6</sup> On the coin of Abdagases II the figure is decidedly masculine, which could be seen as the evolutionary transition from the Greek concept of Nike to the Iranian one of *khvarənah*.<sup>7</sup> The symbol of Nike-*khvarənah* crowning the ruler, adapted by Gondophares from the Arsacid coinage and used again by Abdagases II, was especially suited to the 'Gondopharide' lineage, as the name of its founder (in Avestan *vindix"arənah*, in old-Persian *vindahfarnah*) signified 'he who is awarded the *khvarənah*'.

The reverse showing a standing figure in front of a horse is more difficult to interpret. The only comparable type, on Kushan coinage, is that of the god

<sup>5</sup> Coin reproduced in our previous article, p. 231 fig. 3.

<sup>6</sup> According to J. Cribb, it is the type of Gondophares that had inspired that of the reverse of 'Heraeus' (in fact, according to him, Kujula Kadphises): 'The "Heraeus" coins: their attribution to the Kushan king Kujula Kadphises, c. AD 30-80', in *Essays in Honour of Robert Carson and Kenneth Jenkins*, ed. M. Price, A. Burnett and R. Bland, London 1993, pp. 107-34, pls. XXIII-XXVII.

<sup>7</sup> On the complex problems posed by the symbolism of the *khvarənah* in relation to the Nike motifs, of the crown, the ring etc. . ., see especially J. Duchesne-Guillemin, 'La royauté iranienne et le *x"arənah*', in *Iranica*, ed. Gh. Gnoli and A.V. Rossi, Napoli 1979, pp. 375-86.

Lrooaspo (in Avestan *Druuāspā*), protector of horses, represented on the reverses of Kaniška (Fig. 5) and of Huviška.<sup>8</sup> But it presents important differences compared to the type under examination here: the god has neither sword nor bonnet; on that of Huviška he is nimbate and wears a chiton instead of a caftan, while the horse has neither harness nor bridle. In the case that we are discussing the ribbons make us think of a royal personage: the ruler himself, or rather, given the absence of a tiara, the crown prince? As for the richly harnessed horse, is it not rather than his mount, a victim brought to sacrifice? It reminds us of the passage in the *Life of Apollonios of Tyana* by Philostratos (I.31) where the Parthian ruler invites his guest to a sacrifice to 'Helios' (meaning Mithras) for which a 'white pureblood Nisian horse, harnessed as if for a triumphal procession'<sup>9</sup> has been provided. Even if, as is probable, Philostratos is just condensing here data borrowed from Herodotos and Xenophon,<sup>10</sup> the reality of the existence of the sacrifice of harnessed horses cannot be doubted. It is now also confirmed by the religious iconography of Sogdianna of the sixth and seventh centuries CE: an ossuary shows, standing

<sup>8</sup> See R. Göbl, *System und Chronologie der Münzprägung des Kušānreiches*, Vienna 1984, p. 41, pl. 165.

<sup>9</sup> Philostratos, *Das Leben des Apollonios von Tyana*, ed.-trad. V. Mumprecht, Artemis-Verlag, Munich-Zurich 1983.

<sup>10</sup> Philostratos may have found his information especially in two passages:

- Herodotos VII.40 (description of the exit of the army of Xerxes from Sardes): 'Then came the sacred horses called Nisian, ten in number, splendidly harnessed (...). Behind these ten horses was placed the sacred chariot of Zeus, pulled by eight white horses', (transl. Ph.-E. Legrand, *Les Belles Lettres*, Paris 1951).
- Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* VIII.3.11-12 (description of a procession of Cyrus the Great in Babylon, apparently inspired by the processions of Cyrus the Younger which Xenophon witnessed): 'When the gate of the royal Palace was opened wide, at the head of the procession, in four ranks, were led the bulls of a destined for Zeus and to those of the other gods that the Magi prescribed—because the Persians believe that in everything that touches upon the divine they must, even more than in other questions, consult the experts. Behind these animals were led the horses, an offering for the Sun; behind these came, drawn by white horses under a yoke of gold, a crowned chariot, dedicated to Zeus; behind this, a chariot of the Sun with a white team, also crowned, as the previous; behind this came in turn a third chariot, its horses enveloped in a scarlet caparison, and behind followed men bearing fire on a high altar' (transl. ed. Delebecque, *Les Belles Lettres*, Paris 1978).

All the passages from classical sources related to the sacrifice of horses in the Achaemenid Empire are analysed by M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, II: *Under the Achaemenians*, Leiden/Köln 1982, index s.v. 'horses', 'sacrifice' (add Xenophon, *Anabasis* IV.5.34-5, which mentions in Armenia a horse dedicated to Helios). They were also sacrificed to the Waters. In 35 CE the Roman general Vitellius and his Parthian ally Tiridates consecrated respectively to Euphrates 'a sacrifice of a bull in the Roman manner' and an 'adorned horse': *cum hic more romano suovetaurilla daret, ille equum placando amni adornasset* (Tacite, *Annales* VI.37).

in front of a fire altar and a sacrificial table used by a priest, a saddled, harnessed horse, decorated with a topknot and pompoms, which is about to be sacrificed in honour of the deceased (and more exactly without doubt to Mithras, the judge of the dead).<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, two monuments whose symbolism is the one from the other, the stone dais erected for the tomb of a Sogdiannian in Anyang in northern China and the cycle of paintings ordered for the residence of King Varkhuman of Samarkand, show horses equipped in like manner, that laymen bearing a sword lead to the sacrifice performed at the New Year for the Royal Ancestors.<sup>12</sup> We reproduce here the image of the horse of Samarkand that accompanies the sword sheath (Fig. 6); at almost six centuries distance, these figures seem to echo those represented on the reverse of the coin of Abdagases II.

If, as it seems to us, this motif really refers to the cult of Mithras, it could be linked to the theme of the glorious hunt celebrated on the obverse, as Mithras was, among his numerous roles, the protector of this activity.<sup>13</sup> Around the same time the Kushan ruler Vima Taktu on whose coins Pacores, the predecessor or immediate successor of Abdagases II overstruck his coins, adopted the same obverse type of a radiate Mithras holding an arrow, and as a reverse type the king on horseback.

#### FINAL REMARKS

It is obvious that the question of the authenticity of this coin is posed within the same framework as for the previous one. In our opinion it must also be resolved in the affirmative. The data is the same in both cases: the discoveries whose circumstances have been verified and almost exclude deception; the Parthian inscriptions which are perfectly correct, both from a linguistic and

<sup>11</sup> N.I. Krašennikova, 'Deux ossuaires à décor moulé trouvés aux environs du village de Sivaz, district de Kitab, Sogdiane méridionale', *St. Ir.* 22, 1993, pp. 53-4, pl. IV, fig. 6; F. Grenet, 'Remarques', *ibid.*, pp. 60-5.

<sup>12</sup> B. Marshak, 'Le programme iconographique des peintures de la "Salle des ambassadeurs" at Afrasiab (Samarkand)', *Arts Asiatiques* 49, 1994, pp. 5-20 (in particular figs. 8, 10, 11, 15). Two saddled horses (not shown in the publications) are also found on the paintings of the great hall of the Temple II of Pendjikent, which are related to the cult of the dead.

<sup>13</sup> M. Boyce and F. Grenet, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, III: *Zoroastrianism under Macedonian and Roman rule*, Leiden 1991, pp. 93-4, 484-6. The authors of this volume consider as most probable the identification of Mithras with the hunter god of 'mount Sambulos' known from Tacitus; on this cult see P. Bernard, 'Héraclès, les grottes de Karafto et le sanctuaire du mont Sambulos en Iran', *St. Ir.* 9, 1980, pp. 301-24. It may be in this mythical complex of the rider and hunter Mithras that the horse with the quiver, shown on the coins of Labienus the Younger bearing the legend IMP. PARTHICUS: see D. Metzler, 'Das Pferd auf den Münzen des Labienus – Ein Mithras-Symbol', in *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasien, Festschrift K. Dörner*, Leiden 1978, II, pp. 619-38, pl. CL (the comparison with coins of Heraeus shows that it really is a quiver hung on the end of the saddle, *pace* P. Bernard, cited art., no. 53).

an epigraphic point of view, being in line with the images which have been executed in a rather rough manner. It is clear that the engravers of the images that Abdagases II had at his disposal were not competent to convey the claims that he hoped to express with his gold coinage. Careful examination of the Indo-Parthian coinage reveals the same coarseness in the engraving of all the issues of the successors of Gondophares, both in the royal portraits and the reverse types. In a forthcoming publication of his collection R.C. Senior represents certain types of Indo-Parthian coins whose style is not far from those that we publish today (hypertrophic heads, incisions that are too deep).<sup>14</sup> In the same collection there is a bronze coin discovered in Gilgit, bearing on the obverse the portrait of the ruler (maybe Orthagnes-Gadana; according to R.C. Senior, but the reading of the legend is uncertain), and on the reverse the 'Gondopharian' *tamgha*: the layout is thus exactly the same as that of the first coin that we published, the only difference being that on the bronze coin the obverse is without legend while the reverse bears a legend in Greek (Fig. 2).

The fact that the new coin was found near Qandahar reinforces the attribution of this coinage to Abdagases II in Arachosia, that we proposed for the first coin.

From the metrological point of view, the new gold coin, with its weight if 6.3 g, forms part of the same system as the previous specimen (6.2. g); in other words it most probably represents the value of 20 drachms of silver. It is a system that is different from that adopted by the Kushans starting with Vima Kadphises, with a regular weight of 8 g for the gold coins. The appearance on the market, at an interval of one year, of two coins of Abdagases II, allows the thought that this coinage was not exceptional for this ruler, as without doubts it was for the Arsacids.<sup>15</sup> The question of knowing which king, Abdagases II or Vima Kadphises, first took the initiative to issue a heavy, regular gold coinage, cannot be answered as long as we cannot fix the dates of these two rulers with greater precision.

#### APPENDIX: A SMALL HOARD OF INDO-PARTHIAN COINS FROM SISTAN

Again thanks to the good will of Muhammad Riaz Babar, O. Bopearachchi was able to examine and photograph (Fig. 3) a small hoard of silver drachms found in Sistan, in a field near Zaranj. We give here the identifications following the repertories of Sellwood<sup>16</sup> and of Alram:

<sup>14</sup> R.C. Senior, *A Catalogue of Indo-Scythic Coins*, vol. 3: *Indo-Parthians, Rajas and Satraps*, London, forthcoming.

<sup>15</sup> In our previous article we recalled the only two specimens known to that time, that belong to the same weight system as the Indo-Parthians: an imitation of Gotarzes I found in the excavations of Tillja-tepe, and a coin of Vologeses V from the Cabinet des Médailles of Paris that we also believed to be an ancient imitation, a sign of prudence that may in fact be unnecessary.

<sup>16</sup> D. Sellwood, *An Introduction to the Coinage of Parthia*, 2nd edn., London, 1980.

- a. Mithradates II, Sellwood type 26, but with, on the reverse, under the arc, a monogram not attested in the catalogue. In a letter of 14 April 1998, D. Sellwood informed us that he had since come across this monogram, associated with another, on a drachm of Orodes II: 'however, this coins must be from Susa and I do not know of any Susa drachms of Mithradates II; although in general Parthian drachm monograms can usually mean mints, I think that some, especially the more complicated early ones, probably follow Seleucid precedents and stand for mint officials'. According to the style, D. Sellwood would be ready to attribute the drachm of the Zarnj hoard to the mint of Raga (Ray).
- b. Gondophares, Alram type 1158.
- c. Orodes II, Sellwood type 46.23, Aria monogram, with, on the obverse a 'Gondopharid' countermark. Non attested combination.
- d. Local imitation of Orodes II with, on the obverse a 'Gondopharid' countermark, Sellwood type 91.9.
- e. Orthagnes, Alram type 1179.
- f, g Sanabares I, Alram type 1191.
- h, i Abdagases II, Alram type 1142.

The eight Indo-Parthian drachms bear on the reverse the type of the king being crowned by a Nike or of the archer, considered to belong to Sistan. This hoard also included a bronze of Pacores with a lone Nike on the reverse, considered to be Arachosian (Alram 1190). The coin of Gondophares, that we also reproduce enlarged (Fig. 4), offers the best so far published portrait of this ruler who reigned from 20 to 46 CE and whose prestige was such that that he, without a doubt, entered Christian tradition under the name of the King Magus Caspar (Gaspar).





FIGURE 1: Gold Coin of Abdagases II, R. Babar collection (enlarged 3 times).

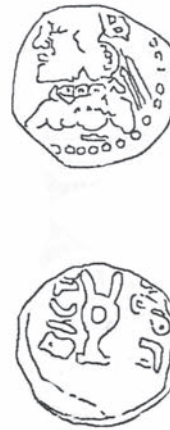


FIGURE 2: Indo-Parthian bronze coin found in Gilgit, R.C. Senior collection (drawing).

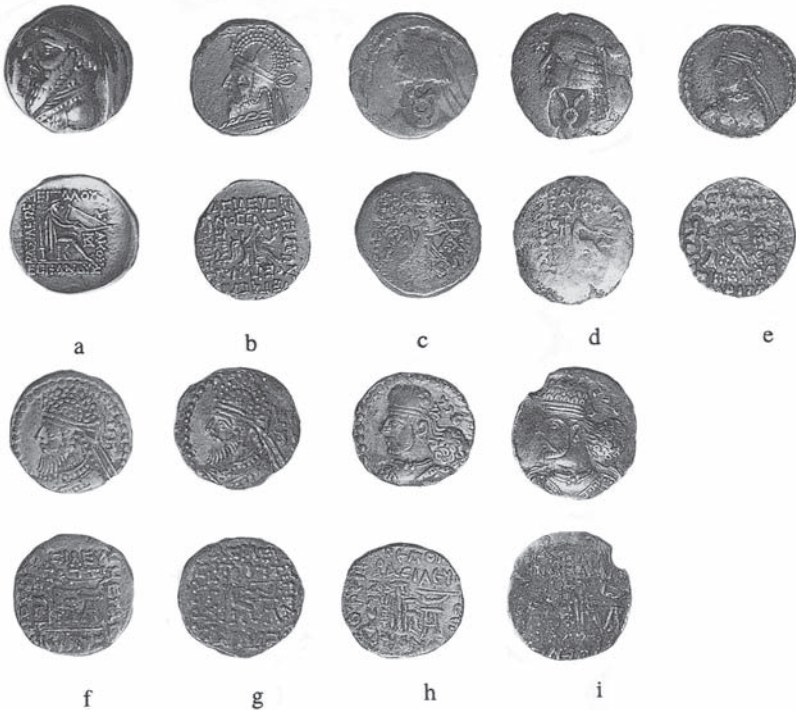


FIGURE 3: Hoard of drachms found in Zaranj.



FIGURE 4: Coin of Gondophares from the Zaranj hoard (enlargement).



FIGURE 5: Reverse of the coin of Kaniška of the Lrooaspo type (H. Hirayame collection).



FIGURE 6: Detail of the painting from the Ambassador's Hall in Afrasiab (Samarkand), around 650-60: the sacrificial horse led by a personage with a sword and a mouth-cover (copy Archaeological Institute of Samarkand).

## The Numismatic Data and the Dating of the Begram Bazaar\*

The aim of this article, when it was begun, was to re-examine the possibilities of dating the Begram Bazaar (sectors I and II) using the numismatic data from known and unpublished coins. However, while working on it, I realised quite quickly that the aim was far from being realised, because the available data pose more problems than they offer solutions. However the data allow us to present a catalogue of the coins from the excavations of Begram, especially sites I and II, conserved in the Guimet Museum, until now unpublished, and to propose a chronological framework for the whole site.

Thanks to the kind invitation and the cooperation of Mr. Pierre Cambon, keeper at the Guimet Museum, in 1987 I was able to examine the collection of coins from the excavations in Afghanistan and those collected there by the French archaeologists of the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan (DAFA) before the outbreak of the Second World War. These coins entered the Museum collection thanks to the convention signed on 9th September 1922 in Kabul, for 30 years, between the French (Fondation de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan – DAFA) and Afghan governments.<sup>1</sup> The convention contains a clause for the sharing of objects discovered in projected excavations. This clause will work to the advantage of Kabul Museum, which, since its creation, has received some of the objects found by French archaeologists, and it also profits the Guimet Museum.

I spent ten months cleaning, identifying, classifying and photographing these coins and carrying out in-depth research on their provenances. I shall confine myself to presenting here 121 from site I of 1936, 1937 and of site II of 1937. The coins collected by Joseph Hackin,<sup>2</sup> by J. Carl and those from the excavations of Shotorak conserved in the Guimet Museum and in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, that I also studied, will not be included in this study.

As we know, the arrival of French archaeologists in Afghanistan in 1922 had beneficial effects on Parisian collections. In 1926, Joseph Hackin deposited a lot of 79 coins that he had obtained in Afghanistan two years earlier, during his first stay in the country, in the Cabinet des Médailles. At the end of his second mission in 1934, he brought back another 7 Indo-Greek coins. A third

\*Reprinted from 'Les données numismatiques et la datation du bazar de Begram', *Topoi*, Lyon, 2001, [2003], pp. 411-35.

<sup>1</sup> For more details see Olivier-Utard 1997.

<sup>2</sup> J. Hackin presents a classification of the coins that he gathered in 1925 and in 1929-31 and 1933, see Hackin 1935.

lot of 44 coins, of which 20 were Indo-Greek, that he left behind in Kabul when he left the country in 1940, was given to the Cabinet des Médailles by the DAFA after the Second World War; it officially entered the Cabinet des Médailles in 1972, the date of its inscription in the inventory. A fourth lot of 63 Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins bought by Hackin in Afghanistan between 1926 and 1930 entered the Guimet Museum before the Second World War.<sup>3</sup> I was able to establish the provenance of most of these coins thanks to the personal notes that Mr. Cambon kindly gave me. Most of them were bought in Kabul, and only a small number in Peshāwar.

The coins that came from the excavations of Begram conserved in the Guimet Museum are today important for three reasons. Firstly, after the pillage of the monetary collections in the Kabul Museum in 1993, the Guimet collection is the only resource we have at our disposal on Begram. Secondly, faced with the sensational discovery of the ivories, the French archaeologists did not have time to clean and publish in detail the coins that came from the excavations. Thirdly, after the tragic death of Joseph Hackin, followed by that of J. Carl, his trusted friend and excavator of site I of Begram, J. Meunié was obliged to make an extremely concise catalogue of site I following the notes left by Carl. As the author admits in his publication: 'From the catalogue of Carl's excavations concerning the coins not found, we publish only these few indicative notes.'<sup>4</sup> Thus I found 121 coins in the Guimet Museum from site I of 1936 and 1937 with Carl's notes. To give some idea, Meunié had catalogued 141 coins of site I of 1936, of which only 50 had been identified, 90 being illegible.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, the identification of these coins is not only insufficient, but also frequently imprecise. I had access to 77 coins that were part of the numismatic discoveries of site I of 1936, of which 69 were identified; only 8 coins remain uncertain, because of their fragmentary or very worn state. Concerning the coins collected in site I of 1937, the catalogue is almost non-existent. Meunié tells us that there were 6 bronzes of Vasudeva, 2 of Soter Megas, and 58 undetermined. However, among the 30 coins I studied from this excavation, 18 were identified. I also found in the reserves of the Guimet Museum 14 coins collected in site II of Madame Ria Hackin. They were all identified.<sup>6</sup>

For obvious reasons, in this study I do not take into account the coins summarily published by Roman Ghirshman from the excavation of Bordj-i Abdallah.<sup>7</sup> This site is called by Alfred Foucher<sup>8</sup> 'ancient royal city' and is situated 600 m to the north of the Begram Bazaar, sometimes called 'new royal

<sup>3</sup> For the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins of the J. Hackin collection in the Cabinet des Médailles, *BN*, pp. 22, 36-7 and Index V, p. 412, under 'Hackin'.

<sup>4</sup> See J. Meunié in Hackin et al. 1959, p. 101, no. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 101-2.

<sup>6</sup> I express my thanks to Mr. Joe Cribb, keeper of the British Museum, for his help in identifying a certain number of the Kushan coins.

<sup>7</sup> Ghirshman 1946, pp. 86-97.

<sup>8</sup> Foucher, 1942-7, fig. 34. On the identification of Begram as Alexandria of the Caucasus founded by Alexander the Great, see the excellent study by P. Bernard, 1982.

city'. The site was opened in April 1936 by Carl and Meunié on the site of the 'new royal city'. The site gave us a substantial quantity of objects of domestic use—pottery with stamped decoration, bronze, iron—and coins. Carl recognised two levels of occupation in certain rooms of the Bazaar. He identified the lower level by the collected coins of Hermaios, Soter Megas and Kadphises II and the upper by the coins of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva. This distinction is extremely simplistic, however, and I have great difficulty in accepting it: at the time the French archaeologists did not take care to carry out a stratigraphic excavation and, in addition, Carl's excavation journal and his report have not been found. I was only able to find some of the coins collected during the excavations.

In the month of April 1937, Carl restarted the excavation of the Bazaar, so as to continue the clearing of the main street of the quarter. Work only lasted four weeks and, in May, Carl left for Fondukistan. The coins that I catalogued were collected in rooms 31 to 39, 50 to 66 and 73 of the Bazaar.

Joseph and Ria Hackin launched site II or R of Begram on 17 April 1937, some 200 m to the east of Carl's site I of 1936 and 1937. Work on site II was unproductive for two weeks, until room 10 started to give up its numerous glass, bronze and ivory objects.<sup>9</sup> The thesis of Sanjyot Machandale, subject of a recent round table discussion, is founded on these exceptional discoveries.<sup>10</sup> Concerning the coins collected during the excavations, the disappointment is even greater. The coins found in the publications between 1939 and 1954, apart from a few of Kujula, Gondophares, Vima, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva, are, for the most part, catalogued as very oxidised or illegible.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See Hackin, 1939 and Hackin et al. 1954.

<sup>10</sup> Mehendale 1997. The international round table on *Begram et les routes commerciales* took place in the Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen, 24-5 November 2000, Lyon.

<sup>11</sup> I present here a list of coins as it appears in *MDAFA* IX, 1939.

No. 238 -	an oxidised bronze coin	K.	Depth 1.50.
No. 239 -	an oxidised bronze coin	K.	Depth 1.50.
No. 244 -	a very oxidised bronze coin	K.	Depth 2.60.
No. 274 -	three oxidised bronze coins	P.	Depth 2.60.
No. 275 -	a coin (obverse Kanishka)	K.	Depth 2.60.
No. 276 -	a coin (obverse Kanishka)	P.	Depth 2.40.
No. 277 -	an oxidised bronze coin	P.	Depth 2.40.

The same, catalogue of coins of Begram in *MDAFA* XI, 1954, p. 309-11.

**Site II**, marked **R**. for Ria Hackin. **T**. for the north-east tower of the less ancient fort. **A. Ali or Ali**. This may refer to the Afghan researcher, Ahman Ali Khozad, who participated in the excavations with the Hackin. **N.O** = nord-ouest [north-west]; **O.N.O** = ouest-nord-ouest [west-north-west]. **K**. Kabul Museum. Total of coins: **61**.

6 -	Billon, Kujula	K.	Depth 2.10.
10 -	Billon, Oxidised	K.	Depth 1.80.
11 -	Billon, Vasudeva	K.	
12-16 -	Billon, Vasudeva	K.	
20-1 -	Billon, Oxidised	K.	Depth 1.20.
	(circular hole in the centre)		
36 -	Bronze. Oxidised. Kushana period.	K.	Depth 2.50.



In fact, the sites of the two rooms represent caches closed without doubt, the coins can only be accidents unrelated to the archaeological context. It is possible that some coins fell into the rooms during the collapse of a structure built above or even during heavy storms, which are frequent and known from antiquity in this region. We must recall that the walls of the buildings are made of unbaked mud and the ceilings of reeds or the branches of poplar or similar trees, and finished off with raw mud mixed with straw—attested throughout the ages in a vast region of Central Asia—thus giving this possibility of the ‘leaking’ of coins along with the earth that, over time, filled the two rooms. Let us note that the objects of the Begram hoard were drowned in a ‘filtered’ mud that did not ‘crush’ many of the objects but ‘buried’ them in a gentle clay dust.<sup>12</sup>

45 -	”	”	” ?	K.	Depth 1.80.
49 -	”	”		K.	Depth 1.90.
50 -	”	”		K.	Depth 1.90.
115 -	”	”		K.	Depth 2.55.
116 -	”	”		K.	
117 -	”	1 Sar of Gargistan		K.	Depth 0.70.
(cf. J. de Morgan, <i>Manuel de Numismatique Orientale</i> , Fasc. III, p. 453, fig. 598).					
118 -	”	Oxidised		K.	Depth 2.40.
155 -	”	Gondophares		K.	Depth 2.55.
					(South Wall)
171 -	”	Oxidised		K.	Depth 2.40
					(West Wall)
208 -	”	Vima Kadphises		K.	Depth 2.50
232-3 -	Billon	”		Room R.T.	
				K.	Depth 1.70.
252 -	”	Kushana		Room R.T. corridor	
				K.	Depth 3.00
253 -	”	”		K.	
261-4 -	Billon	”		Room R. corridor	
				K.	Depth 2.40.
275-7 -	”	”		Room R, South Tower	
				K.	Depth 3.10
278-86 -	”	Huvishka, on elephant.		Room R, South Tower.	
				K.	Depth 3.10
290-8 -	”	Oxidised.		Room R.T. (N.O.)	
				K.	Depth 2.80
306 -	”	Huvishka.		Room R.T. (O.N.O.)	
				K.	Depth 1.30
315 -	”	Oxidised.		Room R.T. (A. Ali)	
				K.	Depth 1.80
325-32	”	”		Room R. (A.A.)	
				K.	Depth 2.40
337-44 -	”	”		Room R. (A.A.)	
				K.	
348-9 -	”	”		Room E. (A.A.)	
				K.	Depth 1.20 and 2.80.

<sup>12</sup> These hypotheses were mentioned at the international round table on *Begram et les routes commerciales*, by Francine Tissot and Rémy Boucharlat.



Thus in site II of Ria Hackin, in room R. 10, that had offered up the most prestigious objects of this excavation, we found a coin of Kujula Kadphises, *c.* 30-80 BCE (no. 108), the founder of the Kushan dynasty, side by side, at the same depth of 2 m 60, with a coin of Kanishka II or one of Vasishka, *c.* 227-67 BCE, the last of the Kushana kings (no. 121). I share the opinion of Sanjyot Mehandale, who ably summarised the difficulties we have to deal with: "But a lack of precise dating information about most of the coins, plus the incompleteness of the excavation record concerning the exact location and position of each, have meant that even those coins which have been identified raise far more questions than they answer".<sup>13</sup>

Let us return to the coins that came from sites I and II in the Guimet Museum. Chronologically speaking, the ones that I have catalogued remain quite homogenous, with the exception of two bilingual bronzes, struck in the name of Pantaleon (nos. 78 and 79). In fact it is hard to explain how we could have found coins of an Indo-Greek sovereign who reigned *c.* 185-180 BCE.<sup>14</sup> Nor do we know if the depths of 2 m 70 and 1 m 40 under the top-soil, indicate that this is a more ancient level. It is difficult to give a plausible interpretation without knowing the archaeological context in which they were discovered.

As far as the other coins are concerned, they fit into a quite precise chronological framework, between the middle of the 1st century BCE and the beginning of the 3rd century of our era. The two coins that Meunié published as being of Hermaios, are simply posthumous coins of this sovereign. In the chronological scheme that I proposed, Hermaios died at about the same time as Maues was eliminated from Taxila by Apollodotos II, around 70 BCE.<sup>15</sup> The relative chronology that I attributed to the posthumous issues of Hermaios, represented here by no. 2 of the catalogue, is justified by a series of overstrikes: Gondophares over Hermaios and Kujuma Kadphises over Gondophares.<sup>16</sup> As the reign of Gondophares is placed approximately between 20 and 40 CE,<sup>17</sup> it is now certain that these bronze series of group VII, including no. 2 of this catalogue, must also be placed between 20 and 40 CE. It is even more important that a coin of Gondophares was found at a depth of 2 m 55 near the north wall of site II of Ria Hackin (no. 155).<sup>18</sup>

We must also place the two posthumous coins struck in the name of Eucratides (nos. 1 and 80) around the middle of the 1st century BCE. I have demonstrated elsewhere that the bronze coins in the name of Eucratides, of barbaric style and bearing the same monograms as the posthumous imitations

<sup>13</sup> Mehandale 1997, p. 207.

<sup>14</sup> For the chronology, see Bopearachchi 1998, pl. 14.

<sup>15</sup> Bopearachchi 1997.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Widemann, 1972. For a summary of these overstrikes, see Bopearachchi 1997, p. 196.

<sup>17</sup> See, on this subject, Bopearachchi 1999, p. 136-7.

<sup>18</sup> See above, note 11.

of Hermaios, were themselves struck long after the death of Eucratides I.<sup>19</sup> Thus, as for Eucratides I, we must differentiate between the issues of Hermaios struck during his lifetime and the posthumous imitations. These are connected to the arrival of nomad tribes in the lands colonised by the Greeks. They are different from those who, under the leadership of Maues, occupied the region of Taxila, and those who, under the command of Vonones, conquered Arachosia.

I also showed elsewhere that all these posthumous issues of Eucratides and of Hermaios were struck by the Yue-tchi, who seized power in the Paropamisadae before taking the royal title. The six coins, of which 4 came from site I of 1936 (nos. 3-6), 2 of 1937 (nos. 108-9) that I catalogued and those that Hackin recorded in the *MDAFA*, vol. XI (no. 6),<sup>20</sup> belong to Kujula Kadphises known by the name 'su Hermaios'.

These bronzes represent the first issues of the founder of the Kushan dynasty, Kujula Kadphises. They bear a royal bust on the obverse. The barbarised Greek legend is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ, but that of the reverse, in Kharoṣṭhī, is in the name of Kujula: *Kujulakasa kushanayavugasa dhramathidasa* 'of Kujula head Kushan, the pious'.

Thanks to the discovery of a Bactrian inscription at Rabatak, in March 1993, near Surkh Kotal in the province of Baghlan in the north of Afghanistan, the question of the identity and the genealogy of the Kushan rulers who succeeded Kujula Kadphises received new light.<sup>21</sup> A certain Vima (Taktu?) is revealed as the son of Kujula Kadphises and the father of Vima Kadphises, himself father of Kanishka.

According to Joe Cribb (72), we must identify this Vima (Taktu) with Soter Megas, the anonymous king whose coinage is very abundant. It appears that he reads, on a very limited number of coins with the hump-backed bull and the camel, the Kharoṣṭhī legend 'Vema Tak(ta)'.<sup>22</sup> He thus proposes to identify this Vema, mentioned as the grandfather of Kanishka in the Rabatak inscription, with Soter Megas.

Cribb's hypothesis was not unanimously accepted, and it has been contested by a number of scholars. Michel Alram, Robert Göbl, David Mac Dowall and Gérard Fussman<sup>23</sup> questioned his attribution of a series of coins in the name of Soter Megas to Vima Taktu.

Göbl recalled that the chronological order of Kujula Kadphises—Soter Megas—Vima Kadphises has already been proposed by many scholars, especially by David Mac Dowall. For Alram and Göbl, the appearance of the

<sup>19</sup> See on this subject, Bopearachchi 1993, pp. 53-5.

<sup>20</sup> See above, note 11.

<sup>21</sup> See on this the articles of Sims-Williams and Cribb 1995-6 and Cribb 1999.

<sup>22</sup> See J. Cribb in Sims-Williams and Cribb, 1995-6 and Cribb 1999. R.C. Senior published a coin apparently bearing the name 'Vema Takha'. Unfortunately this coin is not illustrated.

<sup>23</sup> Alram 1999; Göbl 1999; Mac Dowall 2002 and Fussman 1998.

name of Vima Taktu as the grandfather of Kanishka changes nothing for the chronological order that was attributed to Soter Megas between Kujula Kadphises and Vima Kadphises. Contrary to Cribb's deductions, Mac Dowall interprets the second word 'tak (tu)' that Cribb had deciphered on the coins with the types 'hump-backed bull/camel' as an epithet of Vima. Consequently, he attempts to demonstrate that it was Kujula himself who struck the coins with the types 'hump-backed bull/camel', towards the end of his reign.

While recognising the scientific merits of the works of Nicholas Sims-Williams, Gérard Fussman critically analyses the translation and the interpretation of the inscription of Rabatak published by him.<sup>24</sup> It is a scholarly article that provokes thought on a certain number of numismatic and epigraphic interpretations. In this article Fussman argues that the discovery of a new Kushan king, whose name remains doubtful, changes nothing regarding the chronological data of the Kushan. He reviews the inscriptions of Māt and Dašt-e Nāwūr as well as the text of Hou-Han-Chu. He shows that it is impossible to read the name of the ruler in question as that of Vima Taktu in the inscription of Māt. Likewise he makes known his disagreement with Sims-Williams who attributes the inscription of Dašt-e Nāwūr to Vima Taktu. David Mac Dowall, based on the arguments of Fussman, also refuses to accept that we can read the name of 'Vima Taktu' on the inscription of Rabatak. Paul Bernard, who visited Kabul in June 2002 and had the opportunity to examine the inscription of Rabatak in the Kabul Museum, believes that, despite the mutilations of the stone, he can confirm the reading of the name of Vima Taktu made by Nicholas Sims-Williams using photographs.

G. Fussman also argues that the reading of the name of Vima Taktu on the coins is far from being certain. He then concludes that no monetary legend can be attributed with certainty to the ruler mentioned as the grandfather of Kanishka. He calls attention to the fact that the coins with the humped-back bull and the camel that Cribb now considers to be those of Vima Taktu were attributed by him (Cribb), a few years ago, to Vima Kadphises.<sup>25</sup> He also remarks that Cribb's new reading is risky, as the legend is off the flan and also the coins in question are in very poor condition. Only new numismatic discoveries can confirm Cribb's hypothesis. Can his publication of a monetary hoard bearing the name of Vima Taktu resolve this enigma?

In any case, even if we read the name of Vima Taktu very clearly on the coins in question, this would not resolve the problem of 'Soter Megas'. In my opinion, we can make a number of objections to Cribb's hypothesis. The first question that we must ask is why we should attribute a coinage bearing the name of Vima Taktu to Soter Megas. We know well that, as was shown by David Mac Dowall, the coinage bearing the Greek legend of Soter Megas has nothing in common with the coins with the types 'hump-backed bull /camel'. If we read the name of Vima Taktu on the inscriptions of Rabatak, Dašt-e

<sup>24</sup> Fussman 1998.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 619, note 112.

Nāwur and of Māt, we must accept that this ruler reigned over an immense kingdom. If this was the case, why did he not issue an abundant coinage in his name, while his father declared himself openly on his last issues as 'Kujula Kushan chief, the pious'? Furthermore, if we want to associate Vima Taktu with Soter Megas, as suggested by Cribb, why does this Soter Megas not engrave his real dynastic name on the principal series of his issues? How can we justify the unpretentious appearance of the name of Vima Taktu on an isolated series? There are, we can see, a host of questions to which answers must be given before we rush to an easy solution.

In any event, the importance of the date given by the inscription of Rabatak cannot be questioned. Apart from the information that this inscription gives, notably on the extent of the kingdom and its principal cities, regarding the Kushan pantheon we now know that Kanishka had a grandfather whom we must place between Kujula Kadphises and Vima Kadphises. That is an addition whose extreme importance we cannot deny. The question is to know if this grandfather was Soter Megas or not. In my opinion the question is far from being closed.

Apart from the new data given by the inscription of Rabatak the principal event of these last decades concerning the Kushan chronology is the proposal of Harry Falk to date the first year of Kanishka to 127 CE.<sup>26</sup> It is the study of a passage of the treaty of *Yavanajataka* written by a certain Sphujiddhvaja in 191 of the Saka era, that is 269 CE, that led to putting forward this date. According to his arguments, the lapse of time between the Saka era commencing in Spring 78 CE and the Kanishka era is exactly 149 years, which leads to placing the beginning of the Kushan era in the year 127 CE. We await reactions to this interpretation of the Sanskrit text. If we adopt Harry Falk's chronology, the reign of Kanishka I would be between 127 and 153. From there, the Kushan chronology would seem to me to be evident, even if we admit that the exact role of Vima Taktu remains to be defined. We must place Kujula Kadphises between 30 and 80 CE, Soter Megas between 80 and 110 CE and Vima Taktu (?), Vima Kadphises between 110 and 127 CE.

The coins found in sites I and II stop with Kanishka II and Vasishka (see nos. 68-9, 89-95 and 121). If we accept the date of Kanishka established by Harry Falk, we must place the end of the reign of Vasishka around 267 CE. Thus, in our opinion, we must place the destruction of the new city of Begram around the end of the 3rd century of our era. This chronological framework appears to me to be more logical, and I leave it to the specialists in glass, bronze and ivory to give us their opinion on this hypothesis. These data allow us to better understand the relative chronology of the Begram site. We must, however, not allow ourselves to forget that, without the texts and other more precise archaeological indications, the coins alone cannot give us the chronological framework of this city.

<sup>26</sup> Falk 2001.

## CATALOGUE

SITE I  
(1936)

<b>Eucratides I</b> (posthumous)	Royal bust / Dioskouroi
1. <i>BN</i> , series 19. W.	7.91 g Site I, room 28
<b>Hermaios</b> (posthumous)	Royal bust / Sitting Zeus
2. <i>BN</i> , series 20. GG.	8.45 g Site I, room 27.
<b>Hermaios + Kujula</b>	Bust / Heracles
3. Mitch. 1976, 1044	7.22 g Site I, rooms 12 & 13 (From the collapse of an upper floor. Found at 1 m 50 below the top-soil).
4. Mitch. 1976, 1044	6.75 g Site I, rooms 12 & 13 (From the collapse of an upper floor. Found at 1 m 50 below the top-soil).
5. Mitch. 1976, 1044	7.74 g Site I, room 27.
6. Mitch. 1976, 1044	3.21 g Site I, room 27.
<b>Soter Megas</b>	Radiate bust / horseman
7. Mitch. 1978, p. 400	7.83 g Site I, in B in a jar.
<b>Vima II Kadphises</b>	King sacrificing / Shiva nandi
8. Göbl 762	16.35 g Site I, in B in a jar.
9. Göbl 762	16.57 g Site I, room 19.
10. Göbl 762	16.57 g Site I, room 19.
11. Göbl 762	16.30 g Ch. I, room 19.
12. Göbl 762	15.66 g Ch. I, room 19.
13. Göbl 762	14.96 g Ch. I, room 19.
14. Göbl 762	14.49 g Ch. I, room 19.
15. Göbl 762	14.44 g Ch. I, room 19.
16. Göbl 762	13.48 g Ch. I, room 21.
<b>Kanishka I</b>	King sacrificing / MAO
17. Göbl 775	16.20 g Site I, room 49?
18. Göbl 775	15.01 g Site I, room 49?
<b>Kanishka I</b>	King sacrificing / MAO or MIPO
19. Göbl 776 or 768	17.06 g Site I, in B in a jar.
20. Göbl 776 or 768	14.18 g Site I, room 21.
<b>Kanishka I</b>	King sacrificing / NANA
21. Göbl 777	15.55 g Site I, room 21 inside jars.
22. Göbl 777	16.90 g Site I, room 49?
<b>King sacrificing / OHPO</b>	
23. Göbl 781	11.32 g Site I, room 20.
24. Göbl 781	16.17 g Site I, room 49.
<b>Kanishka I</b>	King sacrificing / AΘPO
25. Göbl 772	15.52 g Site I, room 49?

<b>Kanishka I</b>	King sacrificing / indistinct
<b>26.</b> 16.53 g	Site I, room 20?
<b>27.</b> 16.22 g	Site I, room 20?
(Maybe MAO)	
<b>28.</b> 16.16 g	Site I, room 20?
<b>29.</b> 16.05 g	Site I, room 20?
<b>30.</b> 14.76 g	Site I, room 20?
<b>31.</b> 16.90 g	Site I, room 20?
<b>32.</b> 16.99 g	Site I, room 29.
<b>33.</b> 15.14 g	Site I, in B in a jar.
<b>Huvishka</b>	King on elephant / MIOPO (phase 2)
<b>34.</b> Göbl 823	12.33 g Site I, room 20?
<b>Huvishka</b>	King on elephant / OHPO (phase 2)
<b>35.</b> Göbl 855	10.42 g Site I, room 1.
<b>36.</b> Göbl 855	8.61 g Site I, room 1.
<b>Huvishka</b>	King on elephant / MAO (phase 1)
<b>37.</b> Göbl 835	14.56 g Site I, room 1.
<b>Huvishka</b>	King on elephant / AΘPO (phase 1)
<b>38.</b> Göbl 832	15.49 g Site I, room 20?
<b>Huvishka</b>	King on elephant / AΘPO (phase 1)
<b>39.</b> 12.57 g	Site I, room 21 upper level.
<b>40.</b> 14.09 g	Site I, room 23 upper level.
<b>Huvishka</b>	King sitting with crossed legs/MIOPO (phase 1)
<b>41.</b> Göbl 825	14.55 g Site I, room 20.
<b>Huvishka</b>	King sitting with crossed legs/MAO (phase 1)
<b>42.</b> Göbl 837	15.18 g Site I, room 20.
<b>Huvishka</b>	King sitting with crossed legs/MAO (phase 2)
<b>43.</b> Göbl 837	12.79 g Site I, room 21.
<b>Huvishka</b>	King sitting with crossed legs/MAO (phase 3)
<b>44.</b> Göbl 917	6.33 g Site I, room 27.
<b>45.</b> Göbl 978	6.48 g Site I, room 1.
<b>Huvishka</b>	King on elephant / MIPO (phase 3)
<b>46.</b> Göbl 933	3.13 g Site I, room 17.
<b>Huvishka</b>	King sitting with crossed legs / indistinct
<b>47.</b>	13.44 g Site I, room 20 (phase 1).
<b>48.</b>	8.26 g Site I, room 20 (phase 2).
<b>49.</b>	11.44 g Site I, room 27 (phase 3).
<b>Vasudeva I</b>	King sacrificing / OHPO
<b>50.</b> Göbl 1002	9.48 g Site I, room 20.
<b>51.</b> Göbl 1002	9.20 g Site I, room 20.



52.	Göbl 1002	7.70 g	Site I, room 20.
53.	Göbl 1002	8.07 g	Site I, room 27 on the floor.
54.	Göbl 1002	7.74 g	Site I, area N.
55.	Göbl 1002	7.74 g	Site I, room 3.
56.	Göbl 1002	7.68 g	Site I, room 3.
57.	Göbl 1002	7.20 g	Site I, room 3.
58.	Göbl 1002	6.40 g	Site I, room 3. to r. tamga.
59.	Göbl 1002	6.29 g	Site I, room 3.
60.	Göbl 1002	5.92 g	Site I, room 3.
61.	Göbl 1002	5.96 g	Site I, room 20.
62.	Göbl 1002	6.27 g	Site I, area N.
63.	Göbl 1002	7.51 g	Site I, area N. (thick flan)
64.	Göbl 1002	7.22 g	Site I, area N. (thick flan)
<b>Vasudeva I</b>		King sacrificing / Shiva nandi. (late issue).	
65.	Göbl 1002	6.83 g	Site I, room 3.
66.	Göbl 1011	5.30 g	Site I, area N.
67.	Göbl 1011	5.15 g	Site I, room 27 on the floor.
<b>Kanishka II or Vasishka</b>		King sacrificing / ΑΡΑΟΧΡΟ.	
68.		7.30 g	Site I, room 49.
69.		4.59 g	Site I, room 21.
<b>Illegible coins</b>			
70.		3.69 g	Site I, room 20.
71.		8.50 g	Site I, room 20.
72.		15.73 g	Site I, room 20.
73.		16.83 g	Site I, room 20.
74.		8.01 g	Site I, room 20.
75.		6.98 g	Site I, room 21.
76.		0.95 g	Site I, room 27.
77.		0.81 g	Site I, room 27.

#### SITE I (1937)

<b>Pantaleon</b>		Indian divinity / Lion	
78.	<i>BN</i> , series 6.	10.20 g	Site I, room 63. Depth 2 m 70. (6-5-37)
79.	<i>BN</i> , series 6.	11.24 g	Site I, room 73. Depth 1 m 40. (11-5-37)
<b>Eucratides I</b> (posthumous)		Royal bust / Dioskouroi	
80.	<i>BN</i> , series 19. W.	5.91 g	Site I, room 31. Depth 1 m 80 (18-4-37)
<b>Heliocles</b> (posthumous)		Royal bust / Standing Zeus	
81.	<i>SNG</i> , no 665.	4.02 g	Site I, south street. Depth 1 m 80 (18-4-37)

<b>Kanishka I</b>	King sacrificing / OAAO
<b>82.</b> Göbl 783.	14.64 g Site I, room 52. Depth 2 m. (2-5-37)
<b>83.</b>	15.82 g Site I, room 73. Depth 1 m 80. (14-5-37)
<b>Kanishka I</b>	King sacrificing / AOPPO, MAO or MIPO
<b>84.</b> Göbl 772, 774, 768.	11.92 g Site I, room 31. (19-4-37)
<b>Vasudeva I</b>	King sacrificing / Shiva nandi OHPO
<b>85.</b> Göbl 1002.	8.00 g Site I, room 57. (5-5-37)
<b>86.</b> Göbl 1002.	7.79 g Site I, room 57. (4-5-37)
<b>87.</b> Göbl 1002.	6.92 g Site I, room 57. (4-5-37)
<b>88.</b> Göbl 1011.	6.11 g Site I, room 57. (4-5-37)
<b>Kanishka II or Vasishka</b>	King sacrificing / APΔOXPO
<b>89.</b>	5.07 g Site I, room 54. (3-5-37)
<b>90.</b>	7.05 g Site I, room 57. (4-5-37)
<b>91.</b>	6.50 g Site I, room 57. (4-5-37)
<b>92.</b>	6.39 g Site I, room 59. (5-5-37)
<b>93.</b>	7.10 g Site I, room 59. Depth 10 cm. (6-5-37)
<b>94.</b>	7.13 g Site I, room 65. Depth 2 m. (9-5-37)
<b>95.</b>	6.18 g Site I, room 65. (8-5-37)
<b>Illegible coins</b>	
<b>96.</b>	6.85 g Site I, room 64. Depth 15 cm. (4-5-37)
<b>97.</b>	6.88 g Site I, room 65. Depth 2 m. (9-5-37)
<b>98.</b>	1.90 g Site I, room 70. Depth 15 cm. (9-5-37)
<b>99.</b>	7.84 g Site I, room 35. Depth 1 m 13. (22-4-37)
<b>100.</b>	0.30 g Site I, room 54. (3-5-37)
<b>101.</b>	1.85 g Site I, room 57. (5-5-37)
<b>102.</b>	1.92 g Site I, room 59-63. Depth 2 m 70. (6-5-37)
<b>103.</b>	6.12 g Site I, room 73. Depth 1 m 80. (14-5-37)
<b>104.</b>	2.67 g Site I, room 73. Depth 1 m 80. (14-5-37)
<b>105.</b>	2.10 g Site I, room 73. Depth 1 m 80. (14-5-37)
<b>106.</b>	1.86 g Site I, room 73. (14-5-37)
<b>107.</b>	1.61 g Site I, room 73. Depth 1 m 80. (14-5-37)

**SITE II  
(1937)**

<b>Kujula</b>	Bust / Heracles
<b>108.</b> Mitch. 1045	2.33 g Site II, room R. 10. Depth 2 m 60.
<b>109.</b>	1.50 g Site I, room R. T. Depth 0 m 80. (30-5-37)
<b>Kanishka I</b>	King sacrificing / AΘΠΟ, MAO or MIIPO.
<b>110.</b> Göbl 772, 774, 768.	14.70 g Site II, room R. T. Depth 0 m 80. (30-5-37)
<b>111.</b>	2.56 g Site I, room R. 10. Depth 2 m 60. (13-06-37)
<b>Kanishka I or Huvishka</b>	King sacrificing / indistinct.
<b>112.</b>	15.27 g Site II, room R. T. Depth 0 m 80. (30-5-37)
<b>Huvishka</b>	King on elephant / OHPO
<b>113.</b> Göbl 782	14,23 g Site II, room R. 9. Depth 2 m 40. (15-6-37)
<b>Huvishka</b>	King on elephant / MIIPO (late issue)
<b>114.</b> Göbl 970	8,69 g Site II, room R. 12. Depth 2 m 40. (15-6-37)
<b>Huvishka</b>	King on elephant / MIIPO (late issue)
<b>115.</b> Göbl 973 (MADFA, IX, 1939, no 14)	7,47 g Site II, room R. 5. (13-5-37)
<b>Vasudeva I</b>	King sacrificing / Shiva nandi (late issues)
<b>116.</b>	2.92 g Site I, R. T. Depth 0 m 80. Date May 30th 1937.
<b>117.</b>	5.73 g Site I, R. 10. Depth 2 m 60. Date June 13th 1937.
<b>118.</b>	3,07 g Site I, room R. 10. Depth 1 m. Date April 21st 1937.
<b>119.</b>	2,39 g Site I, room R. 10. Depth 2 m 60. Date June 13th 1937.
<b>120.</b>	2,57 g Site I, room R. 10. Depth 2 m 60. Date June 13th 1937
<b>Kanishka II or Vasishka</b>	King sacrificing / APΔOXΠO
<b>121.</b>	6.19 g Site I, room R.6. Depth 2 m 50. Date May 1st 1937.

POSTSCRIPT

The questions raised in this article are still valid. For the most recent development on the problems concerning the chronology of late Indo-Greeks and early

Kushans, see the postscript to the article: 'The First Kushan Sovereigns: Chronology and Monetary Iconography'. See chapter 7 in vol. II.

## ABBREVIATIONS

BN	O. Bopearachchi, <i>Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné</i> , Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1991.
MDAFA	<i>Mémoire de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan</i> .
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i> .
Mitch.	M. Mitchiner, <i>Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage</i> , 9 vols., London, 1975-6.
Göbl	R., <i>Münzprägung des Kusānreiches</i> , Vienna, 1984.

## REFERENCES

- Alram, M. 1999, 'Indo-Parthian and early Kushan chronolgy', *Coins, Art, and Chronology. Essays on the pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, edited by M. Alram and D.E. Klimburg-Salter, Vienna, 1999, pp. 19-48.
- Bernard, P., 1982, 'Diodore XVII, 83, 1: Alexandrie du Caucase ou Alexandrie de L'Oxus', *Journal des Savants*, pp. 217-42.
- Bopearachchi, O., 1991, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- , 1993, *Catalogue of Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian Coins of the Smithsonian Institution*, Washington, D.C.
- , 1997, 'The Posthumous Coinage of Hermaios and the conquest of Gandhara by the Kushans', *Gandharan Art in Context. East-West Exchanges at the Crossroads of Asia*, edited by R. Allchin, B. Allchin, N. Kreitman et E. Errington, 1997, Cambridge, pp. 189-213.
- , 1998, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek Coins. The Collection of the American Numismatic Society*, part 9, New York.
- , 1999, 'Recent coin hoard evidence on pre-Kushana chronology', *Coins, Art, and Chronology. Essays on the pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, ed. M. Alram and D.E. Klimburg-Salter, Vienna, 1999, pp. 99-149.
- Cribb, J., 1999, 'The early Kushan kings: new evidence for chronology. Evidence from the Rabatak inscription', *Coins, Art, and Chronology. Essays on the pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, edited by M. Alram and D.E. Klimburg-Salter, Vienne, 1999, pp. 177-205.
- Falk, H., 2001, 'The yuga Sphujiddhvaja and the era of Kuṣaṇas', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, pp. 121-36.
- Foucher, A., 1942-7, *La vieille route de l'Inde, de Bactres à Taxila*, MDAFA, 2 vols., Paris.
- Fussman, G., 1998, 'L'inscription de Rabatak et l'origine de l'ère Śaka', *JA*, pp. 571-651.
- Ghirshman, R., 1946, *Begram, recherche archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans*, MDAFA, XII, Cairo.
- Göbl, R., 1999, 'The Rabatak inscription and the date of Kanishka', *Coins, Art, and Chronology. Essays on the pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, ed. M. Alram and D.E. Klimburg-Salter, Vienna, 1999, pp. 151-75.

- Hackin, J., 1935, 'Répartition des monnaies anciennes en Afghanistan', *JA* pp. 287-92.
- , 1939, *Recherches archéologiques à Begram*, *MDAFA*, IX, Paris.
- Hackin, J., J.-R. Hackin, J. Carl and P. Hamelin, et al., 1954, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram (1939-40)*, 2 vols, *MDAFA*, XI, Paris.
- Hackin, J., J. Carl and J. Meunié, 1959, *Diverses recherches archéologiques en Afghanistan (1933-40)*, *MDAFA*, VII, Paris.
- Mac Dowall, D., 2002, 'The Rabatak inscription and the Nameless Kushan king', *Cairo to Kabul. Afghan and Islamic Studies presented to Ralph Pinder-Wilson*, London, pp. 163-9.
- Mehendale, S., 1997, *Begram: New Perspectives on the Ivory and Roman Carvings*, University of California, Berkeley (Doctoral Thesis), UMI Microform 9803296.
- Olivier-Utard, Fr., 1997, *Politique et Archéologie - Histoire de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan (1922-82)*, Paris.
- Sims-Williams, N. and J. Cribb, 1995/6, 'A New Bactrian inscription of Kanishka the Great', *Silk Road Art & Archaeology*, 4, 75-142.
- Widemann, Fr., 1972, 'Une surfrappe de Gondophares sur Hermaios . . .', *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique*, 27, pp. 147-51.







13



14



15



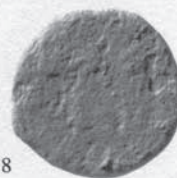
16



17



18



19



20



21



22

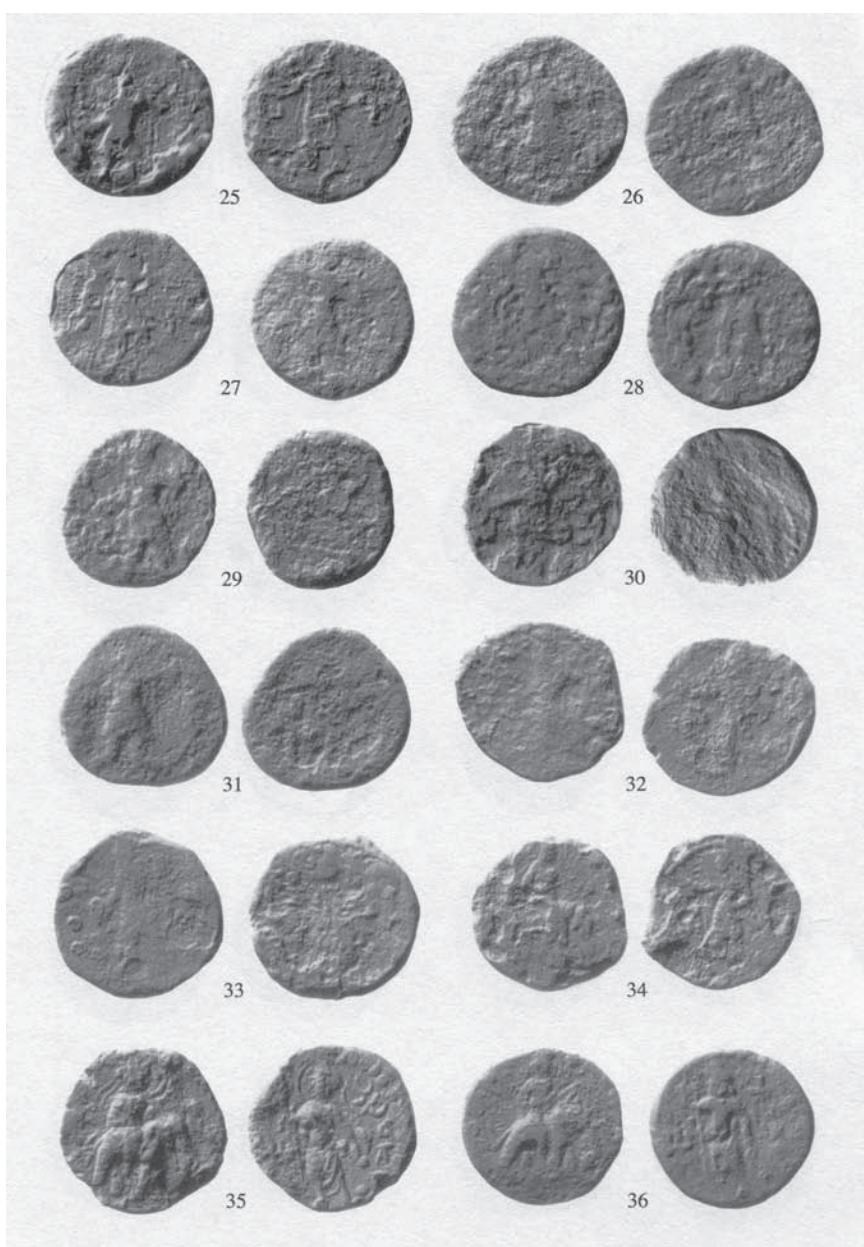


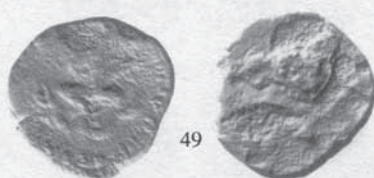
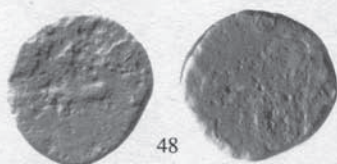
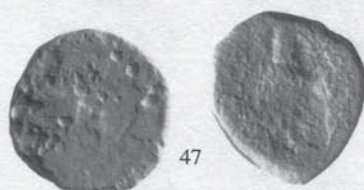
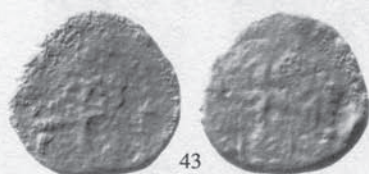
23



24



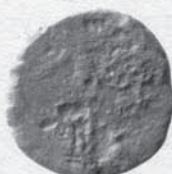




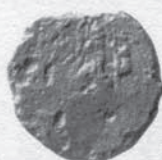




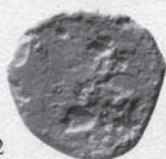
50



51



52



53



54



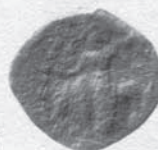
55



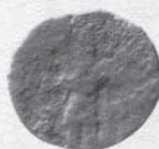
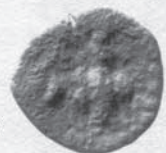
56



57



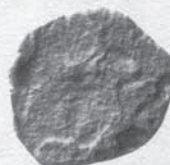
58



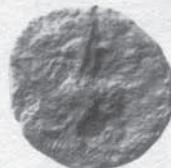
59



60



61



62



63





64



65



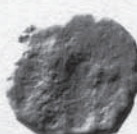
66



67



68



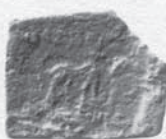
69



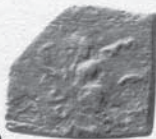
70



78



79



80



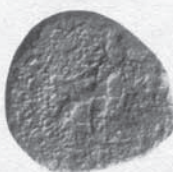
81



82



83





84



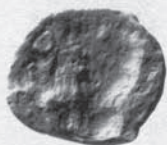
85



86



87



88



89



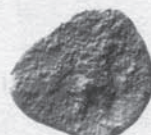
90



91



92



93



94



95



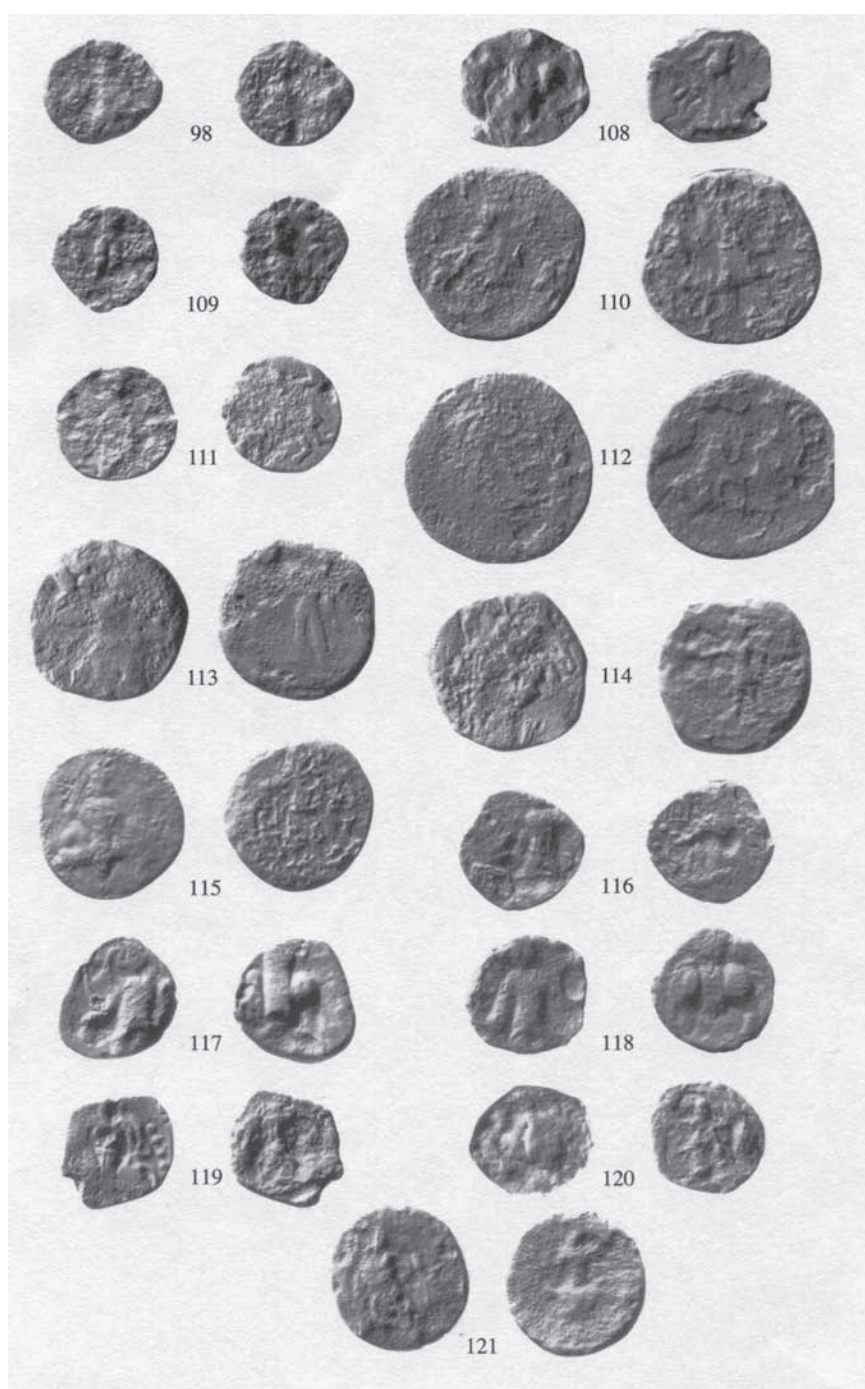
96



97














## Sabedana or Sarpadana\*

R.C. Senior, in his recent *Catalogue of Indo-Scythian Coins* (p. 175, type 252.2D & 252.3.3D), published three drachms which he attributes to a certain ‘Sarpedones’, who seemed to have ruled in the Sind area of Pakistan. The Kharoshthi legend on the reverse of his coins is either off flan or completely worn. Senior has proposed the following reading for the name of the king in Prakrit: *Sabedanasa*. A fourth specimen of the same series in better condition, at least as far as the Kharoshthi legend of the king’s name is concerned, surfaced recently. This coin entered the private collection of M. Riaz Babar and I am most grateful to him for authorizing me to publish it. According to him, the coin was found in the Zhob Valley, not far from Murgha, in Baluchistan. A hoard of more than 300 coins that R.C. Senior attributes to Parata rajas also surfaced at the same time. This hoard is now being studied and I hope to publish it next year.



The obverse and reverse types are similar to the ones that Senior has published in his catalogue.

- Obv.* Bust to left wearing a tiara. The beard tied at the chin. The cloak around the neck, pinned over the left shoulder. To left in the field the Gondopharid symbol: . Legend in Greek seems to be: BICHΔWN . . . BACIA . . .
- Rev.* Nike without wings, standing to left, holding a wreath in her right hand and palm with her left arm. To right . Legend in Kharoshthi:  . . . . . [    : maharaja[sa] . . .
- [*dhra*]miasa/sarpadanasa.

With regard the obverse Greek legend, I am certain of ‘BACIA . . .’ which stands for Βασιλεως, starting at 12 o’clock. I have more doubts than certainty concerning the rest of the visible legend on the coin. The first three letters starting at 7 o’clock could be ‘BIC’. The fourth letter looks like  and it could

\*Reprinted from *ONS Newsletter*, no. 169, Autumn 2001, p. 21.

be a 'N', like on the Naštēn coin (see Bopearachchi and Grenet 1993 and Bopearachchi, 1997), or 'K'. The fifth is a 'Δ', the sixth perhaps a cursive *omega*, and the last letter a 'N'. Our coin is very similar in style to that of R.C. Senior's 252.3D. Senior proposes IKΔWN for this part of the legend.

I personally do not see in Senior's illustrations the legend in Greek which seems to read the name of the king: 'CAPINΔ'. However, the Kharoshthi legend on our coin reads clearly  $\text{𑀲𑀸𑀭𑀢𑀺𑀲𑀺}$ , *sa-rpa-da-na-sa*. The letter that Senior reads as *be*:  $\text{𑀲}$  is no doubt *rpa*:  $\text{𑀢𑀺}$ . I am most grateful to Harry Falk for helping me to decipher this letter correctly. As he well observed, this reading tallies better to Sarpedones as Senior reconstructs the name of the king in Greek. More examples may help us, one day, to propose a better reading of the Greek legend on the obverse.

## REFERENCES

- Bopearachchi, O. and Fr. Grenet (1993), 'Naštēn, un souverain iranien inconnu entre Grecs et Kouchans', *Studia Iranica*, 22: 299-307.
- Bopearachchi, O. (1997), 'Naštēn, a hitherto unknown Iranian ruler in India', *Studies in Silk Road Coins and Culture, Silk Road. Art and Archaeology*, Special Volume, Kamakura, pp. 67-74.
- Senior, R.C. (2000), *Catalogue of Indo-Scythian Coins*, Butleigh.

## Some Observations on the Chronology of the Early Kushans\*

Among all the inscriptions dealing with the Kushan dynasty, there is no doubt that the Rabatak inscription, was the most informative source of information on the genealogy of the ancestors of the Kushan king Kanishka I, on the expansion of his kingdom, and on his affiliation to Iranian and Indian divinities.<sup>1</sup> The inscription further records that Kanishka's great-grandfather was King Vima Tak(tu) or (to). Excited by the discovery of the new king whose name had not previously been deciphered on the coins, Joe Cribb<sup>2</sup> proposed to identify this new king with the anonymous king popularly known as 'Soter Megas'. He was certainly a king, because he takes the title βασιλεύς on his coins, yet without revealing his exact identity, he qualifies himself as σωτήρ μέγας 'great saviour' in the nominative case, instead of the usual genitive. Only a few numismatists<sup>3</sup> shared Cribb's opinion but in many sale catalogues the coins of the so-called Soter Megas are now classified as 'Vima Taktu', in spite of the serious objections made by a certain number of scholars against Cribb's hypothesis.<sup>4</sup>

The recent discovery of a large coin hoard containing more than 4,000 gold coins struck by Vima Kadphises and his son Kanishka throws new light on the question. The hoard, reported to have been found recently at Pipal Mandi in Peshawar in a bronze vase. It is also reported that some coins were smelted immediately. I have so far been able to examine personally about 90 coins of

\* Reprinted from *Des Indo-Grecs aux Sassanides: Données pour l'histoire et la géographie historique, Res Orientales*, XVII, 2007, pp. 41-53.

My sincere thanks are due to Gérard Fussman, Nicholas Sims-Williams, Paul Bernard, Laura Giuliano, Frantz Grenet et François Thierry, who have very generously contributed to this study with their advice and guidance. I am grateful to Marion Tzamalīs, for making useful suggestions to improve the text, and to François Ory for the drawings. This article is based on the papers presented at the *18th International Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists*, on 5 July 2005, London, and at the French Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Paris, on 7 July 2006. A detailed article will be published in French in the next volume of the *Comptes Rendus, Académie des Inscriptions*.

<sup>1</sup> Sims-Williams in Sims-Williams/Cribb 1995-6: 75-96. For a critical review of all the inscriptions referring to Kushans, and on the erroneous interpretation of these documents by numismatists, see Fussman 1998.

<sup>2</sup> Cribb in Sims-Williams/Cribb 1995-6: 97-142.

<sup>3</sup> For example Senior 2001: 221 and Rtveladze 2002: 138-9, 142.

<sup>4</sup> For a summary of arguments put forward by Fussman 1998, Alram 1999, Göbl 1999, MacDowall 2002, against J. Cribb's hypothesis, see Bopearachchi 2001: 417-20.

this hoard (see no. 1), and once I have access to a significant number, I wish to publish them in a separate volume.

This hoard revealed the existence of hitherto unknown coin types and new denominations of Vima Kadphises and Kanishka I. As an example, one unpublished double-staters of Vima Kadphises, attested so far by two gold staters,<sup>5</sup> is illustrated here (see no. 2). The weight of the coin is 15.91 g.

*Obv.* Bearded and diademed king to r. in profile, under a parasol, on *biga*, wearing a rounded hat, carrying a club in the r. hand, held against r. shoulder. Before him diminutive charioteer to r. in profile, with a palm (?). Greek legend.<sup>6</sup>

*Rev.* Śiva naked, standing to front, head to l. with erect *liṅga*, holding in r. hand a *triśūla* (trident) adorned with a *paraśu* (axe-blade); an animal skin and a *kamaṇḍalu* (water pot) in l. hand. To r. a *tamga* and to l. *nandipada* symbol. The legend in Kharoshthi.<sup>7</sup>

The Peshawar hoard 2006 has so far brought to light two staters weighing respectively 7.94 and 7.93 g (see nos. 3, 4) depicting the same types. These two coins and the two other known staters<sup>8</sup> of the same series are struck with the same obverse and reverse dies. Compared to the double-staters, these four staters are characterized by minor differences:

- On the staters, the Greek legend on the obverse is separated at *BACIAEYC OOHM/O KAΔΦICHC*<sup>9</sup> and on the double-staters: *BACIAEYC OOH/MO KAΔΦICHC*.<sup>10</sup>
- Contrary to the staters, on the double-staters ‘H’ of ‘*KAΔΦICHC*’ takes the form of ‘K’, and I shall return to this point later.
- On the staters, the object that the charioteer holds, often described as whip, looks more like a palm on the double-staters.<sup>11</sup>
- On the reverse of the staters the *nandipada* is to l. and the *tamga* to r., and on the double-staters the *nandipada* is to r. and the *tamga* to l.
- On the staters, the *triśūla* that Śiva holds is adorned with a *paraśu* and a *vajra*, on the double-staters the *vajra* is omitted. It is not impossible that this object could also be a *ḍamaru* (drum), one of the attributes of Śiva.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Göbl 1984, type 5. Two out of three are gold coins (nos. 5.1, 5.2) and the other is apparently a copper coin (no. 5.3), see Göbl 1984: 100.

<sup>6</sup> Göbl 1984, Vima Kadphises, legend l.c.

<sup>7</sup> Göbl 1984, Vima Kadphises, legend 5.

<sup>8</sup> Göbl 1984, type 5, nos. 1, 2.

<sup>9</sup> Göbl 1984, Vima Kadphises, legend l.d.

<sup>10</sup> Göbl 1984, Vima Kadphises, legend l.c.

<sup>11</sup> See for example Rosenfield 1967: 23 (type II) who described it as a whip.

<sup>12</sup> On the significance of *ḍamaru* (drum) as an important attribute of Śiva, see Loth 2003: 92.

- Śiva is depicted completely naked on the staters and on the double-staters he wears a transparent mantle.

As far as I am concerned, the most interesting coins in the hoard are two staters struck by Vima Kadphises commemorating his father Vima Takto or Takdo (see nos. 5, 6).<sup>13</sup> I was personally able to examine these two staters.

*Obv.* Bust of the bearded king to r. wearing a high rounded hat, holding a club in r. hand, held against r. shoulder. He is also shown with the flaming shoulders, and wearing himation held by clasp on the r. shoulder. Body emerges from rock or cloud-like shapes. *Tamga* to 1. The legend in Greek: *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΧΣ* (see no. 7).<sup>14</sup>

*Rev.* Śiva naked, standing, both body and head facing the viewer, holding in r. hand a *triśūla* adorned with *paraśu*, *vajra* and *cakra*. He holds a *kamaṇḍalu* in l. hand. An animal skin is draped over his r. hand. The god is probably three-headed, and I shall discuss this point later. Some traces of the sacred cord (*upevīte*) passing under the right shoulder and over the chest are quite visible. The absence of *tamga* and *nandipada* symbol are to be noted.

I wish to express my gratitude to Nicholas Sims-Williams and Gérard Fussman who helped me to decipher the legend on the reverse. It starts slightly after 12 o'clock. Two slightly different readings were proposed based on no. 5 in a good state of preservation.

Nicholas Sims-Williams reads<sup>15</sup>: *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗΜ.Ο-ΤΑΚΔΟΟΥ ΚΟΟ Π.ΑΟΥ ΥΙΟC*.

Sims-Williams is of the opinion that the name *ΟΟΗΜΟ* on both sides is uninflected because it is treated as the first part of a compound name. He also observes that it has grammatically correct Greek endings. He suggests that one can read the obverse and reverse inscriptions as a single phrase: 'King Vima Kadphises/son of king Vima Takdu the Kushan'.

Gérard Fussman proposes to read<sup>16</sup>: *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΚΝΟΤ'ΚΔΟΟΥ ΚΟΟ Π.ΑΟΥ ΥΙΟC*, and translates as 'le fils du roi Vima-Takdu'. He also suggests that the name should not be separated *ΟΟΚΝΟ/ΤΥΚΔΟΟΥ*, but should be read as *ΟΟΚΝΟΤΥΚΔΟΟΥ*, in another words Vima-takdu. His argument is based on the fact that the genitive is introduced only to the final word.

The drawing (Figure 1) that I propose here takes into consideration both propositions. It is also interesting to observe that there is much hesitation in transliteration of the legend on both sides. On the obverse, *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ* is written *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥC*. The '*ΟΟΗΜΟ*' which is found on the later series (see for example nos. 3, 4) is written '*ΟΟΚΥΟ*'. On the coin no. 6, 'M' is more

<sup>13</sup> It is also possible that the hoard may have had some more pieces of this category.

<sup>14</sup> The obverse is closer to type V of Rosenfield 1967 and type 14 of Göbl 1984.

<sup>15</sup> Personal communication.

<sup>16</sup> Personal communication.





FIGURE 1: Drawings by François Ory (CNRS, Paris) based on the coin no. 5.

elaborately engraved. The name of the king is written on later issues as: *KAΔΦICTHC* (see for example nos. 3, 4), but on these two coins: ‘*KAΔΦICTC*’. A similar legend can also be seen on the coins depicting the same obverse type issued by Vima Kadphises, most probably at the very beginning of his reign.<sup>17</sup> One stater of this series from the same Peshawar hoard 2006 is illustrated here, see no. 7. The hesitation in transliteration which can be seen on the obverse is also valid for the legend on the reverse of these two coins. In *BACIAETC* instead of ‘*BAΣIAEΩΣ*’, lunate sigma and cursive omega are to be noted. In ‘*OOHMO*’ the ‘*H*’, as on the obverse, takes the form of a ‘*K*’ and the ‘*M*’ has the form of ‘*N*’. On the second coin, no. 6, the ‘*H*’ seems to be correctly engraved. The way *Kushanou* is written is once again awkward, because of the missing ‘*N*’ before ‘*O*’. This mistake may have been caused by the little space left for ‘*YIOC*’.<sup>18</sup> The size of the letters of the last word are quite small compared to the ones appearing at the beginning of the legend.<sup>19</sup> It appears as if the engraver has no experience in transliterating the name of Vima Takto, and proceeds by trial and error. The ‘*P*’ is written twice when transliterating ‘*Kushanou*’ and these two letters are clear on the second coin no. 6. The conclusion to be drawn from these observations is that these commemorative coins were issued at the very beginning of the reign of Vima Kadphises. This series was most probably followed by the type 2 of R. Göbl 1984, represented here by the coin no. 7 from the Peshawar hoard.

The representation of Śiva on the reverse deserves a long treatment. Since the main aim of this paper is to discuss the questions concerning the chronology of early Kushans, a separate study is being undertaken by Laura Giuliano and myself to discuss in detail the early Śiva and other Hindu deities in Indian iconography in the Gandhāra region. However, it is necessary to emphasize

<sup>17</sup> Göbl 1984, type 2.

<sup>18</sup> This observation was made by Fussman (personal communication).

<sup>19</sup> This type of engraving mistake is also present on Indo-Greek coins, see Boppearachchi 2002.

that this is one of the earliest representations of Śiva in India, and undoubtedly the earliest of the Kushan period. The naked Śiva, without erect *linga* depicted on this series is modelled on the image of Heracles portrayed on the coins of Kujula Kadphises,<sup>20</sup> grandfather of Vima Kadphises. The skin draped around Śiva's left hand could also be inspired by the lion skin that the Greek god Heracles holds on the coins of Kujula Kadphises which are in turn modelled on the Greek, Parthian and Scythian prototypes inaugurated by the Graeco-Bactrian Demetrios I.<sup>21</sup>

However, the divinity depicted on this series is meant to be Śiva.<sup>22</sup> He seems to be three-headed. The head on the left appears to be that of *mṛga* (antelope) and the one on the right looks more human.<sup>23</sup> On some other coins (see for example nos. 2-4) he also seems to have the same type of an animal head on the right.<sup>24</sup> On this series, since the god is depicted facing left, the third head on the left is hidden. If it is the head of an antelope, we have here Śiva as Paśupati.<sup>25</sup> What is more fascinating in this iconography is the *triśūla* adorned with *vajra*, *paraśu*,<sup>26</sup> and *cakra*.<sup>27</sup> We are in front of syncretic deity, before the polarization and codification of symbols which take place at a later stage in the Hindu iconography where each god is equipped with stereotyped attributes. He has the *kamaṇḍalu* of Brahmā,<sup>28</sup> *vajra* of Indra,<sup>29</sup> and *cakra* of Viṣṇu,<sup>30</sup> even his *triśūla* may have derived from the Greek tradition.<sup>31</sup> After all Śiva is Mahādeva, and he has the right to borrow the attributes of the other gods of the Hindu pantheon. Śiva is identified with Indra in the Veda, in fact, in *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (IV.5.5) and in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (IX.28.3) he is called by Indra's epith 'sehesrākṣa', the one with thousand eyes. In *Rgveda* (II.33.2-4) he is called 'vajravāhu' the one with *vajra* in his hand.

What do we learn from this new series ?

<sup>20</sup> Rosenfield 1967: pl. 1, nos. 1-3; Mitchiner 1978: 390-1, nos. 2860-72; Bopearachchi 1997: 196-7, nos. 35 and 39.

<sup>21</sup> Bopearachchi 1991: pl. 4, nos. 1-6.

<sup>22</sup> On the iconography of Śiva on Kushan coinage, see Cribb 1997.

<sup>23</sup> Also see Göbl 1984, types 1-4.

<sup>24</sup> Göbl 1984, type 5.

<sup>25</sup> Śiva is already called Paśupati in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, III.33-34 and in *Maitrēyaṇī Saṃhitā*, IV.2.12.

<sup>26</sup> *Paraśu* is one of the attributes of Śiva, see Loth 2003: 93.

<sup>27</sup> On the evolution and development of *triśūla* in early Hindu iconography, see Giuliano 2004.

<sup>28</sup> See Loth 2003: 46-7.

<sup>29</sup> See Loth 2003: 187-8. This object could also be a *ḍamaru* (drum), one of Śiva's main attributes, see Loth 2003: 92.

<sup>30</sup> See Loth 2003: 54.

<sup>31</sup> Giuliano 2004: 70, is of the opinion that '... the transition from *śūla* to *triśūla* may represent a sort of interpretative "model" to understand many of the phenomena of cultural interaction between the classical and Indian worlds in these frontier regions: a process that saw on the one hand the progressive Indianization of the Hellenistic element, and on the other hand Hellenization of the local *substratum*.'

- As I have argued already, this series should be considered as the earliest issues of Vima Kadphises. He thus began his reign by commemorating his father, as if it was necessary to insist upon the genealogy of his ancestors in order to proclaim that he was the rightful heir to the Kushan throne.

Greek kings in Bactria and India who reigned prior to the arrival of Kushans had issued such commemorative coins mainly to justify their legitimacy to the throne. The most notable sovereign in this respect is Eucratides. Justin (XLI, 6) says that a certain Demetrios was overthrown by the usurper Eucratides, who became a powerful king in Bactria and invaded parts of India. The commemorative coins issued by this ruler bear witness to this fact. On the reverse of these coins commemorating his parents Heliocles and Laodice, one may observe that his mother wears the royal diadem but not his father.<sup>32</sup> However, Eucratides may have wished to legitimize his kingship at least on his mother's side by issuing these commemorative series.

Compared to Eucratides who was a usurper, Vima Kadphises, by minting at the beginning of his reign coins commemorating his father, proclaimed that he was the legal heir to the throne. The message that he wished to put across was that, like his father, he is also a Kushan, the title his grandfather adopted at the tail-end of his coin series: *Kujula kasa kushana yavugasa dhramatidasa* (of Kujula Kadphises, Kushan chief yagbu, steadfast in the law)<sup>33</sup> or *kuyula kadaphasa kushanasa* (of Kujula Kadaphises, the Kushan).<sup>34</sup>

- The king commemorated by Vima Kadphises in issuing this series is Vima Taktu, his father. If this Vima Taktu was the same as the so-called 'Soter Megas', as assumed by J. Cribb, one would expect to see his titles or one of his main coin types (Zeus-Mithra<sup>35</sup> or king mounted on horse<sup>36</sup>), or at least his *tamga* on the reverse. On the contrary, what we see on this commemorative series, is the naked Śiva, as emphasized earlier, modelled on the image of Heracles portrayed on the coins of Kujula Kadphises,<sup>37</sup> grandfather of Vima Kadphises.
- This new series marks a clear-cut break in Vima Kadphises' coinage with that of 'Soter Megas'. While Soter Megas proclaims his attachment to the Iranian god, Mithra,<sup>38</sup> Vima Kadphises declares openly in image

<sup>32</sup>Bopearachchi 1991; Eucratides, series 13-16.

<sup>33</sup>Bopearachchi 1997: 190-8; Mitchiner 1978: nos. 2898-2903.

<sup>34</sup>Mitchiner 1978: nos. 2880-1.

<sup>35</sup>Mitchiner 1978: nos. 2923-3002.

<sup>36</sup>Mitchiner 1978: nos. 2915-19 for king mounted on horse on the obverse; nos. 2923-3002 for king mounted on horse on the reverse.

<sup>37</sup>Rosenfield 1967: pl. 1, nos 1-3; Mitchiner, 1978: 390-1, nos. 2860-72; Bopearachchi 1997: 196-7, nos. 35, 39 and 40.

<sup>38</sup>The principal coin type of 'Soter Megas' is Zeus-Mithra, see Grenet 2001. For the coin types, see Mitchiner 1978: nos. 2923-3002.

and in writing that he is an adherent of Śiva. Only Śiva<sup>39</sup> or his attributes<sup>40</sup> are depicted on his gold and bronze coinages. On the bronze coins, written in Gāndhārī and Kharoshthi, he declares that he is a *sarvalogaisvara* (worshipper of Śiva).<sup>41</sup>

As Vima Kadphises marks the rupture with the coinage of Soter Megas by introducing a bimetallic (gold and bronze) system, new iconography and new denominations, Soter Megas had also marked his difference with Kujula Kadphises, the founder of the Kushan dynasty, and his predecessor, by introducing new types and denominations. The coins of Kujula, with on the obverse a larger bust of the king, and on the reverse Heracles standing, facing, holding club characterized by the legend *kujula kasa kushana yavugasa dhramatidasa*, are struck according to the Indian standard (tetradrachm weighing 8.60 g).<sup>42</sup> The coins of his immediate successor, Soter Megas, adopts a weight of 8.5 g close to the Attic standard.<sup>43</sup> When examining the coins of Vima Kadphises, J.M. Rosenfield rightly observed a long time ago that: 'There are, on the whole, such radical differences in material and style between the coins of Vima and those of Kujula that the direct succession from one king to the other would seem improbable if it were not attested by other sources.'<sup>44</sup>

Contrary to the hypothesis put forward by J. Cribb, there is no link between the coins of Soter Megas and the coins with bull and camel which he attributes to Vima Taktu.<sup>45</sup> If Soter Megas was Vima Taktu, why did he not engrave his personal name on his principal coinage depicting Zeus-Mithra and mounted horseman, like his father, Kujula Kadphises.<sup>46</sup> It is also logical to ask, if Soter Megas was Vima Taktu, why the latter, who is considered by J. Cribb to be the legal successor of Kujula Kadphises, did not take the dynastic title 'Kushan'

<sup>39</sup>Göbl 1984, types 1-8, 10-20; 760-5.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., type 9.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., type 762.

<sup>42</sup>Bopearachchi 1997: 190-8. MacDowall 1968: 40, as early as 1968 correctly observed that 'In their use of weight standard and systems, there is, however, a most remarkable distinction between Kujula Kadphises and Soter Megas. Except in the Roman head issue, Kujula Kadphises issued denominations that are derived in one way or another from the Indian weight standard. Soter Megas, on the other hand, normally uses the Attic standard of Bactrian origin even in his local coinage in the south-east Punjab, where there had incidentally been an Indian standard coinage of billon drachms struck by Kujula Kadphises in the Strato-Rujuvula sequence. Moreover, the only issue that Soter Megas struck on the Indian weight standard—the billon tetradrachms and drachms in the Zeus right mint of W. Gandhāra—is derived not from any coinage of Kujula Kadphises but from the fairly long Pahlava sequence of Aspavarma, Sasan and Abdagases.'

<sup>43</sup>'The general coinage of Soter Megas which is struck in copper to a fairly close weight standard of 8.0 to 8.5 gm. seems to be a new denomination introduced by Soter Megas.' see MacDowall 1968: 40.

<sup>44</sup>Rosenfield 1967: 19.

<sup>45</sup>Cribb in Sims-Williams/Cribb 1995-6: 140-2.

<sup>46</sup>Mitchiner 1978: nos. 2880-1; 2898-2903. I raised this question five years back, and up to now, no one has answered it, see Bopearachchi 2001: 419.

as Kujula Kadphises and his descendants like Vima Kadphises (nos. 5, 6) and Kanishka did.<sup>47</sup> How can the timid appearance of his name (Vema Tak[ho]) be justified on an isolated series<sup>48</sup> that has no link whatsoever with the principal coinage of Soter Megas? Likewise, we are faced with many questions that we have to answer before proposing an easy solution.

It is now clear that Soter Megas was not Vima Taktu. Soter Megas emerges as an isolated ruler who has nothing in common with his immediate predecessor, Kujula Kadphises, and his immediate successor, Vima Kadphises. It is not by accident that coins of Soter Megas were found in isolation in many hoards.<sup>49</sup> As we have seen already, Soter Megas' coinage is radically different from his predecessor and successor in its symbols, legends, denominations and above all in its types. All these aspects seem to point to the fact that Soter Megas was a usurper. Gérard Fussman was correct to suggest that Soter Megas was a usurper who has interrupted, for a generation at least, the regular succession of Kujula's descendants.<sup>50</sup>

If Soter Megas emerges as a usurper how should he be placed chronologically? How can we explain the real role of Vima Taktu, whose name is mentioned in the Rabatak inscription and now on the new commemorative series as the father of Vima Kadphises, yet whose existence is known to us through an extremely limited and isolated coinage?

According to the Chinese annals, *Hou Honshu*, the yagbu who unified the Kushan empire was called Qiujiuque. There is a general agreement among the historians and numismatists to identify him, as Kujula Kadphises whose name appear on the coins as *KOZOΛO KΑΔΑΦΕΣ* or *KOZOΛΑ KΑΔΑΦΕΣ* in Greek and *kujula kasa* or *kuyula kaphsa* in Kharoshthi.<sup>51</sup> According to the same annals, Qiujiuque invaded the kingdom of Anxi<sup>52</sup> and captured Gaofu (Kabul), then Puda (Pushkalavati) and Jibin (Cashmere) and died at the age of eighty.<sup>53</sup>

We are able to date approximately the reign of Kujula Kadphises by combining the Chinese sources and the numismatic evidence. Kujula may be responsible for minting some series first imitating the types of posthumous

<sup>47</sup> Göbl 1984, see for example type 31.

<sup>48</sup> Cribb in Sims-Williams/Cribb 1995-6: 177-8.

<sup>49</sup> The Phalai Hoard close to Malakad Agency contained nearly 500 pieces, the hoard of Chakdara 250 pieces and the Barikot hoard 300 pieces.

<sup>50</sup> 'C'est désormais une solution plus simple que de considérer Sôter Megas comme un usurpateur kouchan, ayant interrompu pour une génération la succession régulière des descendants de Kujula Kadphisès, un peu comme Napoléon venu s'intercaler entre Louis XVI et Louis XVIII', Fussman 1998: 612.

<sup>51</sup> See for example, Rosenfield 1967: 11; Fussman 1998: 637; Thierry 2005: 470-3. For the coin types see Bopearachchi/Pieper 1998: 272, nos. 319-24; Senior 2001, vol. II: 220, types B5-B11.

<sup>52</sup> Perhaps the possession of the Indo-Parthians south of the Hindu Kush.

<sup>53</sup> For an excellent translation of the Chinese annals concerning this period, see Thierry 2005. For the texts concerning Qiujiuque's conquests, see Thierry 2005: 493, text 7, and for the commentary 478.

Hermaios coins in the Arachosia and Paropamisadae regions. As I have shown elsewhere,<sup>54</sup> summarizing all the hypotheses put forward by various numismatists, the key to the understanding of the decadence of Indo-Greek power in the regions of the Paropamisadae and Gandhāra by the Yuezhi (who later came to be known as the Kushans), lies in the different coinages struck in the name of Hermaios. The Yuezhi, who had invaded Bactria, crossed the Hindu Kush mountains, the natural rampart which had once protected the Mauryan empire from Greek expansion and later the Indo-Greek kingdom from nomad invasion, and conquered the Paropamisadae and Gandhāra, dethroning Hermaios, c. 70 BC. They were no doubt the same nomads who, having conquered Bactria, copied the silver tetradrachms of Heliocles I, the last Greek king to rule north of the Hindu Kush. After penetrating into the Paropamisadae, the same nomad conquerors began, as they were accustomed to, to imitate the coins of Hermaios, the last Greek king to rule in these regions. This is also revealed by the find spots of his coins, both lifetime and posthumous, found in large quantities in the Paropamisadae, Gandhāra and the region of Gardez-Ghazni.<sup>55</sup>

The male portrait on the obverse of a regional issue of Kujula Kadphises has been taken from Roman coinage.<sup>56</sup> As Rosenfield has correctly seen, when observing especially the treatment of details of the profile and the hair in particular, Kujula's portrait resembles more to the Roman emperor Augustus.<sup>57</sup> Likewise the silver denarii of Augustus which were used as model for the coins of this series, give a clear *terminus post quem* for the dating of these posthumous issues in the name of Hermaios.

Apart from the coin sequence,<sup>58</sup> we have at our disposal more evidence to show how both the Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian kingdoms collapsed as a result of the invasion by the Kushanas under Kujula Kadphises. A series of overstrikes shows that there was an intermediate period between the bronze posthumous coins of Hermaios and the Kujula Kadphises coins. The first series is that of the Indo-Parthian Gondophares over a posthumous bronze coin of Hermaios. Apart from the known examples, I have added here another unpublished coin of Gondophares overstruck on a bronze coin of Hermaios (see no. 8). When the coin is turned 180°, one can observe on the obverse half the portrait of Hermaios to right and a part of his Greek legend. On the reverse, to the left of Nike, the enthroned Zeus making the same gesture as on the Hermaios coin can be seen. The overtype of Gondophares is attested by his

<sup>54</sup>Bopearachchi 1997.

<sup>55</sup>For a detailed study of the question, see Bopearachchi 1997: 190-8.

<sup>56</sup>Senior 2001, vol. II: 220, nos. B7-B9.

<sup>57</sup>Rosenfield 1967: 13. He further argues (1967: 13-14) that the seated figure on the reverse of this series, wearing long trousers, a high pointed hat and boots and carrying a sword, is the depiction of Kujula himself (for this type see, Senior 2001, vol. II: 220, no. B9).

<sup>58</sup>I have not discussed here all the coins series of Kujula Kadphises, they are already well presented by Rosenfield 1967: 12-16. One may also consult, for the coin types, Senior 2001, vol. II: 219-20.



portrait and a section of his legend on the obverse and on the reverse by Nike standing holding a crown.<sup>59</sup>

Gondophares, the founder of the Indo-Parthian kingdom, may have begun his rule towards the end of Azes II's reign. The very rare issues of good silver of Gondophares that preceded most of his debased silver tetradrachms may suggest that he began his rule just before the period of debasement.<sup>60</sup> The key document for the dating of Gondophares' reign is the inscription on a dedicatory plaque from Takht-i-Bahi which gives the year 26 as his regnal year and year 103 as the year of the era according to which his reign begins. I share the opinion of those scholars for whom the first year of his reign is AD 20, considering the Azes era to be the Vikrama era.<sup>61</sup> I cannot possibly pass over the new inscription, published by Richard Salomon, referring to an Indo-Greek era, in silence.<sup>62</sup> The inscription bears a triple date referring to the eighth day of Śrāvaṇa in the regnal year 27 of Vijayamitra, 'the year 73 of the year which is called "of Azes",' and the year 201 'of the Greeks (*yoṇaṇa*)'. According to Richard Salomon, since the Azes era is apparently the same as the modern Vikrama era, the date of the inscription would correspond to approximately AD 15.<sup>63</sup> He then deduces that this collocation of dates enables us to specify the epoch of the 'year of the Greeks' as 186/5. In his article he put forward all the arguments which can be used for or against this hypothesis. Personally, I agree basically with the assumption that the Azes era is equivalent to the Vikrama era and the Indo-Greek era to 186/5.

I still find it difficult to accept the 78th year (of an unspecified era), of the great king, Moga (Maues) the Great of the copper-plate inscription of Patika as belonging to the same era. If the Greek era is to be dated to 186/5, who was the Greek ruler who founded it? According to the chronology that I proposed in 1991, Agathocles reigned over the Indian territories around 185 BC.<sup>64</sup> As the creator of bilingual Indo-Greek coinage and commemorative medals, Agathocles was great enough to inaugurate this new era. There are also two more candidates, Demetrios I and Menander I. Personally, I have always had a preference for Menander. As I have shown elsewhere, the reign of Menander has to be considered as central because he was no doubt the most important Greek king that ever ruled in the Indian territories. However, I have to admit that there is no possibility of pushing Menander's reign back to as early as 186/5 BC.<sup>65</sup> So, we are now left with Demetrios I. Strabo (XI, xi, 1) quoting from Apollodoros of Artemita, says that among the Greek kings who conquered India,

<sup>59</sup>For the type of Gondophares, see Senior 2001, vol. II: 150, type 213. For the undertype see Bopearachchi 1991: pls. 58-9, s. 20.

<sup>60</sup>For a detailed discussion on this point, see Bopearachchi 1999: 134-9.

<sup>61</sup>Konow 1929: 57-65 and Sircar 1966: 245.

<sup>62</sup>Salomon 2005.

<sup>63</sup>Salomon 2005: 361-2.

<sup>64</sup>Bopearachchi 1991: 56-9.

<sup>65</sup>See on this question, Bopearachchi 1999: 120-1.

Menander and Demetrios, son of Euthydemos the king of the Bactrians, played an important role. Taking advantage of the decadence of the Mauryan empire, Demetrios I may have conquered the territories south of the Hindu Kush. Apart from Strabo's testimony, and Demetrios I is shown on his silver coinage wearing an elephant's scalp symbolizing India.<sup>66</sup> According to my chronology, Demetrios' reign ended somewhere around 190 BC.<sup>67</sup> Is there a possibility to have him reign until 180? Paul Bernard,<sup>68</sup> when publishing the newly-found Greek inscription from the Kuliab area in Tadjikistan does not exclude this possibility. The inscription is a dedication by a certain Heliodotos to the Goddess Hestia of a fire altar erected during the reign of Euthydemos, described as the greatest of all the kings.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore the inscription refers to his son Demetrios Kalinikos, glorious conqueror. Paul Bernard is correct to assume that the glorious victories to which the inscription refer may have taken place during the siege of Bactra by Antiochos III who came to re-conquer the lost territories of the Eastern satrapies. It was Demetrios, son of Euthydemos I, who was appointed by his father to finalize the agreement which brought a reconciliation between his father and Antiochos III. According to Polybius' account (XI, 39), during the siege of Bactra 208-206, Demetrios was still a young man of 16 to 18 years. Paul Bernard thinks that the portrait on his earliest issues shows Demetrios as a man of 30. So the young prince, who was at most 18 in 206, would not have begun his reign before 190 BC and the conquest of Indian territories could easily be dated somewhere around 186/5 BC.

Let us come back to Gondophares. The epigraphic evidence and the gradual debasement of coins enable us to fix his reign approximately in the period of AD 20-40. The second series of overstrikes is that of Kujula Kadphises on a bronze coin of Gondophares.<sup>70</sup> The evidence of overstrikes suggests that the bronze coinage came before that of Gondophares, and that the so-called joint coinage of Hermaios and Kujula came after that of Gondophares. The overstrikes of Kujula Kadphises on the coins of Gondophares indicate very clearly that Kujula brought to an end the Parthian rule in the Paropamisadae and Gandhāra. With the reign of Kujula Kadphises, lord of the Kushana clan, the Yuezhi came to be known as Kushans. So if this hypothesis is correct, the rise of the Kushana empire under Kujula Kadphises in the regions of the Paropamisadae and Gandhāra should be placed around the middle of the first century of our era. On the basis of already known data, I propose to place Kujula Kadphises' reign between AD 40-95.

<sup>66</sup>Bopearachchi 1991: pl. 4, s. 1-3.

<sup>67</sup>Bopearachchi 1991: 49-55.

<sup>68</sup>Bernard in Bernard/Pinault/Rougemont 2004: 338-56.

<sup>69</sup>Rougemont in Bernard/Pinault/Rougemont 2004: 353-7.

<sup>70</sup>Cf. Widemann, 1972: 147-51; Mitchiner, 1975-6: 735-6. Mitchiner's position about the bronzes in the name of Hermaios belonging to our group 7 is very ambiguous. In volume 3 of his catalogue, Mitchiner classifies these coins as genuine coins of Hermaios, but in volume 7, when he describes the overstrikes, he calls them 'posthumous Hermaios'.

Once the chronology of Kujula is fixed, we can examine the complex question of Soter Megas, the usurper, and Vima Taktu, son of Kujula Kadphises. According to *Hou Hanshu*, the second Kushan king, Yangaozhen, was the son of Qiujiuque (Kujula Kadphises), and he is credited with the destruction of Tianzhu (India). Having captured India, Yangaozhen appointed a general there to supervise and govern.<sup>71</sup> As suggested by François Thierry,<sup>72</sup> when we take into consideration that Kujula died at the age of eighty, his son may have ascended the throne at quite an advanced age. If we follow the information given in the Rabatak inscription to the letter, Qiujiuque was Kujula Kadphises and Yangaozhen would have been Vima Taktu.<sup>73</sup> However, as Gérard Fussman has astutely observed, phonetically Yangaozhen does not evoke any name of a known Kushan king. So, if we consider that Yangaozhen is Vima Taktu, it is only because the Rabatak inscription names Vima Taktu as the son of Kujula Kadphises.

If I was asked to write a scenario arranging the events discussed earlier, I would make this general—to whom Yangaozhen (Vima Taktu) confided India—the usurper whose name we may never know, in other words Soter Megas. This hypothesis deserves some careful thought, because it explains why Soter Megas became powerful enough to push the legitimate heir to the Kushan throne to a remote area where he apparently struck an extremely limited series of bronze coins with his name in Kaharoshthi. If these events really took place, therefore, Soter Megas and Vima Taktu may have been partial contemporaries. The finding of large quantities coins struck by Soter Megas from Mathura to Turkmenistan, indicates that his reign was long. Vima Taktu may have died some time before Soter Megas of old age.

Vima Kadphises, the legitimate heir to the Kushan throne, having defeated the usurper, may have been declared sole king of the whole Kushan empire. The appearance of the title 'Soter Megas' on some of his coins may indicate that he was the great saviour of the Kushan dynasty.<sup>74</sup> Gold coins of Vima Kadphises, as J.M. Rosenfield<sup>75</sup> correctly points out, 'testify to the élan of a conquistador in their symbols of triumph and their imperious, aggressive style'. The finding of more than 4,000 gold coins in the Peshawar treasure, the large majority of which were struck by Vima Kadphises, suggests a very prosperous monetary economy and an abundance of gold at his disposal. As discussed earlier, Vima Kadphises was the founder of a bimetallic monetary system based on gold and copper, putting an end to the bronze coinage of Kujula Kadphises and Soter Megas. The gold coinage of Vima Kadphises was moulded into a well-defined monetary pattern based on staters and double-staters. As the sole dynast of a vast kingdom, Vima Kadphises used his coin portraiture as a

<sup>71</sup> See Thierry 2005: 493, text 7; 524, text 35.

<sup>72</sup> Thierry 2005: 478-9.

<sup>73</sup> Thierry 2005: 493, text 7.

<sup>74</sup> Göbl, 1984, types 3, 760-4.

<sup>75</sup> Rosenfield 1967: 18.

medium of propaganda to impress his subjects. The flaming shoulders were meant to show that he possessed superhuman qualities.<sup>76</sup> Depicting Śiva alone on his coinage was another attempt to manifest his attachment to this Hindu god and to show that his religious beliefs were entirely different from those of his rival who usurped the throne of his father. It is for this reason that the commemorative medals struck at the very beginning of his reign to recall the memory of his father become significant.

One may ask how I justify in my scenario the mention of the name of Vima Taktu in the inscriptions of Māt and Dašt-e Nāwar. Gérard Fussman<sup>77</sup> expresses his doubts about the reading of the name of 'Vema Taksumaṣya' and his objections are to be taken into serious consideration, before making use of the contents of the inscription. Leaving the objections raised by Fussman aside, even if we accept that the reading of the name of Vema Ta(.) is certain, it is impossible to believe that the statue was erected by Vima Taktu himself because the true dynastic art of the Kushans, like their coinage, does not start before the reign of Vima Kadphises. Nothing will prevent us from supposing that the statue was erected by his son, Vima Kadphises.

At the end of the article on the Rabatak inscription, Nicholas Sims-Williams proposes the following reading for the Dašt-e Nāwar inscription: '[Greek:] (year) 279, (month) Gorpaios, (day) 15. [Bactrian:] of the king, the great salvation, Vima Taktu the Kushan, the righteous, the just, the god worthy of worship, who according to his own will has gained the kingship . . .'.<sup>78</sup> Once again, in spite of the objections raised by Fussman,<sup>79</sup> if we admit that the reading proposed by Sims-Williams is correct, we can always suggest that the inscription was engraved at the beginning of the reign of Vima Taktu, before his general 'Soter Megas' usurped the throne. The (Greek) year 279, mentioned in the inscription, can be related to the Yavana era which began in 186/5 BC. As we have seen earlier, we can place Vima Taktu's accession to the throne c. AD 95/4 without difficulty.<sup>80</sup> If we leave a few years more for the conquest of India by Vima Taktu and for the usurpation by his general, Soter Megas, we can place the latter chronologically c. AD 97.<sup>81</sup>

As I am intending to undertake a detailed study of the chronology of the early Kushans based on the new the numismatic evidence, i.e. recent coins

<sup>76</sup>Cf. Carter 1994: 32.

<sup>77</sup>Fussman 1998: 605-14.

<sup>78</sup>Sims-Williams in Sims-Williams/Cribb 1995-6: 75-96, esp. 95.

<sup>79</sup>Fussman 1998: 614-19. Concerning the inscription of Khalatse erroneously used by J. Cribb (in Sims-Williams/Cribb 1995-6: 100) to support his hypothesis, see Fussman 1998: 625-6.

<sup>80</sup>I have to confess that at present there is no absolute evidence to assume that Vima Taktu, probably mentioned in the Dašt-e Nāwar inscription, adopted the Greek era of 186/5. The chronological framework that I propose here is to be subjected to revision if new data come into light.

<sup>81</sup>See the preceding note. It is not impossible that Soter Megas had a longer reign starting c. AD 92.

hoards to which I now have access, I propose tentatively the following chronology:

---

Greek era founded by Graeco-Bactrian Demetrios	186/5 BC
Saka era or Vikrama era founded by Indo-Scythian Azes	57 BC
Reign of Gondophares, founder of the Indo-Parthian kingdom	AD 21-40
Reign of Kujula Kadphises, founder of the Kushan empire	AD 40-95 or AD 40-90
Reign of Vima Taktu	AD 95-100 or AD 90-95
Reign of the usurper Soter Megas	AD 97-110 or AD 92-110
Reign of Vima Kadphises	AD 100-27 or AD 105-27
Kanishka I	AD 127-150 <sup>82</sup>

---

## POSTSCRIPT

This article was based on two commemorative coins struck by Vima Kadphises in honour of his father. One year later two more coins with perfectly decipherable legends surfaced in the coin market. The article written in French 'Les premiers souverains kouchans: chronologie et iconographie monétaire', *Journal des Savants*, January-June 2008, pp. 30-56 (translated into English: 'The First Kushan Sovereigns: Chronology and Monetary Iconography'. See vol. II, chapter 7.) was a further development of the hypotheses put forward in the present article. The revised chronology is discussed in chapter 27.

<sup>82</sup> According to the hypothesis put forward by Falk 2001 on the basis of *Yavanajataka* written by Spujiddhvaja.

## REFERENCES

- Alram, M., 1999, 'Indo-Parthian and Early Kushan Chronology', in *Coins, Art, and Chronology: Essays on the pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, ed. M. Alram and D.E. Klimburg-Salter, Vienna, pp. 19-48.
- Bernard, P., G.J. Pinault and G. Rougemont, 2004, 'Deux nouvelles inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Centrale', *Journal des Savants*, pp. 227-356.
- Bopearachchi, O. 1991, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- , 1997, 'The Posthumous Coinage of Hermaios and the conquest of Gandhara by the Kushans', *Gandharan Art in Context. East-West Exchanges at the Crossroads of Asia*, ed. R. Allchin, B. Allchin, N. Kreitman and E. Errington, Cambridge, pp. 189-213.
- , 1999, 'Recent Coin Hoard Evidence on pre-Kushana Chronology', in *Coins, Art and Chronology: Essays on pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, ed. M. Alram and D.E. Klimburg-Salter, Vienna, pp. 99-149.
- , 2001, 'Les données numismatiques et la datation du bazar de Begram', *Topoi*, pp. 411-35.
- , 2002, 'Quelques observations sur la gravure des coins indo-grecs', *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique*, May, pp. 73-6.
- Bopearachchi, O. and O. Pieper, 1998, *Ancient Indian Coins*, Brépols, *Indicopleustoi* 11, Turnhout, 1998.

- Carter, M.L. (ed.), 1994, 'Coins and Kingship. Kanishka and Kushana dynasty', in *A Treasury of Indian Coins*, Bombay, pp. 29-38.
- Cribb, J., 1997, 'Shiva Images on Kushan and Kushano-Sasanian Coins', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology, Special Volume*, ed. K. Tanabe, J. Cribb and H. Wang, pp. 11-66.
- Falk, H., 2001, 'The Yuga Sphujiddhvaja and the Era of Kuṣāṇas', *Silk Road Art & Archaeology*, pp. 121-36.
- Fussman, G., 1998, 'L'inscription de Rabatak et l'origine de l'ère śaka', *Journal Asiatique*, pp. 571-651.
- Giuliano, L., 2004, 'Studies in Early Śaiva Iconography: (1) The Origin of the *triśūla* and Some Related Problems', *Silk Road Art & Archaeology* 10: 51-96.
- Göbl, R., 1984, *System und Chronologie der Münzprägung des Kuṣānreiches*, Vienna.
- , 1999, 'The Rabatak Inscription and the Date of Kanishka', in *Coins, Art, and Chronology: Essays on the pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, ed. M. Alram and D.E. Klimburg-Salter, Vienna, pp. 151-75.
- Grenet, F. 2001, 'Mithra dieu iranien: nouvelles données', *Topoi* 11: 35-58.
- Konow, S., 1929, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, part I, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions with the Exception of those of Aśoka*, Calcutta.
- Loth, A.-M., 2003, *Vēdisme et hindouisme. Images du Divin et des dieux*, Paris.
- Lüders, H., 1961, 'Mathurā Inscriptions', unpublished papers, ed. K. Janert, Göttingen.
- MacDowall, D., 1968, 'Soter Megas, the King of Kings, the Kushan', *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* 30: 28-48.
- , 2002, 'The Rabatak Inscription and the Nameless Kushan King', in *Cairo to Kabul. Afghan and Islamic Studies Presented to Ralph Pinder-Wilson*, London, pp. 163-9.
- Mitchiner, M., 1975-6, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, 9 vols., London.
- , 1978, *Oriental Coins and Their Values: The Ancient and Classical World 600 BC-AD 650*, London.
- Rosenfield, J.M., 1967, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- Rtveladze, E., 2002, 'O tipologii monet Kushana (Geraja-Sanaba)', *Drevnie i rannesrednevekove monety istoriko-kul'turnyx oblastej Uzbekistana* I, Tashkent, pp. 132-44.
- Salomon, R., 2005, 'The Indo-Greek Era of 186/5 BC in a Buddhist Reliquary Inscription', in *Afghanistan, ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest*, O. Bopearachchi and M.-F. Boussac (eds.), *Archeologies of the Indian Ocean*, Turnhout, pp. 359-401.
- Senior, R.C., 2001, *Indo-Scythian Coins and History*, 3 vols., London, 2001.
- Sims-Williams, N. and J. Cribb 1995-6, 'A New Bactrian Inscription of Kanishka the Great', *Silk Road Art & Archaeology* 4, pp. 75-142.
- Sircar, D.C., 1966, *Indian Epigraphy*, New Delhi.
- Thierry, F., 2005, 'Yuezhi et Kouchans. Pièges et dangers des sources chinoises', in *Afghanistan, ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest*, O. Bopearachchi and M.-F. Boussac (eds.), *Archeologies of the Indian Ocean*, Turnhout, pp. 421-539.
- Widemann, F., 1972, 'Une surfrappe de Gondophares sur Hermaïus et une autre de Kozoulo Kadphises sur Gondophares qui apportent deux jalons numismatiques à la chronologie entre les Indo-grecs et le début de l'empire kouchan', *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique* 27: 147-51.

## ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Group of gold coins of Vima Kadphises from the Peshawar Hoard.
2. AV. Double-staters. 15.91 g. 24 mm. Vima Kadphises. Peshawar Hoard. Unpublished.
3. AV. Stater. 7.94 g. 18 mm. Peshawar Hoard. Vima Kadphises, cf. R. Göbl, 1984, type 5.



4. AV. Stater. 7.93 g. 18 mm. Peshawar Hoard. Vima Kadphises, cf. R. Göbl, 1984, type 5.
5. AV. Stater. 7.86 g. 17.5 mm. Peshawar Hoard. Vima Kadphises commemorating his father, Vima Taktu. Unpublished.
6. AV. Stater. 7.71 g. 17 mm. Peshawar Hoard. Vima Kadphises commemorating his father, Vima Taktu. Unpublished.
7. AV. Stater. 7.72 g. 17 mm. Peshawar Hoard. Vima Kadphises, cf. R. Göbl, 1984, type 2.
8. AE. Tetradrachm. 7.95 g. 24 mm. Mir Zakah II Deposit. Gondophares (cf. R.C. Senior, type 213) overstruck on a bronze coin of posthumous Hermaios (cf. O. Bopearachchi, 1991, series 20). Unpublished.



1



## ‘Begram Stūpa Deposit: Further Study on the Origin of Kushan Gold’\*

It is our great pleasure to dedicate this article to the memory of Professor D.C. Sircar, one of the most prominent epigraphists and numismatists, who made outstanding contributions to our understanding of the early history of India. This paper is based on twenty-three gold Kushan and two Roman aurei deposited in a gold reliquary found accidentally most probably in the vicinity of the ancient site of Begram in Afghanistan.<sup>1</sup> Consisting of two parts (fig. 1 A-C), the gold reliquary’s outer surface is decorated with floral motifs and incrustations of corals and garnets. The bleu sapphire in cabochon on the top of the lid is mounted in an elaborate setting. The delicate workmanship and precious materials used, as well as the deposit of twenty-five gold coins, suggest that the reliquary was an important offering to a Buddhist establishment.

One of the significant elements of the hoard is the presence of two aurei along with the dinars of the early Kushan emperors. Out of the twenty-five gold coins deposited inside the reliquary, twenty-three are struck by three great and early Kushan emperors: Vima Kadphises, Kanishka I and Huvishka. The remaining two gold coins are of the Imperial Roman emperors Nero and Domitian. The composition of the hoard, contrary to the opinion of some numismatists, enables us to demonstrate once and for all that the gold used for striking a large number of Kushan gold issues was not recovered by melting Roman gold.

The aureus of the Roman emperor Nero struck in the year 64-65 could be taken as the *terminus ante quem* when dating the deposit. However, one has to bear in mind that the coin may have entered circulation in a later period.<sup>2</sup> Although it is impossible to date the aureus of Domitian with accuracy because of the coin’s bad state of preservation, we know that it should be dated somewhere between 81-96 CE. Domitian began his rule on the 14th of September 81 and was assassinated on the 18th of September 96.

If we leave the two Roman aurei aside, the oldest coin in the deposit is of Vima Kadphises. He is represented by a single dinar (cat. no. 1). According

\*Reprinted from *Re-Visiting Early India: Essays in honour of D.C. Sircar*, ed. S. Ghosh, S. Ray Bandyopadhyay, S. Basu Majumdar and S. Pal, Kolkata, 2013, pp. 27-36 (with M. Blet-Lemarquand).

<sup>1</sup> Height 7.5 cm and diameter 5 cm.

<sup>2</sup> We express our sincere gratitude to Prof. Michel Amandry, Director General of the Cabinet des Médailles of Paris for identifying these two Roman coins.

to the Rabatak inscription,<sup>3</sup> the most informative source of information on the genealogy of the Kushans, Vima Kadphises was the father of Kanishka I. Accepting the year 127 as the first regnal year of Kanishka<sup>4</sup> and also taking other numismatic and epigraphic evidence into consideration, Vima Kadphises' reign could be placed between 100-27 CE or 105-27 CE.<sup>5</sup>

Kanishka I is represented by twenty-one gold coins. It is also interesting to note that two of them bear a Greek legend (cat. nos. 2 & 3) which indicates, as suggested by the Rabatak inscription, that they were struck during the first year of his reign, prior to the administrative adoption of the Bactrian language.<sup>6</sup> The variety of deities represented on these coins indicates the popularity of their cults within the wider Kushan empire: Helios, Selene (Greek), Miro, Athsho, Mao, Nana, Orlagno, Ardoxsho (Iranian) and Oesho-Shiva (Irano-Indian).<sup>7</sup> The popularity of Oesho-Shiva is attested by seven coins (cat. nos. 11 & 17). The fact that all these coins were struck with different obverse and reverse dies may also indicate the abundant production of the coins depicting the deity.

A unique coin of Huvishka (cat. no. 23) provides a *terminus post quem* for the deposit. It was during his reign (150-88 CE) that the reliquary may have been offered to the Buddhist shrine.<sup>8</sup>

As we pointed out at the beginning, one of the most important elements of this hoard is the presence of two Roman coins in one deposit. As noted by M. Wheeler in 1955, Roman gold coins have not been discovered in the Kushan territories.<sup>9</sup> R. Göbl concluded from this statement that Roman gold was melted down and re-minted by the Kushans.<sup>10</sup> We undertook elemental analysis of both Imperial Roman gold coins and Kushan gold coins to test Göbl's hypothesis.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>3</sup> N. Sims-Williams in N. Sims-Williams and J. Cribb, 1995-6, pp. 75-96; N. Sims-Williams, 2008; R. Göbl, 1999; G. Fussman, 1998.

<sup>4</sup> This date was proposed by H. Falk (2001) based on the *Yavanajataka* written by Sphujiddhvaja.

<sup>5</sup> See O. Bopearachchi, 2007 and 2008.

<sup>6</sup> See with this regard N. Sims-Williams in N. Sims-Williams and J. Cribb, 1995-6, pp. 75-96; N. Sims-Williams, 2008.

<sup>7</sup> On different interpretations of the enigmatic god Oesho-Siva, see O. Bopearachchi (2008); J. Cribb (1997); H. Humbach (1975); C. Lo Muzio (1995-6); K. Tanabe, (1991-2).

<sup>8</sup> See O. Bopearachchi, 2009.

<sup>9</sup> See M. Wheeler, 1955, p. 169. A few discoveries of Roman gold coins were made since 1955. D. Hollard published a Roman-Gallic gold coin of Tétricus (271-4 CE) found in South-West Afghanistan, he also gives list of Roman gold coins discovered in Afghanistan, D. Hollard, 2003, p. 226, e.g. an aureus of Tiberius struck between 16 and 21 CE from the nomadic grave at Tillia Tepe, an aureus of Hadrian minted at the beginning of his reign; discoveries of gold coins of the Late Roman Empire are also mentioned in his article.

<sup>10</sup> R. Göbl, 1960, p. 79.

<sup>11</sup> See M. Blet-Lemarquand, 2006. The applied methods are proton activation (PA) and Laser Ablation Inductively Coupled Plasma Mass Spectrometry (LA-ICP-MS). Both are

The comparison of the Domitian aureus’ composition to that of our previous data strengthens our conclusion (Table 1 and Fig. 1). The composition of this aureus is consistent with those of the other analyzed Roman gold coins issued during the same period: the gold is very pure (99.3% to 99.9%) and the platinum generally varies from about 2 ppm to 150 ppm (Fig. 1).

To the contrary, Kushan gold contains much more platinum (between 200 and 4000 ppm) and palladium than Roman gold. Platinum and palladium are impurities of gold in ancient coins and they follow this precious metal during the separation and purification stages or when gold metal is re-melted down. Given the difference in material content, it is impossible that the Kushans exclusively used gold recovered from Roman aurei to strike their coinage. It is for these reasons that we believe that the hypothesis formulated by Göbl has to be ruled out. It is most probable that the Kushan supply of gold was essentially ‘local’.

	Contents in %			Contents in ppm (1%=10000 ppm)									
	Au	Ag	Cu	As	Bi	Fe	Hg	Pb	Pd	Pt	Sb	Sn	Zn
Aureus of Domitian	99.8	0.16	0.018	0.5	0.2	458	16.1	7.7	11.0	11.5	0.2	6.3	2.2

TABLE 1. Elemental composition of the aureus of Domitian analyzed performing LA-HR-ICP-MS (Laser Ablation High Resolution Inductively coupled Plasma Mass spectrometry)

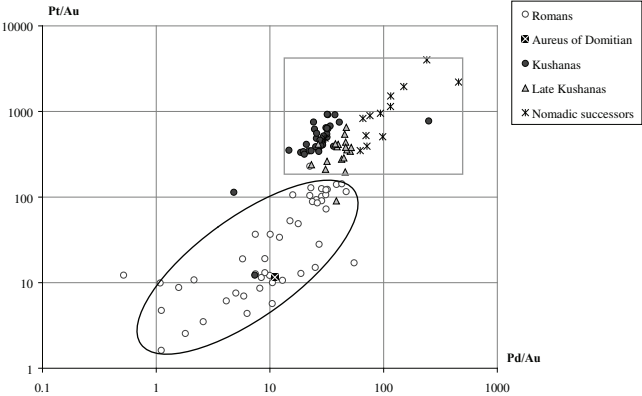


FIG. 1. Platinum (Pt) *versus* Palladium (Pd) for Roman gold coins minted during the 1st century CE and the beginning of the 2nd century CE (Emperors: Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Trajan), for the aureus of Domitian and for gold coins issued by Kushans, Late Kushans and their nomadic successors.

The contents of platinum and palladium are in fact scaled to the concentrations of gold. The scales are logarithmic.

non destructive and allow to determine the contents of major, minor and trace elements of ancients gold coins. The analysis of Kushan gold was conducted in preparation of the catalogue of the Kushan gold collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France of Paris done by Ch. Sachs under the scientific direction of Prof. Bopéaratchi; see also Ch. Sachs and M. Blet-Lemarquand, 2005.

## CATALOGUE

## VIMA KADPHISES

## Shiva

- Obv.* Bearded and diademed king to l. in profile, wearing a high rounded hat, and holding a small knurled club. Body emerges from rocks or clouds. Greek legend around cf. R. Göbl, 1984, type 19.
- Rev.* Shiva naked, standing to front, head to l. holding in r. hand a trident adorned with an axe-blade; an animal skin and a water pot in l. hand. To r. a *tamga* and to l. *nandipada* symbol. The legend in Kharoshthi cf. R. Göbl, 1984, type 19.
1. Gold dinar. 7. 82 g.

## KANISHKA I

## Helios

- Obv.* Crowned and bearded King armed with sword, dressed in long tunic, standing to l., sacrificing over alter with extended r. hand and holding spear in l. hand. Flames emanate from r. shoulder. Greek legend around cf. R. Göbl, 1984, type 25.
- Rev.* Helios (Solar deity) with radiate nimbus; wearing diadems, long tunic ankle boots and mantle; standing to l.; r. hand making two-fingered gesture and l. hand resting on hilt of short sword. To l. a *tamga*. Greek legend right: HAIOC. Cf. R. Göbl, 1984, type 25.
2. Gold dinar. 7. 86 g.

## SELENE

- Obv.* As the preceding series (cf. no. 2)
- Rev.* Selene (Moon goddess) with lunar crescents on shoulders; wearing diadems, long tunic, ankle boots and mantle; standing to l.; r. hand holding a unidentified object and l. hand a knobbed scepter. To l. a *tamga*. Greek legend right: CAΛHNH. Cf. R. Göbl, 1984, type 26.
3. Gold dinar. 7. 93 g.

## MIIRPO

- Obv.* Crowned and bearded King armed with sword, dressed in long tunic, standing to l. sacrificing over alter with extended r. hand with a *ankusha* and holding spear in l. hand. Flames emanate from the r. shoulder. Bactrian legend around cf. R. Göbl, 1984, type 31.
- Rev.* Miiro (Solar deity or Mithra) with radiate nimbus around head, wearing diadems, long tunic, ankle boots and mantle; standing left, holding a lunar croissant like object in the outstretched r. hand and sword hilt from the l. hand. To l. a *tamga*. Bactrian legend right: MIIPO. Cf. R. Göbl, 1984, type 31.



4. Gold dinar. 8.25 g.
5. Gold dinar. 7.95 g.

## ATHSHO

- Obv.* As the preceding series (cf. nos. 4 and 5).  
*Rev.* Athsho (God of metals) wearing diadems, long tunic ankle boots and mantle; standing left, holding a diadems in the outstretched r. hand and l. hand on the hip. Flames emanate from both shoulders. To l. a *tamga*. Bactrian legend right: AΘῑO. Cf. R. Göbl, 1984, type 33.
6. Gold dinar. 7.96 g.

## MAO

- Obv.* As the preceding series (cf. nos. 4-6).  
*Rev.* Mao (Lunar deity) wearing lunar crescents on shoulders, diadems, long tunic, ankle boots and mantle; standing; making a gesture with outstretched r. hand and holding sword hilt and knobbed sceptre from l. hand. To l. a *tamga*. Bactrian legend right: MAO. Cf. R. Göbl, 1984, type 34.
7. Gold dinar. 8.04 g.
  8. Gold dinar. 7.96 g.
  9. Gold dinar. 7.93 g.

## NANA

- Obv.* As the preceding series (cf. nos. 4-9).  
*Rev.* Goddess Nana nimbate, wearing diadems and lunar crescent, long tunic and mantle; standing; holding bowl in l. hand and protome of animal in r. hand. To r. a *tamga*. Bactrian legend left: NANA. Cf. R. Göbl, 1984, type 35.
10. Gold dinar. 8.06 g.

## OESHO

- Obv.* As the preceding series (cf. nos. 4-10).  
*Rev.* Four-armed Oesho (Shiva) nimbate, standing; holding pellet drum in upper r. hand; ritual water pot and *ankusha* in lower r. hand; trident in upper l. hand and antelope in lower l. hand. To l. a *tamga*. Bactrian legend right: OῑῑO. Cf. R. Göbl, 1984, type 37.
11. Gold dinar. 8.08 g.
  12. Gold dinar. 8.06 g.
  13. Gold dinar. 7.17 g. (coin is double-struck).

## OESHO

*Obv.* As the preceding series (cf. nos. 4-16).

*Rev.* As the preceding series, but liquid flows from the water pot. Cf. R. Göbl, 1984, type 67.

14. Gold dinar. 8.04 g.

15. Gold dinar. 7.96 g.

16. Gold dinar. 7.93 g.

17. Gold dinar. 7.93 g.

## NANASHAO

*Obv.* As the preceding series (cf. nos. 4-17).

*Rev.* Goddess Nana nimbate, wearing diadems, lunar crescent, long tunic; standing; holding bowl in l. hand and protome of animal in r. hand. To r. a *tamga*. Bactrian legend left: NANAḅAO. Cf. R. Göbl, 1984, type 54.

18. Gold dinar. 7.97 g.

## NANASHAO

*Obv.* As the preceding series (cf. nos. 4-18).

*Rev.* As the preceding series, but Nana is armed with a sword. Cf. R. Göbl, 1984, type 60.

19. Gold dinar. 7.95 g.

20. Gold dinar. 7.94 g.

## ORLAGNO

*Obv.* As the preceding series (cf. nos. 4-20).

*Rev.* Orlagno, wearing a bird head-dress, long tunic, ankle boots and mantle; standing; holding a long spear in r. hand and sword hilt from the l. hand. To r. a *tamga*. Bactrian legend left: OPAAGNO. Cf. R. Göbl, 1984, type 63.

21. Gold dinar. 7.99 g.

## ARDOXSHO

*Obv.* As the preceding series (cf. nos. 4-21).

*Rev.* Ardoxsho (Goddess of plenty) nimbate, wearing diadems and long tunic; standing; holding a long cornucopia. To r. a *tamga*. Bactrian legend left: APADOXḅO.. Cf. R. Göbl, 1984, type 77.

22. Gold dinar. 7.93 g.

## HUVISHKA

## MIIRO

- Obv.* Crowned King's bust left, nimbate, wearing diadems, holding mace, Bactrian legend around cf. R. Göbl, 1984, type 291.
- Rev.* Miïro (Mithra?) standing left, radiate, holding sword and knobbed sceptre in l. hand and granting blessing from the extended r. hand. To r. a *tamga*. Bactrian legend t right: MIIPO. Cf. R. Göbl, 1984, type 291.
23. Gold dinar. 8.06 g.

## NERO

- Obv.* Laureate head of Nero to r. Latin legend: NERO / CAESAR.
- Rev.* Nero standing, facing, holding branch and Victory on a globe. AVGUSTVS / GERMANICVS. Cf. C.H.V. Sutherland, 1984, p. 153, type 46.
24. Aureus. 7.16 g. Rome mint struck in 64-5.

## DOMITIAN

- Obv.* Traces of the laureate head of Domitian to r. Latin legend: DOM[ITIANVS].
- Rev.* Illegible.
25. Aureus. 7.08 g.

## REFERENCES

- Blet-Lemarquand, M. (2006), 'Analysis of Kushana Gold coins: Debasement and Provenance Study', in *Dal denarius al dinar: l'orient e la moneta romana, Atti dell'incontro di studio, Roma 16-18 Settembre 2004*, ed. F. De Romanis & S. Sorda, [Studi E Materiali, 12], Roma, pp. 155-71.
- Bopearachchi, O. (2007), 'Some observations on the chronology of the early Kushans', *Res Orientales*, XVII, pp. 41-53.
- (2008), 'Les premiers souverains kouchans : Chronologie et iconographie monétaire', *Journal des Savants*, January-June 2008, pp. 3-56.
- (2009), 'Alfred Foucher et les études numismatiques bactriennes', in *Bouddhismes d'Asie Monuments et littératures. Journée d'étude en hommage à Alfred Foucher (1865-1952)*, pp. 243-66.
- Cribb, J. (1997), 'Shiva images on Kushan and Kushano-Sasanian coins', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology, Special Volume*, ed. K. Tanabe, J. Cribb and H. Wang, pp. 11-66.
- Falk, H. (2001), 'The *yuga* Sphujiddhvaja and the era of Kusanas', *Silk Road Art & Archaeology*, pp. 121-36.
- Fussman, G. (1998) 'L'inscription de Rabatak et l'origine de l'ère Saka', *Journal Asiatique*, pp. 571-651.
- Göbl, R. (1960), 'Roman patterns for Kushana coins', *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, 22, pp. 75-96.
- (1984), *System und Chronologie der Münzprägung des Kusanreiches*, Vienna.
- (1999), 'The Rabatak inscription and the date of Kanishka', in *Coins, Art, and*

- Chronology. Essays on the pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, ed. M. Alram and D.E. Klimburg-Salter, Vienna, pp. 151-75.
- Hollard, D. (2003), 'Un aureus inédit de Tétricus Ier découvert en Afghanistan', *Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique*, 58, 10, pp. 225-9.
- Humbach, H. (1975), 'Vayu, Siva und der Spiritus Vivens im Ostiranischen Synkretismus', *Acta Iranica*, 4, pp. 397-408.
- Lo Muzio, C. (1995-6), 'OHpO: A Sovereign God', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, 4, pp. 161-74.
- Sachs, Ch. and M. Blet-Lemarquand (2005), 'Le monnayage d'or kouchan : altération et chronologie', in *Actas del XIII Congreso Internacional de Numismática*, ed. C. Alfaro, C., Marcos and P. Otero, t. II, Madrid, pp. 1659-67.
- Sims-Williams, N. and J. Cribb (1995/6), "A New Bactrian inscription of Kanishka the Great", *Silk Road Art & Archaeology*, 4, pp. 75-142.
- Sims-Williams, N. (2008), 'The Bactrian inscription of Rabatak: A New Reading', *Bulletin of the Asia institute*, 18, pp. 53-68.
- Sutherland, C.H.V. (1984), *The Roman Imperial Coinage, Volume I, Revised edition, From 31 BC to AD 69*, London.
- Tanabe, K. (1991/2), 'OHpO: Another Kushan Wind God', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, 2, pp. 51-71.
- Wheeler, M. (1955), *Rome Beyond the Imperial Front*.



FIGURE: 1A



FIGURE: 1B



FIGURE: 1C





1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12





13



14



15



16



17



18



19



20



21



22



23



24



25





---

# Cultural Heritage of Afghanistan

---



## Vandalized Afghanistan\*

The Destruction of Afghanistan's Cultural Treasures during the Period of the Civil War in Looting and Illegal Excavations has Caused a Huge Loss of Human Heritage

What is once destroyed from mankind's collective cultural heritage can never be restored. In the midst of the continuing human suffering in Afghanistan, it is impossible to suppress the sense of pain, despair and above all anger at the destruction of the cultural heritage of a land that was one of the great meeting points between the East and the West, a crossroads of Central Asia. As the reconstruction effort begins in Afghanistan, there is a crying need for the global custodians of cultural heritage to step in to assess the magnitude of the destruction thus far and catalogue the surviving elements that would need to be restored and preserved on a priority basis.

Spent artillery shells, lined up like sentries, stood at the base of the mountain alcove where the world's tallest Buddha statues once stood. The statues' outlines and piles of rubble are all that remain today. Broken pieces of the statues and some fragments of the beautiful paintings, which once decorated the niches, were briefly offered for sale in the Peshawar bazaar. The two big statues of Bamiyan, dating back to the fifth or sixth century AD, were no doubt the largest of all the Buddhist statues so far attested in the world. Aesthetically, compared to other forms of art, the Bamiyan statues, which were considered by art historians as belonging to an experimental phase, were not the most beautiful works of art that Afghanistan, the cradle of many civilizations, has produced. However, the destruction of the statues was nothing but an act of sheer barbarism.

The prolonged phase of civil war and unrest in Afghanistan since the fall of the communist government led to the systematic looting of ancient sites such as Ai Khanoum, Begram and Hadda. All traces of a glorious past have disappeared for ever. Over the past 10 years, a great number of antiquities such as statues, jewellery, bronzes, faience, ivory carvings and thousands of coins have been discovered accidentally or as the result of clandestine digging. Planned destruction of archaeological sites and museums, illicit digging and vandalism in the pursuit of material gain have completely destroyed the sculptures and paintings of the region.

In May 1993, the National Museum of Kabul was destroyed by several

\*Reprinted from *Frontline*, 29 March 2002, pp. 66-70.



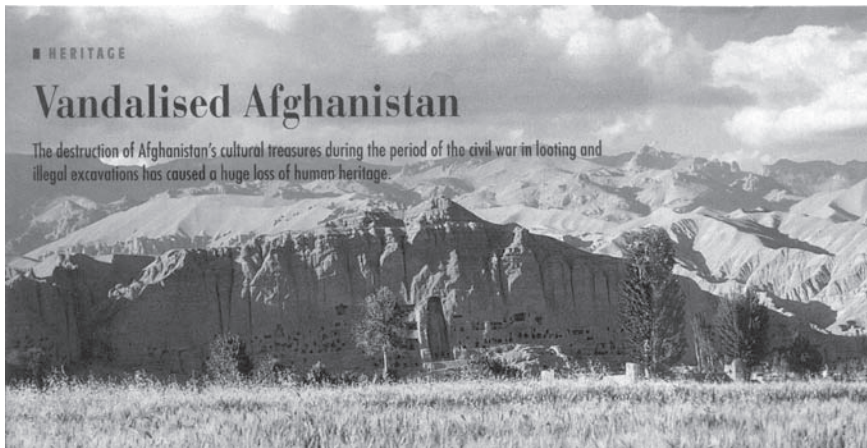


FIGURE 1: The Red Mountain range in Bamiyan that once housed two giant statues of the Buddha, on cliff faces, besides smaller structures of a archaeological significance. The two big statues, dating back to the fifth or sixth century AD were the largest of all Buddhist statues so far attested in the world. (Below) An empty space, after the destruction at the hands of the Taliban regime.

rockets and subsequently looted. Explosives pulverised the roof, the top floor and most of the doors and windows. A month later, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance to Afghanistan began reinforcing the building to prevent additional damage. But this did not prevent the looting of the museum, which had among the finest collections in the whole region.

Not a single coin is left in the cabinets where over 30,000 coins were stored. Coins from the first Mir Zakah hoard, the Kabul hoard, and the Qunduz hoard (627 Graeco-Bactrian coins and their imitations), those from the excavation of Ai Khanoum, the finds of which included two major hoards, and coins from Begram were among them. Most of the artefacts from the Kabul Museum, discovered in the Begram, Ai Khanoum and Hadda excavations, surfaced in the Peshawar bazaar a few days after the plundering of the museum and then entered private collections. Among them are the most valuable ivory plaques found in the Begram excavations by French archaeologists in 1937.

The museum was restored to a certain extent and was inaugurated in the summer of 2000 by the Taliban minister for cultural affairs. The large statues, especially the statue of Kaishka and the seventh-century bodhisattva image from Tepe Maranjan, which the looters could not move, were among the exhibits.

The largest deposit of ancient coins ever attested in history was accidentally discovered in 1992 in Mir Zakah village, 53 km north-east of the city of Gardez in Afghanistan. According to my inquiries, it must have consisted of 3 to 4 tonnes of gold, silver and bronze coins, or in other words about 550,000 specimens. It also consisted of more than 300 kg of silver and gold objects. It is not known under what circumstances the deposit was found. The gold coins and jewellery were sold to Japanese, British and American collectors for millions of dollars. My knowledge of this hoard is limited to coins in private collections and the six sackfuls of coins, each weighing at least 50 kg, that I rapidly examined in February 1994 in the Peshawar bazaar. The hoard consists of a number of early Indian coins. Then there are Greek, Graeco-Bactrian, Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and Kushan coins. The coins of the Indo-Scythian Azes II and the posthumous imitations of Hermaeus constitute the largest portion of all.

The second Mir Zakah deposit brought to light an unprecedented number of new coins—including a tetradrachm of Attic weight of Menander I with unknown types and a legend arrangement. This coin has to the right the diademed bust of the king, wearing a crested helmet and is seen from the back thrusting a spear with his raised right hand, and to the left on the reverse Athena Alkidemos and a Greek legend in semi-circular form. The most sensational numismatic discovery in the second Mir Zakah deposit was the coin of Nasten, a hitherto unknown Iranian ruler in India. The Greek legend reads: *Nastenes/Xatrannou*. So this coin was probably issued by a ruler named Nasten, son of



FIGURE 2: Sackfuls of early Indian coins, each sack weighting about 50 kg, photographed in February 1994 in the Peshawar bazaar. These were believed to be part of the largest find of ancient coins, including gold, silver and bronze coins, discovered in Mir Zakah in 1992.



FIGURE 3: Some of the finds in Hadda made by the French archaeological team led by Barthoux in 1929: (above left) part of the high relief depicting the life of the Buddha; (above right) the statue of a divinity throwing flowers on the Buddha.





FIGURE 4: A partially destroyed statue of bodhisattva near his sleeping wife being given his hat by his squire.



FIGURE 5: A mural inside a cave in the Bamiyan cliff. Many caves and hollows around the Buddha statues, were covered with murals.

Xatran. Presumably, Nasten is not a Greek but an Iranian, most probably a Bactrian Iranian.

Almost all the pre-Islamic archaeological sites have been looted and destroyed in clandestine digging over the past 12 years. The Buddhist pillar Minar-e-Chakari, also called the Alexander pillar, dating back to the first century AD, tumbled to the ground in March 1998 following a rocket attack.

The Buddhist monastery and stupa of Tep Shotor at Hadda, close to Jalalabad, was excavated by Afghan archaeologists. It was also extensively excavated by the French archaeological delegation to Afghanistan under Jules Barthoux. It has been pillaged and looted now. The monastic complex is situated halfway along the road from Kabul to Kandahar. This site had the ruins of the ancient town as well as a number of Buddhist stupas and caves. Among the remains atop the broad plateau are such Buddhist temples sites as Tapa-Kalan, Tapa-i-Kafariha, Bagh-gai, Chakhil-i-Gundi, deh-Ghundi and Gar-Nao.

At the ruins of Tapa-i-Shator outside the northern edge of this plateau, a large and well-preserved monastic complex was excavated between 1974 and 1979 by Prof. Zemaryalai Tarzi, who was then the Director-General of Archaeology and Conservation in Afghanistan. He and his team were able to unearth a beautiful stupa complex with stucco figures, dating from the second century AD, depicting the Naga king in the Fish Porch and a realistic figure of Heracles. Looters systematically destroyed the huge statues that could not be removed, while the smaller ones were taken to the bazaars in Pakistan.

The ancient site of Ai Khanoum was for the past 10 years the target of systematically planned illicit digs. This is little less than tragic for our contemporary understanding of ancient cultural interactions. One of the most significant contributions towards an understanding of Greek presence in Bactria was made through the Ai Khanoum excavations led by French archaeologists under P. Bernard.

The ruins of Ai Khanoum stand on the left bank of the Oxus River at its meeting point with its tributary, the Kokcha. This triangular area at the confluence of the Oxus and the Kokcha was a strategic choice the Greeks made. It was a well-placed military outpost to control the eastern territories of ancient Bactria. The topography of the site, with a natural acropolis about 60 m higher than the surrounding areas and protected by the two rivers from the west and the south, made it an ideal choice for the Greek city planners. The residential quarters and public buildings—namely the gymnasium, the temple, the fortifications, the royal palace and the administrative apparatus—were built in the lower part of the site, which was less exposed to the winds than the acropolis.

The discoveries made at Ai Khanoum by the French archaeologists demonstrate how the Greek artists of Ai Khanoum not only remained attached to the Greek traditions but also in some ways perpetuated a classical style. For example, the mosaic floor of the palace bathroom displaying dolphins, sea horses and sea monsters was made by setting a field of dark red pebbles, instead of the square-cut stones of the later style.

This remarkable city, which bore the distinctive imprint of cultural currents from the days of Greek civilizational glory, does not exist anymore. Prospectors for treasure seem to have used the metal detectors originally brought into the country to detect landmines, for quite another purpose. Some photographs taken by the Japanese Professor Hin Ichi Ono show the lunar-like surface of

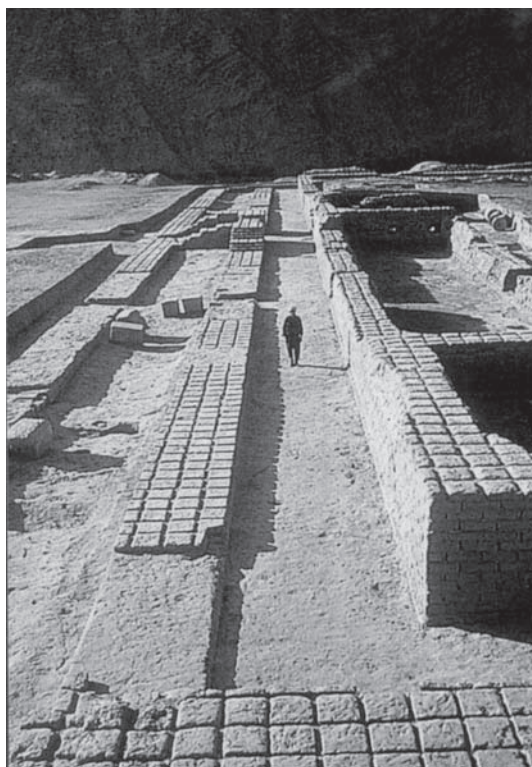


FIGURE 6: The ancient city of Ai Khanoum before illegal excavations started at the site, in a 1978 picture.



FIGURE 7: The devastated, lunar-like at the site after the excavations, as photographed in 1993 by Japanese Hin Ichi Ono.



the city. The lower city is completely devastated. The place where once the big temple stood is today a crater. Some of the Corinthian and Doric capitals unearthed by the French archaeologists were taken away, and they now serve as the base for the columns in a tcha-khan, or a tea house.

Hundreds of ivory pieces, jewellery, intaglios, plaster medallions and bronze items from Ai Khanoum have reached Pakistani bazaars and private collections. A gold bracelet in the form of a snake was found in Ai Khanoum. The treatment of the head of the snake, probably that of a cobra, is realistic and reflects the workmanship of a Greek artist. Many ivory items were unearthed in the legal excavations at Ai Khanoum, especially in the palace treasury, which have been documented by Paul Bernard and Claude Rapin. To this list, illegal excavations have probably added the following items: hairpins, votive sculptures and perhaps part of a sword case.

Pieces of gold and silver jewellery similar to the ones found in the legal excavations have reached the market. They comprise rings, bracelets, pendants and earrings. Hundreds of cornelian, agate and cut stones (similar to the ones already published by Claude Rapin) were seen in the bazaars. All these items



FIGURE 8: Outside the Kabul Museum after it was partially destroyed, a 1994 picture.

add to the Greek and Graeco-Oriental art already attested in Ai Khanoum. Three items that can certainly be considered as new evidence for the Greek contribution to the art and culture of Bactria and India were found in recent years in Ai Khanoum: a bronze statuette of Heracles, an ivory plaque depicting a seated Aphrodite and a faience head of a Graeco-Bactrian king.

The bronze statuette of Heracles has a height of 21 cm, with the pedestal. The figure is solid cast, with a fully fashioned back. It represents a naked, beardless, young Heracles, standing holding in his left hand a lion's skin, and his right hand resting on a club. He wears a broad-leaved wreath. His left knee is slightly bent, leaving the weight of the body on the right leg. It is not at all surprising to find so many images of Heracles in Ai Khanoum, because, as revealed by an inscription found *in situ*, the gymnasium of this Greek city was dedicated to this divinity.

The ivory plaque depicting Aphrodite has a diameter of 8.3 cm. It was also unearthed in Khanoum in 1999. It was found in pieces and was restored in London. The whole scene is composed of three figures: Aphrodite in the middle, a winged female figure to the left and Eros to the right. Aphrodite is represented semi-nude, seated on a pile of rocks, the left hand resting on a rock while the other hand is on her right thigh. Her body is in three-quarter view, but her legs are almost in profile. She wears a himation loosely draped around the lower part of her body, leaving the torso bare. The winged female figure, wearing a sleeved chiton, stands on a capital, holding what is probably a mirror box. At the extreme left of the plaque, winged Eros stands on the same pile of rocks on which Aphrodite is seated. His right arm is raised while the other is making a gesture as if to unveil the himation of the goddess from the back.

The faience head of the Graeco-Bactrian king was found in June 1998 in unrecorded circumstances. It certainly belongs to an acrolithic statue. On close examination, it becomes obvious that the horizontally cut border at the bottom of the head was meant to fit into a wooden structure. So the rest of the body would have been of wood. The fragments of the cult statue found in the cellar of the main temple of Ai Khanoum, and the faience head, are the only examples of acroliths that have so far been found in Bactria.

These discoveries add much to our knowledge of the political and economic history of Bactria and India from the conquest of Alexander the Great, until the end of the Kushan period. The reconstruction of the history of the Greeks and their nomadic successors in Bactria and India depends mainly on numismatic evidence. The other sources—ancient texts and inscriptions and various data obtained in archaeological excavations—are, though important, secondary compared to the vast and rich information conveyed by coins. Because of the scarcity of ancient texts and of available archaeological data, numismatic evidence constitutes the main source for the reconstruction of the history of the Greeks and their successors in Bactria and India.

But the exciting possibilities offered by this, as also the second deposit of Mir Zakah, have now been irretrievably lost. According to some reliable

sources, 2.5 tonnes of coins of the second Mir Zakah deposit have been taken to Switzerland for sale. If organizations such as UNESCO do not take the initiative, all the coins may one day go into the melting pot.

The world owes its most profound sympathies to the Afghan people, who were chased from one frontier to another and who suffered the vicissitudes of civil war, famine and drought. They were the hapless victims of political ideologies that reduce the human condition to a position subordinate to international economic interests. But in promoting the cynical game of realpolitik in Afghanistan, humankind itself has lost a part of its collective cultural heritage—a loss for which the world bears collective responsibility.

## Preserving Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage: What is to be Done?\*

*Abstract: Over the past ten years countless antiquities, including statues, jewellery, bronze, faience, ivory carvings, and thousands of coins, have been discovered accidentally or as the result of clandestine digging. Planned destruction of archaeological sites and museums, illicit digging, and vandalism in pursuit of material gain have completely destroyed the sculptures and paintings of the region. Traces of a glorious past have disappeared forever. In the midst of the continuing human suffering in Afghanistan, it is impossible to suppress pain, despair, and above all anger at the destruction of the cultural heritage of a land that was one of the great meeting points of East and West. This paper argues that as the reconstruction effort begins in Afghanistan, there is the need for global custodians of cultural heritage to step in to assess the magnitude of the destruction thus far and to catalog the surviving elements that need to be preserved and restored on a priority basis.*

The civilized world woke up from a long sleep to see clouds of smoke rising above the Buddha statues in Bamiyan. The threat so often dismissed as inconsequential had become a ghastly reality in early March 2001. It took the Taliban's destruction of the colossal statues of Buddha, which dated to the fifth and sixth centuries CE, for the world to take an interest in a long forgotten and abandoned country. Spent artillery shells, lined up like sentries, stood at the base of the mountain alcove where the world's tallest Buddha statues once stood. The Buddha's outline and piles of rubble are all that remain today (fig. 1). Broken pieces of the statues and fragments of the beautiful paintings that once decorated the niches were briefly offered for sale in the Peshawar bazaar.

Although aesthetically the Bamiyan statues—the largest Buddhist statues in the world—are considered by art historians to constitute an experimental phase and thus are not the most beautiful works of art that Afghanistan, once the cradle of many civilizations, ever produced, their destruction is especially notable as an act of sheer barbarism. Unfortunately, this act marks neither the beginning nor the end of the long history of Afghanistan's cultural heritage in peril.

The destruction of the Afghan patrimony is no longer a problem that concerns only the Afghan people, who over the years have suffered the devastation of a civil war caused by both international policies and disputes between rival

\*Reprinted from *Of the Past, for the Future: Integrating Archaeology and Conservation*, ed. N. Agnew and J. Bridgland, Paul Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles, 2006, pp. 266-72.

factions. When the Taliban came to power in 1996, the National Museum in Kabul had already been destroyed, and the ancient sites of Aī Khanoum, Hadda, Tepe Shotor, Bactres, and Tepe Marandjan, which had been explored by French and Afghan archaeologists, had already been ransacked (fig. 2). The pillaging took place before, during, and after the Taliban regime. And today, in fact, the destruction of ancient sites has reached its apogee.

In May 1993 the National Museum was destroyed by several rockets and subsequently looted. Explosives pulverized the roof, the top floor, and most of the building's doors and windows (fig. 3). The nearby Institute of Archaeology was also severely damaged. More than four thousand objects deposited in the storerooms of the museum were stolen. When the area was cut off by the fighting and the staff was unable to reach the suburb of Darulaman, where the museum is located, the looters took everything humanly possible. As Philippe Flandrin aptly described it:

Three quarters of the collections that have been found were removed without any iconoclastic intent. The pillaging of the museum follows the same surgical rules as the looting of castles. It is carried out with method and order, under the guidance of professional thieves who take care to salvage, along with the valuables, the corresponding catalogs and inventories that identify the stolen items. (2001:43; my translation)

Not a single coin is left in the cabinets where coins were stored. Apart from the specimen stored in the Royal Palace prior to the destruction of the museum, all the coins from the Kabul hoard, from the Kunduz hoard (627 Greco-Bactrian coins and their imitations), and from the excavation of Aī Khanoum were looted. Most of the artifacts stolen from the National Museum, which had originally been excavated in Herat, Bactra, Aī Khanoum, and Hadda, surfaced a few days later in the Peshawar bazaar and from there found their way to private collections. Among them are the invaluable ivory plaques excavated at Begram by French archaeologists in 1937. A month later, UNESCO and the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance to Afghanistan began reinforcing the building to prevent additional damage.

Thirty per cent of the remaining artifacts were rescued by the museum authorities and were kept at the Ministry of Cultural Affairs. The museum was partially restored and inaugurated in summer 2000 by the Taliban minister of cultural affairs. The large statues and especially the statue of Kanishka and the seventh-century Bodhisattva image from Tepe Marandjan, which looters could not move, were among the exhibits.

The destruction of the collections that had escaped the looting began long before the Buddhas were dynamited in early March 2001. Already, on 4 February, a line of cars had stopped in front the museum. Carrying hammers and axes, the minister of finance, the minister of culture with his adjunct, and the notorious Mollah Khari Faiz ur-Rahamn, who slapped the Bodhisattva in summer 2001, ordered that the storeroom be opened. According to a staff member who witnessed the scene, 'As they entered the storeroom, they snarled in excitement and started to smash everything while chanting "Allahu Akbar"'

(Flandrin 2002: 211). Throughout history, the destruction of a nation's cultural treasures has been the consequence of religious fanaticism, political ideology, or mere ignorance, yet never before had the madness reached such magnitude. On 22 March 2001, three weeks after decreeing that all the statues of Afghanistan should be destroyed, the Taliban briefly opened the National Museum to journalists, revealing a gloomy, near-empty labyrinth of rooms missing virtually all its treasures. The statue of Kanishka and the Bodhisattva image of Tepe Marandjan were reduced to tiny pieces. It turns out that in February the Taliban had started to destroy even the artifacts stored for safekeeping at the Ministry of Cultural Affairs.

The head of Durga, exhumed in Tepe Sardar, escaped the wreckage thanks to the astonishing cleverness of Dr. Masoodi and his colleagues. They gave a collection of sixty copies of Greco-Buddhist statues, made before the war for use by archaeology students in Kabul, to the enraged Islamic students who arrived the following day to complete the destruction and who continued to ransack the storerooms of the Ministry of Culture and Information, where they found the coffers that had been brought there by Najibullah in 1989. If today the princely couple of Fundukistan and the sublime paintings of the Kakrak grottoes near Bamiyan remain intact, it is thanks to the deadly game played against the Taliban by the curators of the museum, who deserve our sincere admiration.

Begram is one of the rare sites that still remains undisturbed—and this only because it is littered with land mines (fig. 4). All the statues left by the Afghan archaeologists of the excavations at Tepe Marandjan during the pro-Russian government were stolen by the villagers.

The Minari-i-Chakari, the Buddhist pillar, also called the Alexander pillar, dating to the first century CE, was hit by a rocket and tumbled to the ground in March 1998. No one will see its eternal beauty again. The monastic complex of Hadda is situated in present Jalalabad, halfway along the road from Kabul to Gandhara. The ruins of this ancient site, with its Buddhist stupas and caves, were extensively excavated by the French archaeological delegation in Afghanistan under Barthoux. A large and well-preserved monastic complex near Hadda, at Tepe Shotor outside the northern edge of the plateau, was excavated between 1974 and 1979 by Afghan archaeologists. They were able to unearth a beautiful stupa complex decorated with magnificent stucco figures dating to the second century C.E. depicting the Naga king in the Fish Porch and a realistic figure of Heracles. Looters have by now systematically pillaged and destroyed Tepe Shotor. Huge statues that could not be removed were smashed, and small statues were taken to Pakistani bazaars for sale (see Tarzi 2001).

For the past ten years, the ancient site of Aī Khanoum has been the target of systematically planned illicit digs (see Bernard 2001; Bopearachchi 2001). One of the most significant contributions to an understanding of the Greek presence in Bactria was made through the Aī Khanoum excavations led by French archaeologists under Paul Bernard. This remarkable city, which bore



the distinctive imprint of cultural currents from the days of Greek glory, no longer exists. The prospectors for treasure appear to have used the metal detectors that were originally brought into the country to detect Russian land mines for quite another purpose. Photographs taken by Hin Ichi Ono show the lunarlike appearance of the city (see Bernard 2001: figs. 3, 5, 6, 10, 13; see also Kohl and Wright, fig. 2). The lower city is completely devastated. The place where the big temple once stood is a crater. Some of the Corinthian and Doric capitals unearthed by the French archaeologists were taken away; they now serve as the base for the columns of a teahouse in a nearby village (see Bernard 2001: fig. 7).

It is in this unfortunate situation that one of the largest deposits of coins known in the history of currencies was discovered by chance sometime between 1992 and 1995, in Mir Zakah, located in Afghan territory in Pakhtia province, near the Pakistan border (Bopearachchi 2001, 2002). No one is able to relate exactly how the treasure was discovered; we only know that it was found at the bottom of a well. Clandestine Afghan excavators, at the price of disputes that cost several lives, found a true cave of Ali Baba. This coin deposit is calculated to contain more than 4 tons of minted metal—close to 5,50,000 coins, mostly silver and bronze, and 350 kg of gold pieces. During visits to bazaars in Peshawar, Pakistan, in February 1994, I was able to hurriedly examine six bags containing 300 kg of minted metal, that is, about 38,000 pieces from the treasure of Mir Zakah. The fairy tale built around the second deposit of Mir Zakah has now become an unending nightmare. According to some reliable sources, 2.5 tons of coins from the second Mir Zakah deposit had been taken to Switzerland for sale.

#### RESPONSE TO ILLICIT TRADE

What stance should we adopt concerning antiquities unearthed accidentally or illicitly? We are obviously confronted with an extremely delicate problem. Should we or should we not make records of these items? An object of art, once removed from its archaeological context, loses more than half its historical value. If its origins are unknown, a work of art is a mere object without a soul. For this reason, I have struggled to learn, where possible, the origin of pieces from clandestine excavations before they appear in sale catalogues. However, whether this work is done or not, it is impossible to divert them from their final destinations—sale catalogues, where they are listed with impunity. It is certain that these recent discoveries add much to our knowledge of the political and economic history of Bactria and India from the conquest of Alexander the Great to the end of the Kushan period. It is well known that the reconstruction of the history of the Greeks and their nomadic successors in Bactria and India depends mainly on numismatic, archaeological, and epigraphic evidence.

It is in this context and in the course of my research on the history of Greeks and their successors in Bactria and India that I concentrated my efforts to

obtain the best information I could about coins and other significant antiquities and make records of them. The objects that I have seen personally in Pakistani bazaars do not represent one-tenth of the artifacts that have been dispersed in international art markets. Hundreds of ivory pieces, jewellery, intaglios, plaster medallions, and bronze items from northern Afghanistan have reached Pakistani bazaars and private collections.

Many ivory items were unearthed from the legal excavations of Aï Khanoum, especially in the palace treasury, which have already been documented by Claude Rapin (1992: pl. 118). To this list, illegal excavations have probably added the following items: hairpins, votive sculptures, and perhaps part of a sword case. Gold and silver jewellery similar to the pieces found in legal excavations have reached the market. They comprise rings, bracelets, pendants, and earrings. Hundreds of carnelian and agate cut stones, similar to those already published by Rapin (1992), were seen in the bazaars.

A faience head of a Greco-Bactrian king was found in June 1998 in unrecorded circumstances in the ancient Greek city of Aï Khanoum. It certainly belongs to an acrolithic statue. On close examination, it becomes obvious that the horizontally cut border at the bottom of the head was meant to fit into a wooden structure. The fragments of the cult statue found in the *cella* of the main temple of Aï Khanoum and the faience head, also from Aï Khanoum, are the only examples of acroliths that have so far been found in Bactria.

The discovery of hundreds of manuscripts written in Greek (see Bernard and Rapin 1994), Bactrian, Prakrit, and Aramaic have revolutionized our understanding of the socio-economic and political history of ancient Bactria. A notable discovery in recent years was scrolls written in Aramaic dating to the fourth century BCE. According to a reliable source, they were found accidentally by a villager who took refuge in a cave one winter night. Feeling cold, he unknowingly started to burn scrolls and parchments of ancient manuscripts that he found in the vicinity. Only on awakening in the morning did he realize that he had burned more than 75 per cent of the documents. The remaining ones give precious information about the socio-economic history and practices of cults during the Achaemenid period. It is fortunate that at least these documents have been saved and scholars have an opportunity to study them.

As regards the vandalized National Museum, I share the view that a new museum should be constructed in a central location. At least 30 per cent of the former collections, which had miraculously escaped the looting and destruction, are now kept safely in two places. The 20,000 objects in gold and silver, which had been excavated from the six tombs of Tillya-Tepe, had been kept at the Central Bank and have now reappeared. The statue of Kanishka and the Bodhisattva image from Tepe Marandjan, which were reduced to pieces by the Taliban, have been restored by the conservators of the Musée Guimet in Paris. The conservators of the National Museum have made studious efforts to restore little by little the remaining 2,748 statues destroyed by the Taliban (fig. 5).

Some individuals abroad acquired objects stolen from the National Museum without knowing their origins, and some of them are willing to return the items to the museum. In June 2003 I learned that the third-millennium BCE silver vase from the Fullol hoard, which had been exhibited in the Museum, had entered a private collection in London. At our request the private collector agreed to return the piece to UNESCO. Today it is kept in the Archaeological Museum of Lattes under the custody of UNESCO. The time has come to encourage private collectors and dealers who keep these stolen objects knowingly or unknowingly to return them to UNESCO.

There are also benefactors who took the initiative to buy items as they appeared on the art market with the intention of returning them to Afghanistan. Hirayama, for example, purchased the famous marble foot belonging to the cult statue of the main temple, excavated by French archaeologists in the 1970s from Aī Khanoum. He also has in his possession paintings from the Kakrak valley. The Society for the Preservation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage (SPACH) also purchased some statues of the National Museum. All of these items will be returned to Afghanistan one day. Only UNESCO and the international community can determine when the restitution should take place. Various items were bought by collectors with the intention of selling them at a higher price. It is impossible to make any money from well-publicized stolen property. These collectors have a moral obligation to take a courageous step and return them to UNESCO. The road will be long and painstaking.

#### RESPONSE TO ILLICIT EXCAVATION

Finally, what is to be done regarding the illicit digging? As a period of reconstruction begins in Afghanistan, it is time to reflect on Afghanistan's vulnerable legacy. The looting of ancient sites, including Aī Khanoum, Bactres, and Hadda, is still taking place. There is a tremendous need for global custodians of cultural heritage to step in to assess the magnitude of the destruction thus far and to catalogue the surviving elements that need to be preserved and restored on a priority basis. It is depressing to admit that in spite of efforts by the present Afghan minister of cultural affairs, illicit digging has reached its apogee. There are two types of illicit digging in Afghanistan. The first is done by well-organized diggers supported by powerful men whose ultimate goal is to furnish the international market with antiquities. Only competent authorities, conscious of their cultural heritage, can put an end to this practice. The present government understandably has many other priorities. Peace in Afghanistan remains very fragile, as the ongoing violence reminds us. The second type of illicit pillaging of sites is more innocent. This plunder is done by villagers hoping to find a few pieces of gold to nourish their families. The world owes its profoundest sympathies to the Afghan people, who were chased from one frontier to another and who have suffered the vicissitudes of civil war, famine, and drought. They have been the hapless victims of political ideologies, which reduce the human condition to a position subordinate to international economic

interests. But in promoting the cynical game of Realpolitik in Afghanistan, humankind itself has lost part of its collective cultural heritage. That is a loss for which the entire world bears collective responsibility. The struggle against the destruction of Afghanistan's cultural heritage is intrinsically linked to the political and economic stability of the country.

Today Afghanistan needs food, doctors, and schools to fight famine, disease, and ignorance. Perhaps we should leave the Buddha statues as they now are to show how far religious fanaticism, ignorance, and intolerance can go. We will not permit the forces of evil to destroy human dignity. We cannot save or restore what has been destroyed, but we can fight to preserve what remains. We will not allow political and economic interests to defile the sovereignty of the Afghan state. The cultural heritage of all humanity is at stake, not solely that of an often-forgotten and abandoned country.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My contribution to this volume is based in part on the UNESCO reports and those of Carla Grissmann, consultant for the Society for the Conservation of the Afghan Cultural Heritage, and Nancy Dupree; on books and articles by Emmanuel de Roux, Roland Pierre Paringaux, Pierre Centlivres, Philippe Flandrin, and Andrew Lawler; and on a trip I made to Afghanistan in summer 2002.

#### REFERENCES

- Bernard, P., 2001, 'Découverte, fouille et pillage d'un site archéologique: la ville gréco-bactrienne d'Aï Khanoum en Afghanistan', in *Afghanistan: Patrimoine en péril. Actes d'une journée d'étude*, 71-96, Paris: Centre d'Études et de recherches documentaires sur l'Afghanistan.
- Bernard, P. and R. Besenval, 2002, 'Hier et aujourd'hui, Aï Khanoum l'Alexandrie de l'Oxus', in *Afghanistan: Une histoire millénaire*, 85-7, Paris: Réunion des Musées nationaux.
- Bernard, P. and C. Rapin, 1994, 'Un parchemin gréco-bactrien d'une collection privée', *Comptes Rendus, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 261-94.
- Bopearachchi, O., 2001, 'Quelle politique adopter face à la dispersion du patrimoine? Le cas de l'Afghanistan et du Pakistan', *L'Avenir des musées*, Paris, 289-306.
- , 2002, 'Vandalised Afghanistan', *Frontline, India's National Magazine* 19 (March): 66-70.
- Centlivres, P., 2001, *Les Bouddhas d'Afghanistan*, Paris: Éditions Favre.
- Dupree, N., 1999, 'Recent happenings at the Kabul Museum', *SPACH Newsletter*, July, 1-7.
- Flandrin, P., 2001, *Le trésor perdu des rois d'Afghanistan*, Paris: Éditions du Rocher.
- , 2002, *Afghanistan: Les trésors sataniques*, Paris: Éditions du Rocher.
- Rapin, C., 1992, *Fouilles d' Aï Khanoum, VIII. La trésorerie du palais hellénistique d'Aï Khanoum. L'Apogée et la chute du royaume grec de Bactriane. MDAFA 33*, Paris.
- Tarzi, Z., 2001, Le site ruiné de Hadda. In *Afghanistan: Patrimoine en péril. Actes d'une journée d'étude*, 60-9, Paris: Centre d'Études et de recherches documentaires sur l'Afghanistan.





FIGURE 1: Destroyed colossal statue of Buddha at Bamiyan.  
Photo: Osmund Bopearachchi.

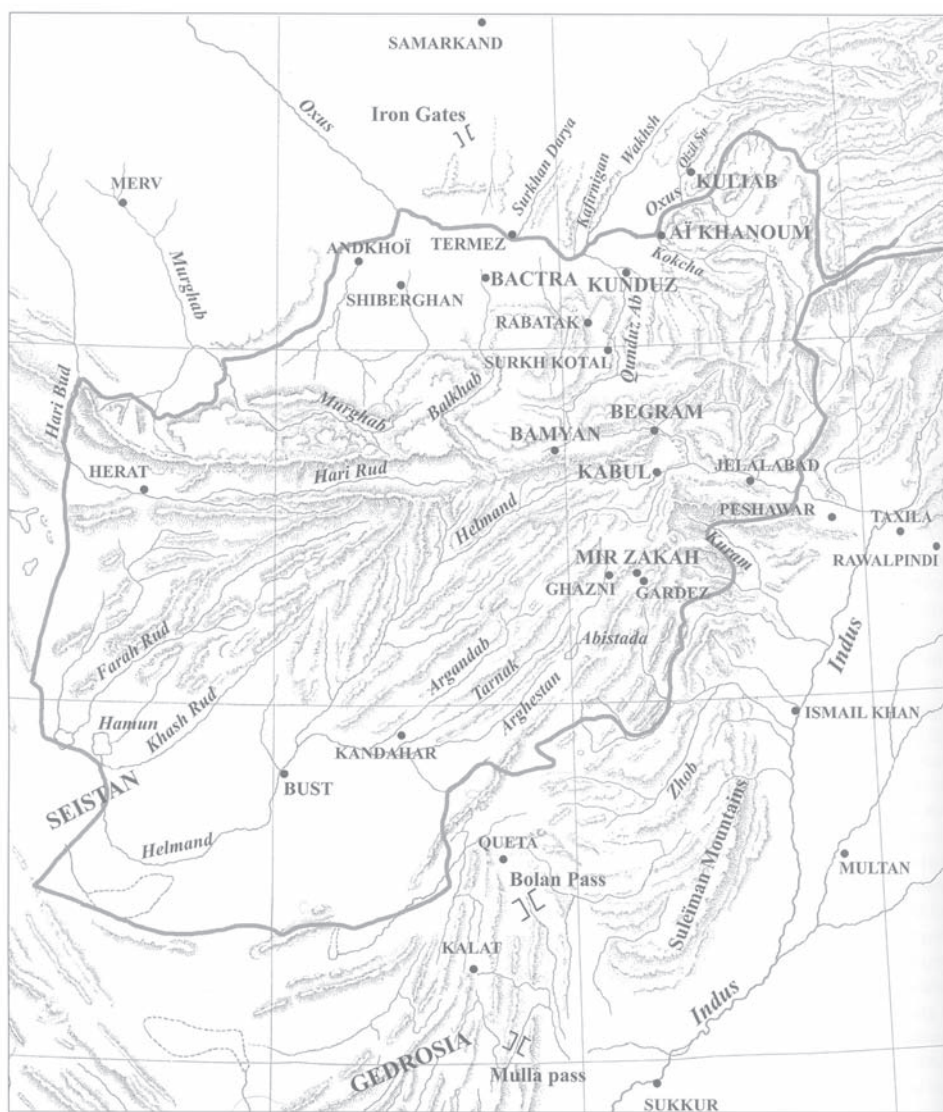


FIGURE 2: Ancient sites in Afghanistan. Drawing by François Ory.





FIGURE 3: Destroyed National Museum in Kabul.  
Photo: Osmund Bopearachchi.



FIGURE 4: Ancient site of Begram. Photo: Osmund Bopearachchi.



FIGURE 5: The conservators of the National Museum restoring artifacts destroyed by the Taliban. Photo: Osmund Bopearachchi.

## A Joy and a Curse\*

Frank Holt has answered convincingly the objections raised by those who have contested the authenticity of the gold medallion of Alexander the Great. The contributions by Andrew Stewart and Maryse Blet-Lemarquand in the next chapters reinforce Holt's arguments. I have nothing more to add to this topic; my task here is to answer the erroneous statements and accusations made by Silvia Mani Hurter in her review of the book *Le Portrait d'Alexandre* by Philippe Flandrin and myself. Hurter says that the conclusions of the investigations we carried out on the second Mir Zakah deposit depended entirely '... on eyewitnesses among the local people who had been involved in the excavations.' Furthermore, she claims: 'At no time do the authors question the good faith or the credibility of their informants.'<sup>1</sup> Using an unpleasant tone, Hurter asks the question: 'Could not the villagers and the various officials have tried to please Mr O.B., seeing how eager he was that they should recognize certain items? Unfortunately, these identifications, as those by *l'homme de Peshawar*, remain a matter of faith, a *Glaubensfrage*.'<sup>2</sup> Her way of casting doubt on the integrity of the investigations we carried out for over ten years on the second Mir Zakah deposit is so defamatory, we wonder whether she had read the book carefully before reviewing it or whether she is deliberately hiding the facts to dismiss categorically the existence of the Mir Zakah treasure, thus justifying all the coins and artefacts sold illicitly. The same observation has to be made regarding the review by Wolfgang Fischer-Bossert. Could it be considered as a simple error when he says that dies of the Alexander medallion were at a 6:00 axis and that the Mir Zakah deposit contained millions of coins? I have clearly written that the dies are at 12:00<sup>3</sup> and that the sizeable Mir Zakah deposit contained over half a million coins, but certainly not millions.<sup>4</sup> It is also amazing how the die axis of the Alexander medallion has been used by Fischer-Bossert and Andrew Chugg to condemn it as a forgery. Having read the complete opposite of what I have written, Fischer-Bossert argues that since the coin is cast at 6:00, the medallion must be a forgery. Chugg, meanwhile, who read me correctly, uses the 12:00 die-adjustment to

\*Reprinted from *The Alexander Medallion: Exploring the Origins of a Unique Artefact*, ed. F. Holt and O. Bopearachchi (Proceedings of the International Roundtable held at the Ecole normale supérieure, Paris on 26 March 2007) Imago-Lattara, 2011, pp. 33-73.

<sup>1</sup> S.M. Hurter, 2006, p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 186-7.

<sup>3</sup> O. Bopearachchi and P. Flandrin, 2005, p. 176.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 155.

profess the medallion a fake.<sup>5</sup> As Frank Holt has shown, a 12:00 die axis is no anomaly at all.

I also wish to answer another serious allegation made by Hurter, accusing me of secrecy and handling the gold medallion in a furtive way.<sup>6</sup> Once again either she is not aware of the ways in which the medallion was made known to the world before and after the publication of the book, or she is hiding these facts from the reader to strengthen her hypotheses by hook or by crook. Whatever Hurter's intentions, these erroneous statements cause total confusion and mislead the reader.

Apparently, Hurter does not seem to be aware of my publications on the Mir Zakah deposits, and it may be useful to remind the reader that my investigations have a history. Her allegations oblige me to narrate once again the story of the Mir Zakah deposit, which seems to be the largest treasure find in the world if we leave aside some Chinese coin deposits, some of which contain more than 15 tonnes of coins.<sup>7</sup> My interest in the Mir Zakah deposit developed in the early 1980s as a graduate student of the Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne University, while preparing my doctoral thesis under the supervision of Paul Bernard and Georges Le Rider. While working on the collection of the Cabinet des Médailles at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, I observed that a good number of Graeco-Bactrian, Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian, and Kushan coins housed there were characterized by an unusual patina: reddish-black for silver (see figs. 1a & 1b)<sup>8</sup> and yellowish-brown for bronze (see figs. 2a & 2b).<sup>9</sup> Endless discussions with Raoul Curiel, the French archaeologist who excavated the first Mir Zakah deposit in July 1948,<sup>10</sup> led me to realize that most of the coins sold to the Cabinet des Médailles by Marc Le Berre, then architect of the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan, originally came from the first Mir Zakah deposit. My observations on the provenance of these coins were borne out by the registers of the purchases meticulously kept in the archives of the Bibliothèque nationale and the first-hand experience that Raoul Curiel had in dealing with the coins from the first Mir Zakah deposit. Marc Le Berre purchased most of his coins from the Kabul and Ghazni bazaars in the late 1940s and early 1950s, in other words during the years that followed the discovery of the first Mir Zakah deposit. We know that before the intervention of French archaeologists in 1948, most of the specimens from the Mir Zakah source reached the coin markets in Afghanistan before the Afghan authorities were able to intervene and request Raoul Curiel

<sup>5</sup> A.M. Chugg, 2007, p. 34.

<sup>6</sup> S.M. Hurter, 2006, p. 190.

<sup>7</sup> For these China finds, see O. Bopearachchi, 1999b, p. 37 and 1999c, p. 109, n. 36.

<sup>8</sup> Silver drachm of Strato I, O. Bopearachchi, 1991, no. 5. Unfortunately, these colour variations cannot be seen on the plates of the Bibliothèque nationale catalogue, since the photographs were made from plaster casts.

<sup>9</sup> Bronze coin of Demetrius I, O. Bopearachchi, 1991, no. 13.

<sup>10</sup> R. Curiel in R. Curiel and D. Schlumberger, 1953, pp. 67-123.

to carry out a methodical collection.<sup>11</sup> Regarding the characteristic yellowish-brown patina of the bronze coins from the deposit, the testimony of Raoul Curiel is crucial. He informed me that when the workers were extracting the coins from the muddy well, people who were gathered around the site, started shouting 'Zarin, Zarin' ('gold, gold'). The bronzes shone like gold in the light of the sun, but a few minutes later, out in the sun and air, the gleam faded leaving only a yellowish patina. On the basis of these assumptions, I catalogued the coins with these patinas hypothetically under Mir Zakah with a question mark in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale.<sup>12</sup> Some time later, Raoul Curiel drew my attention to two small private collections made by French residents in Kabul, at the time when coins were reaching the Afghan bazaars. I published 52 drachms mounted in four bracelets.<sup>13</sup> I personally checked the accuracy of the colour variations observed between the coins from the first Mir Zakah deposit and those of the second Mir Zakah deposit that I personally examined in the Shinwari bazaar of Peshawar in February 1994. The characteristic yellowish patina can very clearly be seen in the colour photographs of the bronze coins from the second Mir Zakah deposit published in the book *Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan*.<sup>14</sup>

Likewise, I gained invaluable additional knowledge about the context in which the first Mir Zakah deposit was found and about the coins extracted from this well under the guidance of Paul Bernard, who was head of the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan from 1965 to 1980. It goes without saying that I was not desperate, as Hurter claims,<sup>15</sup> relying on villagers and various officials who may have been trying to please me, to find out about the context, composition, and location of the Mir Zakah deposit, because, in its composition, the second Mir Zakah deposit is the same as the first source found in May 1947. Coins extracted from the first Mir Zakah deposit can be categorized as follows: 5,837 Indian coins (punch-marked 'bent bars'); 5 Greek; 2,757 Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek; 4,390 Indo-Scythian; 29 Indo-Parthian, and 37 Kushan.<sup>16</sup> As far as the second Mir Zakah deposit is concerned, the distribution pattern remains almost the same, only the quantitative proportions have changed.

I first heard about the discovery of the second Mir Zakah deposit from R.C. Senior. Aman ur Rahman, with whom I co-wrote *Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan*,<sup>17</sup> then offered me a wonderful opportunity to go to Peshawar to see

<sup>11</sup> See O. Bopearachchi, 1991, pp. 37-8.

<sup>12</sup> See O. Bopearachchi, 1991. Christine Fröhlich (2008) follows the same method when classifying the Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian coins of the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, which have supposedly come from the first Mir Zakah deposit.

<sup>13</sup> O. Bopearachchi, 1992.

<sup>14</sup> O. Bopearachchi and A. ur Rahman, 1995, see for example, nos. 138, 206-16, 266-80, 395-407, 487-90.

<sup>15</sup> S.M. Hurter, 2006, pp. 186-7.

<sup>16</sup> R. Curiel in R. Curiel and D. Schlumberger, 1953, pp. 73-83, 96, 98.

<sup>17</sup> O. Bopearachchi & A. ur Rahman, 1995.



the first sacks of coins and objects extracted. It is extremely important to understand that when people in the bazaar started pouring out sack after sack, each containing 50 kg of coins, I can only describe it as a 'rain' of coins. I suspect that no numismatist has ever seen so many coins in such a short space of time (see figs. 3, 4 & 5). I was overwhelmed. My modest objective at that precise moment was to understand the composition of the hoard. People in the bazaar allowed me some time to take notes. In this desperate exercise, I began to sort them into groups according to the issuers, e.g. early Indian, Greek city states, Seleucids, Indo-Greeks, Indo-Scythians, Indo-Parthians, and Kushans. I agree that it was not done in my usual meticulous way. However, I took it as a challenge. (This challenge that I accepted in March 1994 has haunted me ever since.<sup>18</sup> Coins from both Mir Zakah deposits have become part and parcel of my life. It has been a joy, because I could publish new coin types<sup>19</sup> and discuss the importance of monetary circulation in India and Central Asia.<sup>20</sup> But it has also been a curse as many of the most important coins and objects disappeared into the melting pot or into private collections, to some of which we have no access.) With my Pakistani friends I went from one boutique to another rapidly examining the coins. Indo-Scythian coins represented the large majority. I saw more than 3,000 tetradrachms of Azes II. There were nearly 2,000 specimens of posthumous imitations of Hermaeus, some of which are characterized by the Kharoshthi *akshara*, previously unreported in his coinage.<sup>21</sup> It is no accident that these two categories are well represented in Aman ur Rahman's collection, made mainly of coins from the second Mir Zakah deposit, including 102 posthumous imitations of Hermaeus and 158 coins of Azes II. There was a very clear concentration of coins issued in the first century BC and in the first two centuries of our era. Bronze coins of Soter Megas, Vima Kadphises, and especially of Kanishka are attested in the thousands. Huvishka seems to be the last king represented in the second Mir Zakah deposit. Although I did not see them personally, there may have been a few coins of Vasudeva, because he was the most recent king whose issues are confirmed in the first Mir Zakah source.<sup>22</sup>

Apart from thousands of coins, there were silver, gold and gold-plated objects from the same source. I photographed a few of the hundreds of pieces of jewellery (bracelets, earrings, and pendants), arrowheads, bracteates, vases

<sup>18</sup> While checking my diary notes, I realized that I went to Peshawar bazaar on 7 March, not in February as I stated in O. Bopearachchi and A. ur Rahman, 1995, p. 11.

<sup>19</sup> For example see O. Bopearachchi, 1994a, b, c; 1995; 1997a, b; 1998, 1999b, c; 2000a; 2001c.

<sup>20</sup> See O. Bopearachchi, 1999d.

<sup>21</sup> O. Bopearachchi and A. ur Rahman, 1995, see pp. 146-58 for the posthumous imitations of Hermaeus and pp. 178-98 for Azes II.

<sup>22</sup> There were nine bronze coins of Vasudeva in this deposit, see R. Curiel in R. Curiel and D. Schlumberger, 1953, pp. 82 and 98.



and cups (see figs. 6-13b). Many of these objects were similar to the ones published by R. Curiel from the first Mir Zakah deposit.<sup>23</sup>

Amongst these, the most important were:

- (a) The ibex, probably of solid gold, which had the oxidized portions of another item caught in its curling horns. I recently learnt that it is now in an American collection, and that the impurities have been cleaned by a professional technician (fig. 7).
- (b) The gold-plated statuette of a lion lying on the ground holding a cervid, which had traces of oxidation resulting from the inner core, probably of silver (fig. 8).<sup>24</sup>
- (c) The statuette of an eagle perched on a round pedestal made of solid gold (fig. 9).
- (d) Two gold plaques depicting a dragon-master holding two monsters, reminiscent of the pendant from Tillya Tepe, reflect the essence of the nomadic spirit.<sup>25</sup> One of these plaques appeared in the London market in 2001 (fig. 10).<sup>26</sup>

To my very great surprise, I recognized a broken piece of a silver vase depicting Dionysus that I had photographed in 1994 (See fig. 11) in a Californian private collection, sixteen years after the event. Dionysus was represented in all forms by many varieties of artefacts dug out from the second Mir Zakah source. Dealers did not allow me to take photographs of these items, so I only have my rapidly taken notes as proof. Apart from four or five objects I have since seen in private collections, others have certainly entered other collections to which I have so far had no access. My testimony may perhaps help future art historians to gain a notion of the origin of the objects should they get access.

The Indian conquest of Alexander the Great has a mythic analogy in the Indian Triumph of Dionysus. Like Herakles, Dionysus, the god of wine, inspired many Buddhist artists of Central Asia and Gandhara.<sup>27</sup> As the god who taught Indians how to cultivate the vine, he is shown with Ariadne drinking wine prepared by his companions. Apart from the known documents yielded by the Tillya Tepe tombs<sup>28</sup> and by the Begram<sup>29</sup> and Taxila<sup>30</sup> excavations, the finding of artefacts depicting Dionysus, Ariadne, Silenos, Satyrs, Pan, and other fertility

<sup>23</sup> R. Curiel in R. Curiel and D. Schlumberger, 1953, pl. VII.

<sup>24</sup> The same object: O. Bopearachchi, 1997b, p. 13.

<sup>25</sup> *Afghanistan: Hidden Treasures*, p. 246.

<sup>26</sup> Christie's, London, 25 April 2001, lot 28. A drawing of this plaque was published by J. Boardman, 2003, p. 356, fig. 6.

<sup>27</sup> Dionysus' exploits in the East are narrated in Euripides', *Bacchae*: 14-19.

<sup>28</sup> *Afghanistan: Hidden Treasures from the National Museum, Kabul*, pp. 193, 208-9, figs. 107 & 136.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 184, 203 & 205; figs. 188, 218 & 221.

<sup>30</sup> *Gandhara: The Buddhist Heritage of Pakistan*, pp. 98-9, nos. 28-32.

demons are important testimonies to the popularity this god enjoyed in India and Central Asia.

Apart from the objects denoting Dionysian cults, there were also a shallow bowl with a central medallion depicting semi-nude Aphrodite seated on rocks with Eros standing on her left hand side and a female figure standing on a column; and a silver bowl with an emblem of a royal portrait bust of an Indo-Greek king wearing a tunic and cloak.

Another phenomenon that I observed when examining these objects was that those with a copper or silver core either gilded or covered with gold foil were corroded or oxidized. The photographs illustrating a brooch before and after cleaning (figs. 12a & 12b), probably depicting a female bust, is a good example of how the corrosion can come to the surface, obliterating the gold foil.<sup>31</sup> The best example of the effect of oxidation on most of these gilded objects after being in water for nearly two thousand years is the kotyle depicting the Greek pantheon now in the Miho Museum. The photograph taken before the restoration (fig. 13a) shows how most of the gold foil had detached from the original silver core. Sand grains from the Mir Zakah well have penetrated into the silver core. These characteristics can no longer be seen after restoration (fig. 13b).<sup>32</sup> The same phenomenon is apparent on the silver bowls decorated with rosette motifs from the same Mir Zakah deposit, also now in the Miho Museum.<sup>33</sup> The same type of corrosion can also be seen on the plated coins. The obverse of the gold-plated coin of Zoilus I (figs. 14a & 14b) is in fairly good condition, but the reverse has suffered from oxidation. The plating has completely detached from the silver core, leaving few traces of the reverse type: Herakles standing, holding a club, and a few letters of the Kharoshthi inscription.<sup>34</sup> Likewise, from the gold-plated coin of Azes II (fig. 15), the obverse plaque alone has been found.<sup>35</sup>

The corrosion that we observe on the gilded or plated objects is not seen at all on the solid silver and gold objects. For example, the silver plate depicting a Ketos (see fig. 16) is in an excellent state of preservation.<sup>36</sup>

This observation also applies to the coins made of solid high-quality silver.

<sup>31</sup> This brooch from the Mir Zakah deposit is now conserved in the Miho Museum, see *Treasures of Ancient Bactria*, p. 147, pl. 204 e.

<sup>32</sup> See *Treasures of Ancient Bactria*, pp. 105 and 244, pl. 114. Unfortunately, the iconography of this valuable document was not fully understood by the author of this section, whose name is not clearly mentioned in the catalogue. The following Greek gods are depicted on the outer face of the kotyle: Artemis holding a torch and accompanied by a dog, Dionysus holding the thyrsos, Apollo playing a flute, semi-nude Aphrodite standing against a pillar, and Herakles wearing the lion's skin. The other two seated goddesses could be Hera with an infant and Athena or Hestia.

<sup>33</sup> See *Treasures of Ancient Bactria*, pp. 102-3, pls. 10-110.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 73, pl. 46 b.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 73, pl. 47 a.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 104, pl. 112. The role of Ketos in Greek mythology is discussed in P. Bernard and O. Bopéararchi, 2002.

The Attic-weight silver tetradrachm of Lysias that depicts the king wearing an elephant scalp on the obverse and Herakles crowning himself and holding a club and the lion skin on the reverse (figs. 17a & 17b), has insignificant traces of corrosion.<sup>37</sup> Coins, virgin flans, rings and offering plaques of the Zoroastrian cult made of solid and high-quality gold (figs. 17a-20) are in an excellent state of preservation. It is interesting to note that the gold stater struck in the name of Diodotus (fig. 18) is cut into two pieces, and prior to that three cut marks were made on the obverse over the head of the king to test the solidity and purity of the gold.<sup>38</sup> Similar chisel marks were made on most of the staters struck in the name of Antiochus and Diodotus found in the Vaisali hoard.<sup>39</sup> This hoard, found by chance by the villagers of Vaisali in March 2000, originally contained 1,000 staters. It is believed that about 500 were melted down by the village goldsmith. Of the remaining 500, about 350 had already been purchased by collectors through sale catalogues, auctions, and private dealers.<sup>40</sup> The majority of these coins bear chisel marks over the head of the king. They reached the middle Ganges valley through trade and may have been used as bullion for their intrinsic value, like the Roman Republican and Imperial coins circulated in India through Roman trade.<sup>41</sup> Thanks to the second Mir Zakah deposit, we know that an important percentage of gold and silver coins were plated,<sup>42</sup> which is why gold coins circulating in India were chiselled to check for solidity. There were many virgin flans of solid gold in the second Mir Zakah deposit and some of them have entered the Miho Museum collection (see fig. 19).<sup>43</sup> Most of the torques,<sup>44</sup> bracelets,<sup>45</sup> earrings,<sup>46</sup> rings,<sup>47</sup> plaques<sup>48</sup> and offering plaques of the Zoroastrian cult<sup>49</sup> (figs. 20-2) are of solid and high-quality gold, and there have no traces of corrosion on them. All the items made of solid gold mentioned above, although found among thousands of coins and other artefacts, did not suffer from a chemical reaction from being

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 73, pl. 46 c.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 73, pl. 47 d. On the reverse, one can see the feet of thundering Zeus with eagle, his attribute *par excellence*, and the last three letters of Diodotus.

<sup>39</sup> O. Bopearachchi and K. Grigo, 2001.

<sup>40</sup> In 2005 14 staters appeared in the CNG Mail Bid Sale 69, 8 June 2005, nos. 781-94.

<sup>41</sup> On the significance of Roman denarii circulated in India, see S. Suresh, 2004, pp. 26-88.

<sup>42</sup> Some these coins are illustrated in O. Bopearachchi and A. ur Rahman, 1995, see for example, 124, 234, 1008-44.

<sup>43</sup> See *Treasures of Ancient Bactria*, p. 73, pl. 47 e-t.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., pp. 119-21, pls. 145-50.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., pp. 122-8, pls. 151-69 b.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., pp. 130-4, pls. 176-87.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., pp. 141-3, pls. 196-8. The earring illustrated here depicts winged Nike walking with a raised right hand. It is a crude imitation of a classical motif.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 152, pls. 47, 210. This plaque depicts a quadriga.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., pp. 78-84, pls. 64-84.

in water for nearly two thousand years, since gold, like platinum, does not oxidize if it does not contain impurities. The Alexander medallion contains 97.7 per cent gold, 1.8 per cent silver and 0.4 per cent copper, with an expected group of trace elements.<sup>50</sup> This is reason enough to understand why the medallion is in such a good state of preservation. One should not forget that gold staters were in circulation; torques, bracelets, earrings and rings were worn as jewellery, and plaques of the Zoroastrian cult were offered as ex-votos; yet they are in an excellent state of preservation. The Alexander medallion was issued to commemorate a special occasion of extreme importance, and would not have been in circulation as an ordinary coin. I do not see why one should consider that the medallion a forgery because it is in mint condition. This would suggest that other gold coins in an excellent state of preservation, like those from the Vaisali hoard<sup>51</sup> or the twenty-stater medallion of Eucratides I,<sup>52</sup> or the Octadrachm of Euthydemus,<sup>53</sup> should also be considered forgeries.

The publication of the Alexander medallion aroused much enthusiasm. Those who argue against its authenticity seem to forget the rest of the novelties from the Mir Zakah deposit that I have published from time to time. The unique coin issued by Nashtenes, son of Xatranos (figs. 23a & 23b), an Iranian ruler in Central Asia, drew little attention by comparison.<sup>54</sup> As far as I am concerned, the Alexander medallion cannot be separated from the 3.5 or 4 tonnes of coins and nearly 300 kg of gold, silver and bronze artefacts from the same deposit.

To answer the objections raised by Hurter, I will now return to the Shinwari bazaar in Peshawar. I am certain that the people I met in the bazaar made their first acquaintance with the silver and bronze coins when the sacks were emptied in front of me. As we explained in the book, gold coins and objects were put separately into different sacks, and different dealers had access to this material before it was sold to Japanese, Arabian, British and American collectors. I shall come to this point shortly, and it will also answer Hurter's question 'where are they now?'<sup>55</sup> The people who showed me the coins did not have any idea about the coins and their issuers, or their real market value. The coins were sold according to their weight. In a sack weighing 50 kg, intermediaries were

<sup>50</sup> See the contribution by Maryse Blet-Lemarquand published in this volume.

<sup>51</sup> Almost all the coins of the Vaisali hoard are in an excellent state of preservation, because they were of solid and well-purified gold and were not in circulation, but were used as bullion in exchange for commodities. See the staters from the Vaisali hoard that appeared in the CNG, Mail Bid Sale, 69, 8 June 2005, nos. 781-94. Two staters of the Diodotus series struck in the name of Antiochus analysed by LA-ICP-MS or proton activation contain 99.5 per cent gold. See the contribution by Maryse Blet-Lemarquand in the present volume.

<sup>52</sup> O. Bopearachchi, 1991, series 4, pl. 16, no. 25; *De l'Indus à l'Oxus*, p. 106, no. 79.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, series 11, pl. 3, no. 15; *De l'Indus à l'Oxus*, p. 102, no. 62.

<sup>54</sup> See O. Bopearachchi, 1997 A and O. Bopearachchi and F. Grenet, 1993.

<sup>55</sup> S.M. Hurter, 2006, p. 190.

not looking for rarities, and there was no necessity to make forgeries and put them in the sacks, because not a single person present at the scene was able to identify even the commonest coins. Rarities were sorted out later by European dealers. Even when I separated rare coins from the heaps, a Pakistani collector who was present at the scene bought some of them for little more than their silver value. Among these coins there were Porus coins<sup>56</sup> and a unique monolingual tetradrachm of Menander I.<sup>57</sup>

The second Mir Zakah deposit was dug out illicitly and its valuable contents were secretly exported from the original find-spot at a moment when the whole of Afghanistan was entering a prolonged phase of civil war and unrest. The fall of the pro-Soviet Communist government led to the systematic looting of ancient sites such as Aī Khanum, Hadda, Begram, Paitava and Herat. More than 1,500 Attic-standard coins of the Graeco-Bactrian kings from Aī Khanum reached the Peshawar market in 1993.<sup>58</sup> Thousands of coins from more than eight hoards found by chance in Pakistan surfaced in the Pakistani markets in 1993-4: the Bajaur hoard (about 800 Indo-Greek drachms);<sup>59</sup> the Mankara hoard (2,000 Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian coins; not shown on map);<sup>60</sup> the Wesa hoard (1,000 drachms and 220 Indo-Greek tetradrachms);<sup>61</sup> the Khauzikhelai hoard (800 Indo-Greek coins);<sup>62</sup> the Swabi hoard (about 75

<sup>56</sup> Among 15 Porus coins, two are now in private collections: one in the Hirayama Collection (see O. Bopearachchi, and P. Flandrin, 2005, pp. 180-1) and the other in a private Californian collection (see F. Holt, 2003, pl. 13).

<sup>57</sup> This coin, depicting on the obverse the helmeted king seen from the back throwing a javelin and on the reverse Athena Alkidemos hurling the thunderbolt bearing a semi-circular legend, was first published by me; see O. Bopearachchi, 1999, p. 41. Sometime later it appeared in CNG *Triton VI* auction catalogue, 14-15 January 2003, no. 537.

<sup>58</sup> The ancient site of Aī Khanum has been pillaged and looted since 1992: see O. Bopearachchi, 1999 A and 1999 D, pp. 56-7. Some coins from these hoards were published in O. Bopearachchi and A. ur Rahman, 1995, Diodotus: nos. 92, 95-8; Euthydemus: nos. 102-13; Demetrius I: no. 121; Euthydemus II: nos. 141-2; Agathocles: nos. 148-50, 163-8; Antimachus I: nos. 172-80, 191-2; Apollodotus I: nos. 193-4; Eucratides I: 231-33, 239-47, 252-5, 263-4. Most of the coins in an excellent state of preservation were sold through sale catalogues. See also O. Bopearachchi and W. Pieper, 1998, pp. 184-5.

<sup>59</sup> O. Bopearachchi and W. Pieper, 1998, p. 185. This hoard was found by chance in October 1993 in the village of Khar near Pandyalay in Bajaur in the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan and it contained the coins of Apollodotus I, Antimachus II and Menander I.

<sup>60</sup> O. Bopearachchi, 1999d, p. 64.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65 and O. Bopearachchi and W. Pieper, 1998, pp. 184-5: coins of Apollodotus I, Antimachus II, Menander I, Eucratides I, Lysias, Antialcidas and Heliclos II. Some coins of this hoard were published in O. Bopearachchi and A. ur Rahman, 1995, nos. 314, 319, 337, 339, 341, 344, 352, 360, 361, 377, 381, 385, 389, 450, 455, 466.

<sup>62</sup> O. Bopearachchi, 1999d, p. 65 and O. Bopearachchi and W. Pieper, 1998, p. 186. This hoard consisted of silver coins of Apollodotus I, Antimachus II, Menander I, Lysias, Antialcidas, Philoxenus and Nicias. Apart from drachms, there were a good number of tetradrachms: 200 of Menander I and four of Antialcidas. The unique tetradrachm of Nicias was also found in this hoard: see O. Bopearachchi and A. ur Rahman, 1995, no. 495.

Indo-Greek coins);<sup>63</sup> the Mian Khan Sanghou hoard (8 tetradrachms and 75 drachms);<sup>64</sup> the Siranawali hoard (700 Indo-Greek coins);<sup>65</sup> and the Sarai Saleh hoard (about 500 tetradrachms and 1,500 Indo-Greek and early Indo-Scythian drachms).<sup>66</sup> Apart from coins, vessels, bowls, ivories and statuettes from ancient Afghan sites also reached the Peshawar bazaars. It was by chance that I photographed a ceremonial hammer, most probably from Daulatabad (close to Bactra) dating back to the end of the third millennium BC, still covered with mud (fig. 24). This rare object of immense importance, now in a private collection (fig. 25), was exhibited nine years later in the Caixa cultural foundation in Barcelona and in the Musée Guimet in Paris.<sup>67</sup> During my numerous visits to Pakistan in 1994 and 1995 and in subsequent years, I was able to go to the find-spots of these hoards, get first-hand experience by talking to those who found them, keep records of these discoveries and publish them from time to time.

The answer to the ironic question raised by Silvia Hurter about the destiny of the Mir Zakah deposit is not a very complicated one. The 3 tonnes of coins I saw in a container in Peshawar in 1995 were taken to London and from there to Basel, where they are still waiting for a buyer. All my attempts to seize these coins through UNESCO intervention came to nothing. Thanks to the keen interest of Christian Landes, then director of the Archaeological Museum of Lattes and President of IMAGO, we attempted to raise funds to buy the 3 tonnes of coins in Basel with the intention of studying them and then returning them to the Kabul Museum. We could only raise 2 per cent of the sum demanded by the dealer. I wrote to the authorities of the world's major museums asking them to raise funds to buy the hoard and allow numismatists to study them. I received only negative answers. This is the sad destiny of the Mir Zakah deposit. Apart from the objects published by the Miho Museum, all the precious

<sup>63</sup> O. Bopearachchi, 1999d, p. 65, coins of Apollodotus, Antimachus II and Menander I.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., pp. 65-6, coins of Apollodotus, Antimachus II, Menander I, and Zoilus I. For a complete description of the coin types, see O. Bopearachchi and W. Pieper, 1998, p. 185 and n. 37.

<sup>65</sup> O. Bopearachchi, 1999d, p. 66 and O. Bopearachchi and W. Pieper, 1998, p. 186. Two hoards were found in the same village by the same person. The first hoard, found in 1989-90, contained about 400 coins mainly of Menander I, and the second hoard, in 1993, was composed of 300 coins mainly of Menander I and Amyntas.

<sup>66</sup> O. Bopearachchi, 1999d, pp. 66-7 and O. Bopearachchi and W. Pieper, 1998, p. 187. This hoard, found by chance in 1994, was no doubt the most important hoard ever discovered in Pakistan. It was composed of coins of Menander I, Zoilus I, Strato I, Lysias, Antialcidas, Heliocles II, Polyxenus, Philoxenus, Diomedes, Amyntas, Epander, Nicias, Menander II, Artemidorus, Archebius, Hermaeus, Hermaeus and Calliope, Maues, Telephus, Apollodotus II, Hippostratus, Vonones with Spalahores, Vonones with Spaladagames, Spalirises with Azes and Azes I. The very first coins of this hoard were published in O. Bopearachchi and A. ur Rahman, 1995, nos. 420, 421, 467, 468, 469, 497-505, 507-10, 654, 655, 657, 658, 660, 666, 667, 668, 681, 682, 692, 693, 695, 696, 702, 703, 704-9.

<sup>67</sup> The photograph scanned from the exhibition catalogue (*Afghanistan, line histoire millénaire*, p. 106, no. 21) reproduced here shows the excellent quality of the object.



items entered Japanese, Arabian and American collections. I am certain that we will have access to them one day. To my knowledge, only 1 tonne of coins was dispersed in the coin market. One needs only to turn the pages of all the sale catalogues published since 1994 to see how many Bactrian, Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and Kushan coins have been sold without revealing their provenance. If the coins are illustrated in colour, the colours of the patina enable us to identify the coins from the second Mir Zakah deposit. More than 8,000 Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins have appeared in sale catalogues since 1993.<sup>68</sup> Of course all the coins are not from the Mir Zakah deposit. Most of the beautiful Bactrian coins are from the Aï Khanum IV and Kuliab hoards.<sup>69</sup> The Indo-Greek coins are from the Pakistani hoards discussed above. Photographs of hundreds of coins belonging to various hoards taken in Pakistan by myself alone, enable us to ascertain the provenance of many coins published in sale catalogues. Whoever may have sold coins from Mir Zakah, systematically concealing their provenance, would know better than I whether they are in some mysterious collection or not.<sup>70</sup>

In May 1993, after the National Museum of Kabul was destroyed by rockets and subsequently looted, bazaars in Pakistan were flooded with antiquities from Afghanistan. Only a few very rare coins that were hidden in the basement of the Afghan Ministry of Cultural Affairs survived the looting. Not a single coin was left in the cabinets of the museum, where over 30,000 coins had been stored.<sup>71</sup> Thousands of coins from the first Mir Zakah deposit, the Tchaman-i-Hazouri<sup>72</sup> and Qunduz hoards, and those from the Aï Khanum, Begram, and Hadda excavations surfaced in the Peshawar and Islamabad bazaars. Apart from the 3 tonnes of coins from the second Mir Zakah deposit stored in a container that I saw briefly in January 1995, many thousands of coins passed through my hands. My eyes became accustomed to them and my life as a humble numismatist was enriched by the colossal number of coins that I handled day and night in the Pakistani markets and in private collections. Fascinated by the quantity of coins and demoralized by the destruction of Afghan cultural heritage, my academic life took a dramatic turn. I spent most of my time trying to make the world aware that 'in promoting the cynical game

<sup>68</sup> This estimate is based on the database of Olivier Bordeaux of the Paris IV-Sorbonne University, which will be online in 2011.

<sup>69</sup> This hoard was found by chance in Kuliab in southern Tajikistan close to Kizil Mazar in Qizil Zu valley. Out of 800 coins, I published 205. All these coins later appeared in the sale catalogues, see O. Bopearachchi, 1999d, pp. 34-53, 59-60, 108-21, pls. XII-XXVI.

<sup>70</sup> I cite here S.M. Hurter (2006, p. 190): 'We can assume that O.B. held the coins in his hand, but how were they examined, where were they recorded, and most important, where are they now? Possibly in some mysterious Japanese collection?'

<sup>71</sup> The database for these coins will soon be online.

<sup>72</sup> Fourteen coins from this hoard, also known as 'tresor de Caboul', found 1933, surfaced in the Peshawar bazaar, and were purchased by Aman ur Rahman with the intention of returning them to the Kabul Museum through UNESCO, see O. Bopearachchi and A. ur Rahman, 1995, nos. 16 and 17.

of *realpolitik* in Afghanistan, humankind has lost a part of its collective cultural heritage — a loss for which the world bears collective responsibility'.<sup>73</sup> Among those who have fought for the same cause, novelist and journalist Philippe Flandrin published a book in 2001 on the lost treasures of the Afghan kings, revealing to the world the disasters caused to the Afghan people and to their cultural heritage in the early 1990s. I cannot overstate my admiration for his work. It was by pure coincidence that I met him in August 2002 at the Kabul National Museum while examining the statues of Kanishka from Surkh Kotal destroyed by the Taliban. It was thanks to him that I got the opportunity to go to Mir Zakah. Because of the perils of the journey and the absolute insecurity prevailing in that region, I could not go in person to the find-spot in 1994. So all my reports until 2004 were based on what I saw in the Pakistani bazaars and on what I heard from different people who had been there. The photographs of the Mir Zakah source taken in 1999 (figs. 26 & 27) were kindly sent to me by Nancy Dupree of the Society for the Preservation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage (SPACH), to whom I am most grateful. These photographs clearly show the vast area dug out by the treasure-seekers. A comparison of the black-and-white photographs of the first Mir Zakah source published by Raoul Curiel in 1953<sup>74</sup> and the colour photographs taken by SPACH very clearly indicates that both deposits (1947-8 and 1992-3) were extracted from the same spot.<sup>75</sup>

I met Philippe Flandrin on several occasions in Paris. He proposed that we should carry out a methodical investigation into the discovery and destiny of the second Mir Zakah deposit by going to Afghanistan. Although I was reluctant at first, I eventually accepted his offer. I am most grateful to him for convincing me to accompany him, because if I had not gone there my story would only have been half-told. Further investigations carried out in 2005 with Philippe Flandrin in Afghanistan, particularly in Mir Zakah, enabled us to answer many questions about the origin and dispersion of this important treasure. The investigation was carried out with the authorization of Dr Rahine, Minister of Cultural Affairs, and Dr Omar Sultan, Junior Minister. We were accompanied by Abdul Rawof Zakir, Deputy Director of the Archaeological Institute of Afghanistan, who has been to Mir Zakah several times. His presence was very important to us because, apart from English, Pashto and Dari, he can also understand some local dialects. He was also our witness on the Afghan side. He could at any moment attest to the way in which our investigation was carried out. He could also challenge any of the observations set out in our book. To date, he has only approved our initiative. This voyage deep into the country of the Mangals was not a hazardous one.

<sup>73</sup> O. Bopearachchi, 2002a, p. 70. Also see O. Bopearachchi, 2001a, 2002b, 2003a, 2003b, 2006.

<sup>74</sup> R. Curiel, and D. Schlumberger, 1953, pl. VI.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 1953, p. 95, fig. 2 is a perspective of the excavation conducted by Raoul Curiel and Marc Le Berre in June and July 1948.

According to the excavators of the first Mir Zakah deposit, the coins came from two sacred basins into which it was the custom in ancient times to throw small coins and various other small objects as offerings. They came to this conclusion by taking two characteristics of the deposit into consideration: the predominance of small denominations (drachms) and the considerable chronological range from the oldest coins (Indian coins from the fourth century BC) to the most recent (Kushan king Vasudeva).<sup>76</sup> When we visited the site on 28 February and 1 March 2005, we did not come across any traces of an ancient site or of a minor architectural structure that might denote the presence of a religious building or a sacred basin (see fig. 30).

The French excavators who dug the first Mir Zakah deposit in 1948 were equally surprised by the absence of any historical ruin in the vicinity.<sup>77</sup> But whatever their beliefs may be, who would throw statuettes, cups and jewellery of solid gold into a basin in the hope of improving their fortunes? The predominance of Indian-standard posthumous tetradrachms of Hermaeus and Azes II in the second Mir Zakah source is also unfavourable to the hypothesis that coins were just tokens thrown into a sacred basin. Like the first source, the second also seems to be a simple well into which coins and other valuable objects were dumped or hidden. It is quite possible that, having pillaged the treasuries of palaces and temples, looters whose identity remains obscure would have hurriedly hidden the booty in a well, hoping to come back one day to collect it. The presence of big wooden planks on the top of the well can perhaps be explained as a desperate attempt to hide the loot.<sup>78</sup> For unknown reasons, the looters never returned, so the coins and objects remained underwater for nearly two thousand years. This explanation deserves some attention, while the interpretation according to which the coins and objects were offerings thrown into a sacred basin should be discarded. We can only assume that looting took place at the end of the second century of our era, during the reign of Vasudeva, since he was the most recent king represented in the deposits. As I emphasized earlier, in spite of the presence of Indian coins dating back to the fourth century BC, there is a huge concentration of coins issued in the first century BC and the first and second centuries of the current era. One cannot therefore suggest a systematic accumulation of coins ranging from the oldest Indian bent bars to the most recent Kushan coins. The oldest coins may have been in the treasuries at the moment of pillage. This ties in with the hoard found by French excavators in the ancient Greek city of Ai Khanum, hidden in around 145 BC by the former occupants of the site, which contained 677 Indian silver punch-marked coins of the Mauryan period (third century BC), along with 6 bilingual coins of Agathocles (c.170 BC).<sup>79</sup>

<sup>76</sup> R. Curiel D. and Schlumberger, 1953, pp. 98-9.1 held the same view in 1992 about the first Mir Zakah deposit (see O. Bopearachchi, 1992).

<sup>77</sup> R. Curiel and D. Schlumberger, 1953, pp. 93-6.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 1953, pls. VI and VII.

<sup>79</sup> R. Audouin and Bernard, 1973, pp. 238-89.

Thanks to these investigations, we now know that the collection in the Miho Museum in Japan, first called the Oxus treasure and then the Bactrian treasure, in reality came from Mir Zakah. The villagers from Mir Zakah who dug the well recognized many of the artefacts in the Miho catalogue.<sup>80</sup> One has to bear in mind that no villager had advance notice of our visit. Only at night, hearing the news of our arrival, did the villagers come to see us with the coins and small objects they had kept as souvenirs of their involvement in digging the well under those who financed it. These were the workers who were hired by local Afghan leaders for the purpose. How could they forget the 4 tonnes of coins and artefacts extracted from this well spewing out gold and silver? Contrary to what Hurter would have us believe, there was no reason for them to please me, because they knew they could not expect anything in exchange apart from sharing their tragic experience. How can you imagine that these villagers could forget a 'well' that caused so much agony with the deaths of their own people? Hurter undermines the testimony of General Hai Gul Suleiman Khel, Assistant Governor of Paktya province, who went to the site when the excavations were taking place, which was also important in this context. It was he who identified the rhytons published by the Miho Museum. Nader Rassouli is not just an official; he is the Director General of the Institute of Archaeology, Kabul—in other words the Director General of Archaeology for the whole of Afghanistan. As a young man, he participated in the excavations at Ai Khanum in association with the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan. He speaks fluent French, he understood all our questions, and his answers were very accurate. He was the only archaeologist to visit Mir Zakah in 1993, as envoy of President Burhanuddin Rabbani and his Defence Minister, General Ahmad Shah Massoud. It is not necessary to repeat his adventure here, so vividly narrated by Flandrin in our book.<sup>81</sup> How can we underestimate the testimony of the top official of Afghan archaeology? Those who have worked in Afghanistan know the integrity of Nader Rassouli very well. He recognized almost all the pieces in the Miho catalogue, which he had photographed and drawn in situ. Either you believe him or you discard everything he said as *Glaubensfrage*. To deny his testimony serves only one purpose: to whitewash the illicit traffic of antiquities. For someone who fought at the risk of his own life to save the cultural heritage of Afghanistan, such defamation would be pure scandal.

We are now certain that all the pieces in the Miho collection are genuine and that they came from the second Mir Zakah deposit. The collection was valued according to its weight and individual items were not taken into consideration when the calculations were made. They all come from a precise context, at least 5 metres below ground level. We could go on discussing the question of the exact find-spot and the validity of some pieces of the Oxus treasure found towards the end of the nineteenth century, but as far as the Mir

<sup>80</sup> *Treasures of Ancient Bactria*, pp. 72-3.

<sup>81</sup> O. Bopearachchi and P. Flandrin, 2005, pp. 133-5.

Zakah deposit is concerned, we can be sure about its authenticity and its find-spot. So Oscar White Muscarella will have to revise what he has written about the Miho collection and about the items from the Oxus treasure in the British Museum.<sup>82</sup> We have now cleared away the unjustified attacks and vicious calumny, so the time has come to look at the Oxus treasure and the Mir Zakah deposit in a fresh light. Any attempt to undermine the results of our investigations serves only to encourage illicit traffic.

Those who have doubts about the existence of gold issues of the Indo-Greeks, Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians will also have to revise their opinion. The discovery of gold coins of Menander I, Zoilus I, Zoilus II, Azes I and Azes II in the Miho collection<sup>83</sup> and in private collections in Pakistan, all coming from the Mir Zakah deposit, shows that the existence of gold coins for these dynasties is not a fiction but a scientific truth. To my great surprise, an ordinary farmer present at the site when I visited the find-spot of the Mir Zakah deposit took out of his pocket a gold coin of Azes II similar to the one that I have already published elsewhere (fig. 33).<sup>84</sup> He found it two years before our visit to the site, in other words in 2003, in the earth excavated from the well.<sup>85</sup>

Hurter makes a desperate effort to negate the existence of the second Mir Zakah deposit, assuming 'For the few coins from the Mir Zakah find that are published we depend on the catalogue of the Miho Museum . . . where (part of?) the coins sold to this institution are illustrated. It is a strange selection, and some items confirm the uneasy feelings one already got from reading about them in the book.'<sup>86</sup> She then goes on to reject a series of coins published by me in the Miho catalogue. First of all, I have to underline the fact that she seems not to know about the coins I recorded in several publications prior to the Miho catalogue. Apparently, she is not aware of *Pre-Kushana Coins* and a series of articles written on unique items. Although the 418 coins from the second Mir Zakah deposit purchased by Aman ur Rahman in 1994 may appear derisory, it is interesting to note that in this small number there were 112 coins with unreported characteristics, for example a series with previously attested monograms but with unreported Kharoshthi *aksharas* (including 23 posthumous imitations of Hermaeus<sup>87</sup> and 76 coins of Azes II),<sup>88</sup> and a different series with

<sup>82</sup> Oscar White Muscarella has dismissed all the objects from the Oxus treasure now in the British Museum as fakes, and in a recent article he also labelled the pieces in the Miho collection as fakes, on the assumption that they also came from the Oxus treasure and without knowing that they are from the Mir Zakah deposit: see O.W. Muscarella, 2003.

<sup>83</sup> *Treasures of Ancient Bactria*, pp. 72-3.

<sup>84</sup> O. Bopearachchi, C. Landes and C. Sachs, 2003, pp. 143 and 162, no. 125.

<sup>85</sup> O. Bopearachchi and P. Flandrin, 2005, pl. 4.

<sup>86</sup> S.M. Hurter, 2006, pp. 190-1.

<sup>87</sup> See O. Bopearachchi and A. ur Rahman, 1995, nos. 579, 581, 585-7, 589, 595-600, 611-14, 620-2, 638, 639, 642, 643.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 756, 757, 771, 781-95, 802, 808, 809, 817, 818, 823, 828, 830-2, 846, 847, 850, 859, 861, 862, 870, 874, 882, 891-905, 907-16, 924-7, 933, 937-9, 942, 944-7, 949.

unreported monograms (four coins of Eucratides I,<sup>89</sup> two of Apollodotus I,<sup>90</sup> one of Menander I,<sup>91</sup> one of Strato I,<sup>92</sup> one of Lysias,<sup>93</sup> one of Heliocles II<sup>94</sup> and one posthumous imitation of Hermaeus).<sup>95</sup> It is also necessary to emphasize here that, apart from a few specimens, most of these coins were bought by Aman ur Rahman in bulk, and it was only after cleaning them that we discovered that most of them were unreported. Thus, this deposit must also contain thousands of other coins with new characteristics so far unknown to us. It is obvious that when we find a treasure composed of 5,50,000 coins, there will be unpublished coins. Every hoard from the smallest to the largest found in the lands of the extreme east of Alexander's conquests contains unpublished coins. The Sarai Saleh hoard, which probably consisted of 1,500 drachms and 500 tetradrachms of Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian kings, had many unique coins. As early as 1994, R.C. Senior first catalogued 16 specimens from this hoard.<sup>96</sup> I have published 45 coins in Aman ur Rahman's collection and 8 in the collection of Khurshid Ahmad Khan. Out of the 58 coins in the Khan collection, there were more than 15 new coin types or new denominations or known types with new monograms. Out of 45 coins in Rahman's collection, one coin of Artemidorus (no. 509) is unique and two others of the same king (nos. 504 1070) bear a monogram new to the whole of Indo-Greek coinage, while 8 coins bear monograms or Kharoshthi *aksharas* new to the respective series.<sup>97</sup> There are also other coins characterized by series so far known to us through just 1 or 2 coins. The significant number of unique coins attested in the second Mir Zakah deposit is no surprise.

Let us return to the Miho collection. The entire collection when sold was still covered with mud. Until I visited the Miho Museum in May 1999, no one at the museum knew that there were unique coins in the collection. There was certainly no necessity to add fakes to raise the selling price. Aside from the Alexander medallion, Hurter rejects as forgeries not only the gold stater of Menander I from the Mir Zakah deposit now in the Miho collection, but also all the other known specimens of the same series. In order to give the impression that all the gold staters in the name of Menander are forgeries, she cites M. Mitchiner's catalogue. The truth is that only three out of the five known specimens were considered fakes.<sup>98</sup> She does not mention the legitimate coins

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., nos. 268, 269, 1029, 1030.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., nos. 206, 216.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., no. 402.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., no. 433.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., no. 435.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., no. 464.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., no. 570.

<sup>96</sup> *Senior Consultants, List I*, nos. 65-80.

<sup>97</sup> Strato I: no. 420; Menander II: no. 497, Artemidorus: nos. 499, 507, 1068; Apollodotus II: no. 658; Hippostratus: nos. 668 and 669.

<sup>98</sup> M. Mitchiner, 1975, p. 129, type 211 and O. Bopearachchi, 1991, p. 226, n. 1.



in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston<sup>99</sup> nor the one in the British Museum, purchased from A. Cunningham on 8 December 1888.<sup>100</sup> What do you gain by such omissions? The gold stater of Menander I in the Miho Museum (fig. 35a) shows hardened minerals on the surface of the coin above the helmet, built up over centuries underwater, that even the professional cleaners were unable to remove. No forger under the sun could work such wonders. The coin was struck with hitherto unknown dies. On the obverse over the face of Athena, some traces of an undertype can be detected. Hurter fails to note any of these characteristics.

Hurter also condemns the two staters of Seleucus Nicator depicting the laureate head of Apollo to right on the obverse and Artemis in *biga* of elephants to right, drawing an arrow, on the reverse; she does so based on the simple fact there were 2 coins with the same dies in the Miho collection (figs. 36a & 36b).<sup>101</sup> She also rejects two coins of Seleucus I depicting the laureate head of Apollo to right on the obverse and Artemis in *biga* of elephants to right on the reverse (figs. 37a & 37b).<sup>102</sup> This is a curious way of dismissing coins as fakes. If I understand her correctly, if we come across die duplicates in a hoard they should be considered fakes. One year after the publication of Hurter's review of *Le Portrait d'Alexandre*, another gold stater of Seleucus I from the same dies, already mentioned by Arthur Houghton and C. Lorber in their catalogue,<sup>103</sup> appeared in the Triton catalogue.<sup>104</sup> If Hurter is correct, the coins from the same dies published earlier by the world's foremost experts in Seleucid coinage, like E.T. Newell and Arthur Houghton, have to be considered forgeries. Hurter's phobia has no limits and obeys no logic. Since all the die duplicates are suspicious for Hurter, the next forgeries, according to her logic, would be the triple shekels depicting the types of Mazaeus (or Mazaïos), satrap of Babylon (figs. 38a & 38b and 39a & 39b).<sup>105</sup> Unfortunately for her once again, a few months after her review, Triton published another gold coin bearing the same obverse type.<sup>106</sup> The new coin is a variant, because the bull and lion on the reverse are to left while on the coins of Miho they are to right. I totally

<sup>99</sup> H.L. Haughton, 1958, no. 397. Also see M. Mitchiner, 1975, p. 129, type 211, fifth coin.

<sup>100</sup> See O. Bopearachchi 1991, pl. 26, C. Menander I, series 1 and M. Mitchiner, 1975, p. 129, type 211, first coin.

<sup>101</sup> *Treasures of Ancient Bactria*, p. 71, pl. 44 k and l. On the reverse of the coin, between the hind legs of the two elephants, we can observe the hardened minerals encrusted on the surface (see fig. 49b), as on the coin of Menander I (see fig. 48a).

<sup>102</sup> *Treasures of Ancient Bactria*, p. 71, pl. 44 i and j.

<sup>103</sup> A. Houghton and C. Lorber, 2002, type 257.

<sup>104</sup> *Triton X*, 9-10 January 2007, no. 389.

<sup>105</sup> *Treasures of Ancient Bactria*, p. 71, pl. 44 a and b. On the obverse: in a pellet border, crowned, semi-nude Baal-Tars seated on throne to left, head facing, holding sceptre in left hand and bunch of grapes and wheat ear in right hand. Eagle to right seated on right hand and on the reverse: in an irregular square frame, lion to right devouring bull to right.

<sup>106</sup> *Triton X*, 9-10 January 2007, p. 97, no. 412.

agree with the observations made in the Triton catalogue with regard to these legendless coins:

The types of the present coin identify the issuer as Mazaïos, and the omission of a legend is characteristic of the Babylonian context. Achaemenid gold was routinely issued without legend, as were many of Mazaïos' standard double darics. . . . Although the early 'lion staters' are normally struck in the name of Mazaïos, some bore neither legend nor control mark. . . . The present type is to be located alongside Mazaïos' other Babylonian coins but it is clearly distinct from them. Perhaps it was an initial emergency issue that was later superseded, or perhaps it was a local variation for a special purpose.<sup>107</sup>

I shall not waste the reader's time and energy by discussing each and every coin discarded by Hurter. The few examples that I have cited here are more than enough to show that her methodology is incoherent and illogical.<sup>108</sup>

Let me now answer the allegations launched by Hurter accusing me of secrecy and of handling the gold medallion in a furtive way.<sup>109</sup> As soon as I had the medallion in my hands, the first step I took was to contact the best specialists in the coinage of Alexander. All the correspondence I had with my colleagues in this regard is proof of my openness. No specialist ever condemned it as a modern forgery, and most had the opportunity to examine it personally. (It is also curious to note that all those who have dismissed it as a forgery never examined it. How can a numismatist make a judgement by looking at photographs alone? It is against the ethics of a good scholar.)

I am most grateful to George Le Rider for correcting my initial inaccuracies regarding the medallion. He proposed the denomination of 'double-daric' instead of double-stater. He also suggested that what Alexander has over his shoulder on the gold medallion is the aegis, not a leopard skin. At first, I considered this exceptional medallion a Seleucid issue of Babylon,<sup>110</sup> and it was presented as such in my lectures at the University of Texas at Austin;<sup>111</sup> the University of California, Los Angeles;<sup>112</sup> the University of the Punjab,

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> S.M. Hurter (2006, pp. 192-3) also contested the gold coin of Sophytus from the Aqtcha hoard and accused me of changing my opinion about the chronology of this enigmatic ruler of Bactria. First of all, it is well known that only idiots do not change their minds. In the face of new evidence, original ideas have to be modified. This is exactly what I did in the case of Sophytus (see O. Bopearachchi and P. Flandrin, 2005, pp. 196-200; this new hypothesis was developed in O. Bopearachchi, 2005, pp. 57-62). Since the publication of these two studies, more coins of Sophytus, not only of gold and silver, but also of bronze and lead, have appeared in the coin market, and I wish to publish these new data in a separate article and discuss why the gold coin cannot be rejected as a forgery.

<sup>109</sup> S.M. Hurter, 2006, p.190.

<sup>110</sup> Since the gold medallion cannot be separated from the so-called Porus coinage, I adopted the hypothesis put forward by Paul Bernard in 1985 (see P. Bernard 1985 B).

<sup>111</sup> Department of Asian Studies, University of Texas at Austin, 7 October 2004.

<sup>112</sup> Centre for Buddhist Studies, University of California, Los Angeles, 12 October 2004.

Lahore;<sup>113</sup> the University of Calcutta;<sup>114</sup> the Centre for Archaeological Studies & Training, Eastern India, Calcutta;<sup>115</sup> the India International Centre, New Delhi;<sup>116</sup> and at a colloquium in Oxford.<sup>117</sup> I changed my opinion about the issuing date and place of the gold medallion having carefully read Frank Holt's book *Alexander the Great and the Mystery of the Elephant Medallions*. Fully convinced by his arguments, I began to write my section on the Mir Zakah deposit for the book *Le Portrait d'Alexandre le Grand*.

Silvia Hurter also made fun of the exhibition held for three months at the Musée archéologique Henri-Prades, Lattes (Montpellier):

A few months after the book had come out, O.B. let it be known that the Alexander coin had been on exhibit at the Montpellier museum for three months, but without any kind of announcement. Now Montpellier is a beautiful and pleasant town, worth a visit any day, but it is not exactly the hub of the numismatic world, and who would look for a new, sensational coin there without knowing about the exhibit? There was no need for such secrecy, and many questions could have been asked, and perhaps answered, on the spot if it had not been handled in such a furtive way.<sup>118</sup>

What Hurter omits to say in her review is that before the medallion was exhibited at the Archaeological Museum, it was first shown to the public at the press conference organized under the auspices of Michel Amandry, Director General of the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris on 17 June 2005. What is more central than this prestigious institute in France? If I were handling the medallion in a furtive way, I would not have dared to announce the occasion in all the French and international media and invite so many scholars to take part in the event, which was also announced by AFP and Reuters on 15 June.<sup>119</sup> All respected numismatists and art historians were informed about it. Many questions were asked and answered on the spot. It was not handled in a furtive way, and there was no need to hide anything from anyone. She then treats with utter contempt the Montpellier exhibition. If Hurter knew about this exhibition, it means that our publicity about the exhibition was effective. Although the Lattes Museum is not the 'hub' of the coin world, it has a proud history. Many important exhibitions and international conferences on various themes have been held there. Indeed, it was the only museum in the world that made a positive attempt to save the 3 tonnes of coins from the Mir Zakah treasure

<sup>113</sup> University of the Punjab, Lahore, 6 November 2004.

<sup>114</sup> University of Calcutta, Department of History, 14 December 2004.

<sup>115</sup> Centre for Archaeological Studies & Training, Eastern India, Calcutta, 5 January 2004.

<sup>116</sup> India International Centre, New Delhi, 21 December 2004.

<sup>117</sup> *Indian Numismatics, Epigraphy and Archaeology: Recent Advances in Reconstructing the Past*, 15-17 September 2004, Worcester College, Oxford.

<sup>118</sup> S.M. Hurter, 2006, p. 190.

<sup>119</sup> The dispatch of Agence France-Presse by Raoul Sachs, at 17:58 on 15 June: 'Découverte d'une médaille en or d'Alexandre le Grand.'

stored in Basel. It is also the only museum in the world that signed a convention with UNESCO to keep safe the stolen property of the Kabul Museum.<sup>120</sup> Aside from valuable silver vases from Fullol and other artefacts, one of the silver coins of Agathocles found by the French archaeologists at Ai Khanum depicting Balarama-Samkarsana and Vasudeva-Krishna, the earliest depictions of these two Hindu gods ever attested in India, is housed at the museum until UNESCO deems it safe to return it to Afghanistan.<sup>121</sup> It was also at the Lattes Museum that one of the leading exhibitions on Central Asian art history was held.<sup>122</sup> This event was celebrated by an international colloquium on 'Afghanistan, Meeting Point between East and West' with the participation of 70 archaeologists, numismatists, epigraphists and art historians of 14 countries from 5-9 May 2003, under the patronage of CNRS and UNESCO. Proceedings of the colloquium, published in 2005, are considered today to be one of the groundbreaking contributions to studies on Central Asian culture.<sup>123</sup>

The museum published a small catalogue to celebrate this event.<sup>124</sup> The exhibition was publicized on the museum website and in the local press,<sup>125</sup> and invitations were sent to all the relevant scholars. More than 30,000 visitors came to the exhibition: quite a respectable number for a museum that is not the hub of the coin world. A series of public conferences was organized by the museum, inviting reputed French scholars, journalists and the official in charge of Afghan cultural heritage in UNESCO.<sup>126</sup> Once again, questions were asked and answers were given. No one disputed the authenticity of the gold medallion. Those who had doubts were able to examine it personally. To my knowledge, not one of those who had contested its authenticity took the trouble to come to Montpellier, which is easily reachable by TGV or by air. All the events connected with the Lattes Museum took place when Christian Landes was its Director. It is thanks to his scientific interest that the present volume, came into being.

One may accuse me of giving a good deal of publicity to the tragedy behind the discovery of the Mir Zakah deposit and to the historical importance of the medallion issued by Alexander to commemorate his victory over the Indian king Porus, but it is unethical (and illogical) to say that I handled the medallion in a secretive way. The amazing story of the discovery of the Alexander

<sup>120</sup> This convention was publicized in several international newspapers. See for example the article by Dalya Aleberge in *The Times*, Monday, 9 June 2003, p. 11.

<sup>121</sup> These artefacts were published in *Sur les pas d'Alexandre*, *Notae* 4, p. 8.

<sup>122</sup> See *De l'Indus à l'Oxus*, the catalogue of the exhibition at the Musée Archéologique Henri - Prades, Lattes (Montpellier), from 15 April to 31 August 2003.

<sup>123</sup> O. Bopearachchi M-F. Boussac, 2005.

<sup>124</sup> See *Sur les pas d'Alexandre*.

<sup>125</sup> *Littoral*, 14 September 2005, p. 10; *Midi Loisirs*, 30 September 2005, p. 42; *Supplément, Midi Libre*, *Agenda*, 16-23 September 2005; *Midi Libre*, 24 September, p. 12.

<sup>126</sup> The conference given by Philippe Flandrin and Osmund Bopearachchi on 17 September 2005 was announced in *Midi Libre*, 11 September 2005.

medallion and the Mir Zakah find was the subject of many articles in French and international newspapers and magazines.<sup>127</sup> Prominent French newspapers such as *Le Monde*<sup>128</sup> and *Liberation*<sup>129</sup> and magazines like *Paris Match*<sup>130</sup> carried articles of several pages on these discoveries. Apart from the public talks given prior to the publication of *Le Portrait d'Alexandre*, the medallion was presented at conferences and talks all over the world.<sup>131</sup>

The reader will understand that these are hardly the actions of one bent on maintaining secrecy and silence. The worst humiliation for a scholar is to answer this kind of allegation, which diverts the attention of the reader from the essential debate. Having said that, let me emphasize again that the hundreds of numismatists, archaeologists, art historians and historians who attended these colloquia and conferences never questioned the authenticity of the

<sup>127</sup> *Midi Libre* (Montpellier), 14 September 2005; *Le Journal du CNRS* (Paris), no. 192, January 2006; *Tanea* (Athens), 11 and 12 March 2006; *Infonation* (Copenhagen) 17-18 June 2006, pp. 1 and 22, 22 June 2006, p. 1; *Les Cahiers de Sciences et Vie*, Spécial no. 100, Les 100 plus grands trésors de l'Antiquité, August-September 2007, p. 92.

<sup>128</sup> Article by Françoise Chipaux, Les Talibans en campagne contre les 'idoles' d'Afghanistan, *Le Monde*, 4-5 March 2001, p. 2, on the second Mir Zakah deposit.

<sup>129</sup> *Libération* (Paris), 1 March 2006, pp. 34-5.

<sup>130</sup> *Paris Match*, 16-22 June 2005, pp. 70-5.

<sup>131</sup> 'Introduction to the panel on the chronology of Gandhâra', 18th International Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists, 4-8 July 2005, London; 'Les royaumes gréco-bactriens et leurs monnaies', *L'Hellénisme en Orient et en Asie*, Auditorium de l'institut français d'Athènes, 29 November 2006; 'New epigraphical evidence on Alexander's Successors in India', International Seminar on *Revisiting early India through epigraphical and other texts: a tribute to Prof. D.C. Sircar*, 7-8 January 2007, University of Calcutta; 'Hellenism in Central Asia and its impact on Gandhâran Buddhist art', *Recovering Afghanistan's Past: Cultural Heritage in Context*, University of California at Berkeley, 14-15 November 2008; 'The portrait of Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic heritage in Central Asia', *Zwischen Ost und West - neue Forschungen zum antiken Zentralasien*, Wissenschaftliches Kolloquium in Mannheim, 30 September to 2 October 2009; Musée archéologique de Lattes, IMAGO, on 17 September 2005; Institut für Indische Philologie und Kustgeschichte, Freie Universität, Berlin, 31 October 2005; University of Toronto at Mississauga, Toronto, 20 April 2006; Nationalmuseum, Copenhagen, Denmark, 7 June 2006; Yale University, Department of Religious Studies, 17 October 2006; Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Rome, 23 November 2006; University of Calcutta, Department of History, 6 December 2007; Università 'La Sapienza', Department of Art and Archaeology, Rome, 16 May 2008; University of Sydney, The Near Eastern Archaeology Foundation, 24 April 2008; University of Macquarie, Australian Centre for Numismatic Studies, 28 April 2008; University Nicolaus Copernicus, Department of Archaeology, Toruń, 26 November 2008; Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University, New York, 9 December 2009; Religious Studies, South Asian Studies, East Asian Studies Program, Classics Department, Art History and Center for Ancient Studies, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 26 April 2010; Department of Asian Studies, University of Texas at Austin, 9 March 2010; Historical Numismatic Bourse, San Francisco, 14 May 2010.

Alexander medallion. Seeing that those who wrote negative reviews about it had never personally examined the medallion, I organized the international roundtable discussion at the École normale supérieure. Invitations were again sent to all the specialists on the subject, including those who had doubts about the authenticity of the medallion; Silvia Hurter and John H. Kroll were among the attendees. Wolfgang Fischer-Bossert was an exception.<sup>132</sup> Specialists from France, the USA, Great Britain, Switzerland, Italy and Holland took part, and the medallion was exhibited before and after the discussion.

As Frank Holt has wisely concluded, as long as the Alexander medallion is not proved to be a forgery it has to be provisionally considered genuine. I can only express my feelings of indignation when I read the remark made by Carmen Arnold-Biucchi, current President of the International Numismatic Commission, in her recent book *Alexander's Coins and Alexander's Image: 'O. Bopearachchi and P. Flandrin, Le portrait d'Alexandre le Grand, Histoire d'une découverte pour l'humanité*, Monaco, 2005, has not been taken into account because the authenticity of the new gold coin presented in the book, which forms the basis of the authors' arguments on the portrait of Alexander the Great, is doubtful.<sup>133</sup> When reviewing her book, Andrew Stewart correctly emphasized:

This cryptic remark will certainly intrigue students and others unfamiliar with this particular field. The reference is to the spectacular gold double-daric reportedly from the Mir Zakah hoard, featuring a fearsome Alexander with elephant scalp, Amnion's horn, and scaly aegis on the obverse and a strolling elephant on the reverse, with monograms AB and Ξ that link it to the 'Porus' silver.<sup>134</sup>

From the outset my intention was to have an open debate about this very important document. My aim was not only to draw attention to the Alexander medallion, but also to show the world that my investigations on the second Mir Zakah deposit were not yet over. As long as all the artefacts and coins dispersed in private collections are not made known to the world and the 3 tonnes of coins still lying in the Free Trade Zone of Basel are not exposed and studied, the story of Mir Zakah will remain incomplete. Hundreds of unique coins, perhaps as impressive as the gold medallion of Alexander the Great and the silver tetradrachm of Nashtenes, son of Xatranos, must surely be among these 3,000 kg of coins.

<sup>132</sup> When the roundtable discussion was organized, the book by Karsten Dahmen (2007) had not been published, and so I did not send him an invitation.

<sup>133</sup> C. Arnold-Biucchi, 2006, p. 84.

<sup>134</sup> *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2007.08.58, also see: <http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2007/2007-08-58.html>

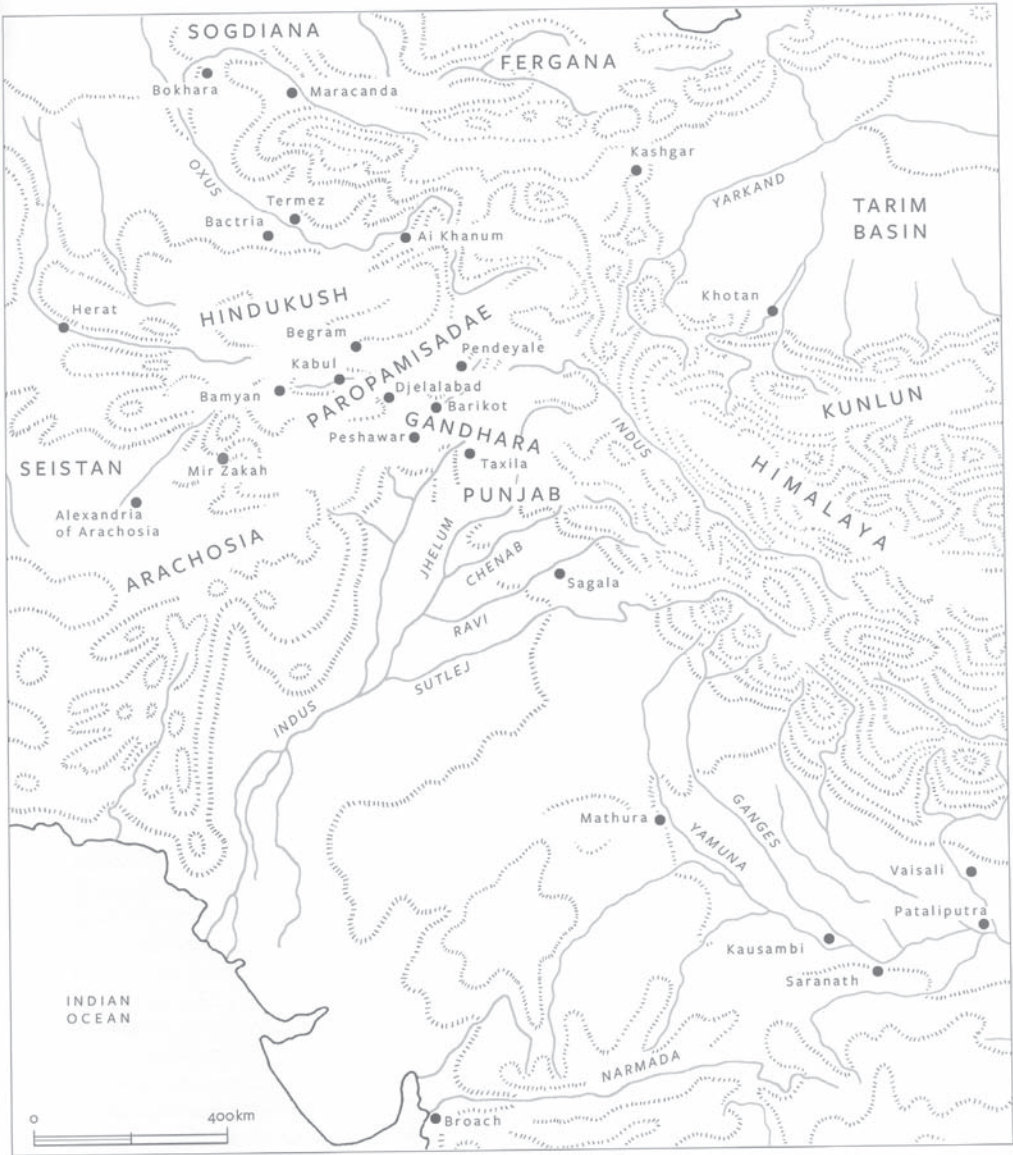




FIGURES 1a & 1b: Silver drachm of Strato I O. Bopearachchi, 1991, no. 5. Mir Zakah I. Cabinet des Médailles de Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



FIGURES 2a & 2b: Bronze coin of Demetrius I O. Bopearachchi, 1991, no. 13. Mir Zakah I. Cabinet des Medailles de Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Map of Central Asia and India showing the location of Mir Zakah.



FIGURES 3, 4 & 5: Sacks of coins from Mir Zakah II each containing 50 kg.  
Shinwari bazaar, Peshawar.





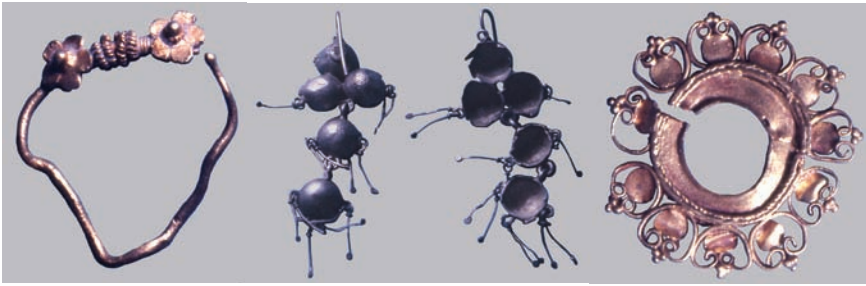


FIGURE 6: Jewellery from Mir Zakah II.



FIGURE 7: Ibex, probably of solid gold: Mir Zakah II.



FIGURE 8: Gold-plated statuette of a lion lying on the ground holding a cervid Mir Zakah II.



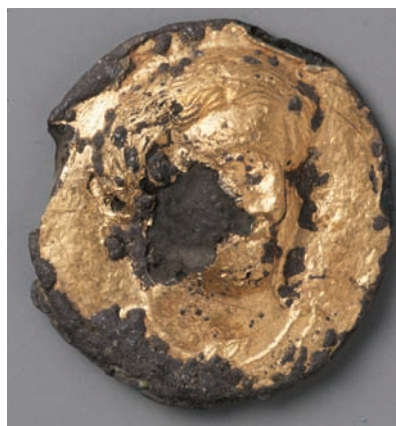
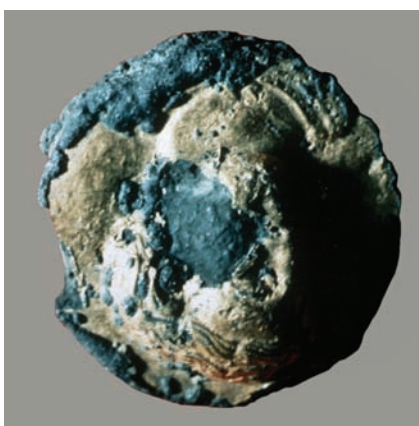
FIGURE 9: Statuette of an eagle perched on a round pedestal. Mir Zakah II.



FIGURE 10: Gold plaques depicting a dragon-master holding two monsters. Mir Zakah II.



FIGURE 11: Broken piece of a silver vase depicting Dionysus. Mir Zakah II.



FIGURES 12a & 12b: Brooch before and after cleaning, probably depicting a female bust Miho Museum (*Treasures of Ancient Bactria*, p. 147, pl. 204 e). Mir Zakah II.



FIGURES 13a & 13b: Kotyle before and after restoration depicting the Greek pantheon Miho Museum (*Treasures of Ancient Bactria*, pp. 105 & 244, pl. 114). Mir Zakah II.





FIGURES 14a & 14b: Gold-plated coin of Zoilus I Miho Museum  
(*Treasures of Ancient Bactria*, p. 73, pl. 46 b). Mir Zakah II.



FIGURE 15: Obverse plaque of the  
gold-plated coin of Azes (II) Miho  
Museum (*Treasures of Ancient Bactria*,  
p. 73, pl. 47 a). Mir Zakah II.



FIGURE 16: Silver plate depicting  
a Ketos Miho Museum  
(*Treasures of Ancient Bactria*,  
p. 104, pl. 112). Mir Zakah II.



FIGURES 17a & 17b: Attic-weight silver tetradrachm of Lysias depicting the king wearing an elephant scalp and Herakles crowning himself and holding a club and lion skin Miho Museum (*Treasures of Ancient Bactria*, p. 73, pl. 46 c). Mir Zakah II.



FIGURES 18: Gold stater struck in the name of Diodotus cut into two pieces Miho Museum (*Treasures of Ancient Bactria*, p. 73, pl. 47 d). Mir Zakah II.



FIGURE 19: Virgin flan of solid gold Miho Museum  
(*Treasures of Ancient Bactria*, p. 73, pl. 47 f). Mir Zakah II.

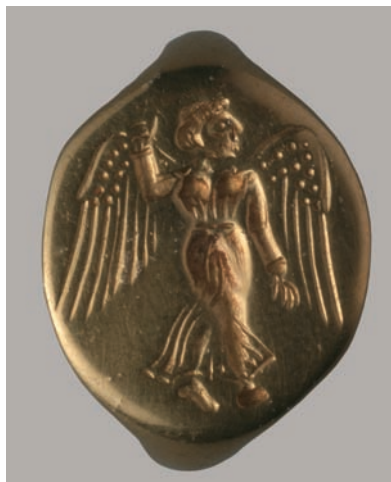


FIGURE 20: Gold ring depicting winged Nike Miho Museum  
(*Treasures of Ancient Bactria*, 141, pl. 196 d). Mir Zakah II.



FIGURE 21: Offering plaques of the Zoroastrian cult Miho Museum  
(*Treasures of Ancient Bactria*, p. 79, pl. 65 a-d). Mir Zakah II.

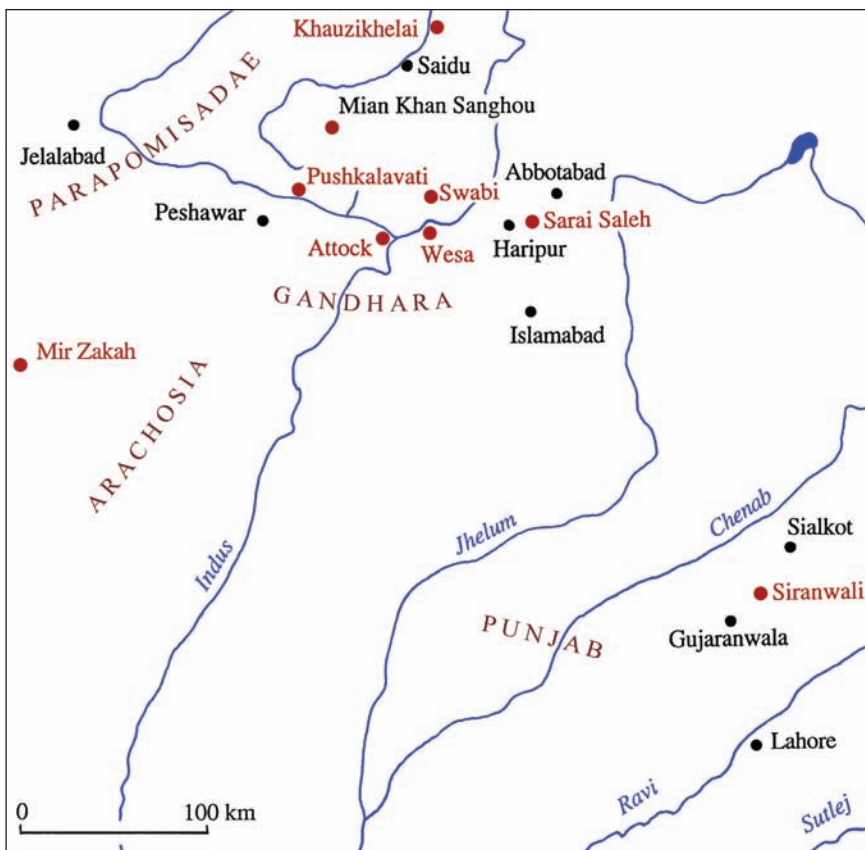


FIGURE 22: Gold plaque depicting a two-horse chariot  
driven by a rider Miho Museum (*Treasures of  
Ancient Bactria*, p. 152, pl. 210).  
Mir Zakah II.





FIGURES 23a & 23b: Silver coin issued by Nashtenes, son of Xatranos (O. Bopearachchi, 1997a and O. Bopearachchi and F. Grenet, 1993). Mir Zakah II.



Findspots of coin hoards.



FIGURES 24 & 25: Ceremonial hammer before and after cleaning. Most probably from Daulatabad dating back to the end of the third millennium BC. (*Afghanistan une histoire millenaire*, p. 106, no. 21.)





FIGURE 26: Photograph of the Mir Zakah source taken in 1999 Courtesy Nancy Dupree of the Society for the Preservation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage (SPACH).



FIGURE 27: Photograph of the Mir Zakah source taken in 1999 Courtesy Nancy Dupree of the Society for the Preservation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage (SPACH).



FIGURE 28: The author and Dr Rahine, Minister of Cultural Affairs.  
Photograph by Michel Setboun.



FIGURE 29: Voyage deep into the country of the Mangals in  
Paktya province. Photograph by Michel Setboun.



FIGURE 30: Mir Zakah source Photograph by Michel Setboun.



FIGURE 31: Villagers from Mir Zakah showing coins and small objects from the second Mir Zakah deposit with Mr Abdul Rawof Zakir, Deputy Director of the Archaeological Institute of Afghanistan also on the photograph.  
Photograph by Michel Setboun.





FIGURE 32: General Hai Gul Suleiman Khel, Assistant Governor of Paktya province, identifying the rhytons from Mir Zakah II.



FIGURE 33: Mr Nader Rassouli, Director General of the Institute of Archaeology, identifying the Zoroastrian votive plaques from Mir Zakah II.



FIGURE 34: Farmer showing a gold coin of Azes II found in 2003, in the earth excavated from the well.



FIGURES 35a & 35b: Gold stater of Menander I depicting helmeted bust of Athena and owl Miho Museum (*Treasures of Ancient Bactria*, p. 73, pl. 46 a). Mir Zakah II.



FIGURES 37a & 37b: Stater of Seleucus I depicting the laureate head of Apollo and Artemis in biga of elephants Miho Museum (*Treasures of Ancient Bactria*, p. 71, pl. 44i). Mir Zakah II.





FIGURES 38a & 38b: Triple shekels depicting the types of satrap Mazaeus Miho Museum (*Treasures of Ancient Bactria*, p. 71, pl. 44a). Mir Zakah II.



FIGURES 39a & 39b: Triple shekels depicting the types of satrap Mazaeus Miho Museum (*Treasures of Ancient Bactria*, p. 71, pl. 44b). Mir Zakah II.

# Publications by Osmund Bopearachchi

(Monographs, chapters and articles republished in these two volumes:  
*From Bactria to Taprobane* are marked with an \*)

## BOOKS

1. O. Bopearachchi, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques, Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1991, 459 pages, 69 plates.
2. O. Bopearachchi, *Catalogue of Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian Coins of the Smithsonian Institution*, Washington D.C., 1993, 140 pages, 41 plates.
3. O. Bopearachchi and A. ur Rahman, *Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan*, Iftikhar Rasul IRM Associates (Pvt.) Ltd., Karachi, 1995, 237 pages, 76 plates.
4. O. Bopearachchi and W. Pieper, *Ancient Indian Coins*, Brépols, Turnhout, Belgique, *Indicopleustoi*, vol. 11, 1998, 289 pages, 59 plates.
5. O. Bopearachchi, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek Coins: The Collection of the American Numismatic Society*, part 9, New York, 1998, 94 pages, 76 plates.
6. O. Bopearachchi and R.M. Wickremesinha, *Ruhuna: An Ancient Civilisation Re-visited. Numismatic and Archaeological Evidence on Inland and Maritime Trade*, Colombo, 1999, 140 pages, 3 maps, 36 plates.
7. O. Bopearachchi, *An Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coin Hoard from Bara (Pakistan)*, Seattle, 2003, 104 pages, 33 plates.
8. O. Bopearachchi and Philippe Flandrin, *Le Portrait d'Alexandre. Histoire d'une découverte pour l'humanité*, Édition du Rocher, Monaco, 2005, 267 pages, 8 plates.
- 9.\* O. Bopearachchi, *The Pleasure Gardens of Sigiriya: A New Approach*, Godage Book Emporium, Colombo, 2006, 80 pages, 26 plates (Sinhalese translation, Godage Emporium, Colombo, 2008).

## EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

10. *The Crossroads of Asia: Transition in Image and Symbol in the Art of the Ancient Afghanistan and Pakistan*, ed. E. Errington and Joe Cribb, The Ancient India and Iran Trust, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 54-88. O. Bopearachchi and J. Cribb: 92 notices, see nos. 2-94, pp. 54-88.
11. *Treasures of Ancient Bactria*, The Miho Museum, Japan, July 2002, pp. 70-3, 221-4, 236-7. O. Bopearachchi, 43 notices, see nos. 44.a-m; 45a-k; 46a-d; 46a-d; 47a-i; pp.70-3; chapters 222-4; 237-8.
12. *Catalogue de l'Exposition: De l'Indus à l'Oxus. Archéologie de l'Asie Centrale*, ed. O. Bopearachchi, C. Landes and C. Sachs, Association IMAGO - Musée de Lattes, Lattes, 2003, 419 pages.  
O. Bopearachchi: 65 notices, see nos. 48-88, 943, 94, 96-114, 134, 135, 277, 283 and chapters, pp. 13, 78-85, 127-32, 125.

- O. Bopearachchi and P. Bernard: 4 notices, nos. 90-2, 183.
- O. Bopearachchi and A. Fenet: 1 notice, no. 89;
- O. Bopearachchi and F. Grenet: 2 notices, nos. 131, 132;
- O. Bopearachchi and C. Sachs: 16 notices, nos. 115-24, 127-30, 133, 158.
- 13. *Notae 4: 'Sur les pas d'Alexandre . . .'*, Association IMAGO - Musée de Lattes, Lattes, 2005, 16 pages.
- O. Bopearachchi: pp. 3-5; 20 notices, nos. 1-19, 49.

#### TRANSLATIONS (BOOKS)

- 14. O. Guillaume, *Analysis of Reasonings in Archaeology*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1990, 133 pages.
- 15. *Indian Coins from Afghanistan*, ed. O. Guillaume, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1991, 200 pages.

#### EDITED VOLUMES

- 16. *Origin, Evolution and Circulation of Foreign Coins in the Indian Ocean*, ed. O. Bopearachchi and D.P.M. Weerakkody, Manohar, New Delhi, 1998, 273 pages.
- 17. *Silk Road Art and Archaeology, Papers in honour of Francine Tissot*, vol. 6, ed. E. Errington and O. Bopearachchi, Journal of the Institute of Silk Road Studies, Kamakura, 1999/2000, 313 pages.
- 18. *Alexander's Legacy in the East : Studies in Honor of Paul Bernard*, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, vol. 12, ed. O. Bopearachchi, C. Altman and Fr. Grenet, Michigan, 1998, 272 pages.
- 19. *Afghanistan. ancien carrefour entre l'Est et l'Ouest*, ed. O. Bopearachchi and M.-Fr Boussac, Archaeologies of the Indian Ocean (Proceedings of the international colloquium on 'Afghanistan. ancien carrefour entre l'Est et l'Ouest', at Musée archéologique Henri-Prades, Lattes, 5-7 May 2003), Turnhout, 2005, 539 pages.
- 20. *The Alexander Medallion. Exploring the Origins of a Unique Artefact*, ed. F. Holt and O. Bopearachchi (Proceedings of the International Roundtable held at the Ecole normale supérieure, Paris on 26 March 2007), Imago-Lattara, 2011, 104 pages.

#### PREFACES

- 21. O. Bopearachchi, 'Presidential Address', in *Origin, Evolution and Circulation of Foreign Coins in the Indian Ocean*, ed. O. Bopearachchi and D.P.M. Weerakkody, Manohar, New Delhi, 1998, pp. ix-xiii.
- 22. O. Bopearachchi, Preface to the book by D.P.M. Weerakkody, *Taprobanê: Ancient Sri Lanka as known to Greeks and Romans*, Brépols, Turnhout (Belgium), 1997, pp. i-xv.
- 23. O. Bopearachchi, C. Altman and Fr. Grenet, 'Paul Bernard', in *Alexander's Legacy in the East: Studies in Honor of Paul Bernard*, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, vol. 12, ed. O. Bopearachchi, C. Altman and Fr. Grenet, Michigan, 1998, pp. 1-2.

24. O. Bopearachchi and M.-F. Boussac 'Preface', *Afghanistan: Ancien carrefour entre l'Est et l'Ouest*, ed. O. Bopearachchi and M.-F. Boussac, Archaeologies of the Indian Ocean, Turnhout, 2005, p. 1.
25. O. Bopearachchi and F. Holt, 'Preface', *The Alexander Medallion: Exploring the Origins of a Unique Artefact*, ed. F. Holt and O. Bopearachchi (Proceedings of the International Roundtable held at the Ecole normale supérieure, Paris on 26 March 2007), Imago-Lattara, 2011, pp. 9-11.
26. O. Bopearachchi, 'Foreword', Olivier D. Hoover, *Handbook of Coins of Bactria and Ancient India*, Classical Numismatic Group, Inc. Lancaster/London, 2013, pp. vii-viii.

## ARTICLES

(Thematically arranged)

## CENTRAL ASIAN AND INDIAN NUMISMATICS

## A. Pre-Bactrian Numismatics

- 27.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Sophytes, the enigmatic ruler of Central Asia', *Nomismatika Khronika*, 15, 1996, pp. 19-32.
- 28.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Les monnaies séleucides de l'Asie Centrale et l'atelier de Bactres', in *Travaux de numismatique grecque offerts à Georges Le Rider*, ed. M. Amandry and S. Hurter, London, 1999, pp. 78-93.
- 29.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Two unreported coins from the second Mir Zakah deposit', *News Letter, Oriental Numismatic Society*, no. 165, Autumn 2000, pp. 15-16.
30. O. Bopearachchi, 'Ashoka, le premier empereur', *L'Histoire. Numéro spécial*, no. 278, 2003, pp. 36-8.
- 31.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'La politique monétaire de la Bactriane sous les Séleucides', *Topoi, Suppl.* 6, 2004, pp. 349-69.
- 32.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Royaumes grecs en Afghanistan. Nouvelles données', in *L'art d'Afghanistan de la préhistoire à nos jours*, CERDAF, Paris, 2005, pp. 49-69.
- 33.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Premières frappes locales de l'Inde du Nord-Ouest: Nouvelles données', in *Trésors d'Orient. Mélanges offerts à Rika Gyselen*, ed. Ph. Gignoux, Ch. Jullien and F. Jullien, Paris, 2009, pp. 39-50.

## B. Bactrian and Indo-Greek Numismatics

34. O. Bopearachchi, 'Roi-cavalier ou reine-amazone?', *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique*, November 1988, pp. 453-6.
35. O. Bopearachchi, 'Les derniers rois indo-grecs: une autre hypothèse', *Histoire et Cultes de l'Asie Centrale pré-islamique*, ed. Fr. Grenet, Paris, 1988, pp. 235-42.
- 36.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Monnaies indo-grecques surfrappées', *Revue Numismatique*, 1989, pp. 49-79, pls. V- VI.
37. O. Bopearachchi, 'Un roi indo-grec: Télèphe. Observations sur l'iconographie de son monnayage et la date de son règne', *Gazette numismatique suisse*, 39/1989, cahier 156, pp. 88-94.
38. O. Bopearachchi, 'Les royaumes grecs d'Asie Centrale. L'apport de la

- numismatique à leur histoire', *Les Nouvelles de l'Archéologie*, 39, 1990, pp. 21-6.
- 39.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Graeco-Bactrian issues of later Indo-Greek kings', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1990, pp. 79-104.
  - 40.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Ménandre Sôter, un roi indo-grec. Observations chronologiques et géographiques', *Studia Iranica*, 20, 1990, pp. 39-85.
  41. O. Bopearachchi, 'King Milinda's Conversion to Buddhism: Fact or Fiction?', *Ancient Ceylon*, 1990, Colombo, pp. 1-15.
  - 42.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'The Euthydemus' imitations and the Date of Sogdian Independence', in *Silk Road. Art and Archaeology*, 2, Kamakura (Japon), 1991/2, pp. 1-21 (summary in Russian in *Kul'tura drevnego i srednevekovogo Samarkanda i istoireskie svjazi Sogda*, Tashkent, 1990, pp. 30-1).
  43. O. Bopearachchi, 'Was Sagala Menander's Capital?', *South Asian Archaeology*, 1989, Papers from the Tenth International Conference of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe, Musée national des Arts asiatiques- Guimet, Paris, 3-7 July 1989, ed. C. Jarrige, Wisconsin, 1992, pp. 327-37.
  44. O. Bopearachchi, 'A new approach to the history of the Greeks in India', *Yavanika, Journal of the Indian Society for Greek and Roman Studies*, vol. 1, 1992, pp. 6-20.
  45. O. Bopearachchi, 'Coins from Mir Zakah in Private collections', *Indian Numismatics, History, Art and Culture: Essays in the Honour of Dr. P.L. Gupta*, vol. I, 1992, pp. 87-94.
  46. O. Bopearachchi, 'Elephant Headed Ganesa or Zeus-Mithra?', *Yavanika, Journal of the Indian Society for Greek and Roman Studies*, 2, 1992, pp. 97-122.
  - 47.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'On the So-called Earliest Representation of Ganesha', *Topoi* Lyon, 3/2, 1993, pp. 425-53.
  48. O. Bopearachchi, 'L'indépendance de la Bactriane', *Topoi* Lyon, 4/2, 1994, pp. 513-19.
  49. O. Bopearachchi, 'Grands trésors de monnaies pré-sasanides trouvés en Afghanistan et au Pakistan', *International Numismatic News Letter*, 24, 1994, pp. 2-3.
  50. O. Bopearachchi, 'Récentes découvertes de trésors de monnaies pré-sasanides trouvés en Afghanistan et au Pakistan', *Cahiers Numismatiques, Revue trimestrielle de la Société d'études numismatiques et archéologiques*, Septembre 1994, pp. 7-14.
  51. O. Bopearachchi, 'Recent Discoveries: Hoards and Finds of Ancient Coins from Afghanistan and Pakistan', *Yavanika, Journal of the Indian Society for Greek and Roman Studies*, 4, 1994, pp. 3-30.
  52. O. Bopearachchi, 'Découvertes récentes de trésors indo-grecs: nouvelles données historiques', *Comptes Rendus, Académie des Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres*, 1995, pp. 609-27.
  - 53.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Indian Brahman on a Coin of Indo-Greek Telephus', *News Letter, Oriental Numismatic Society*, no. 145, Summer 1995, pp. 8-9.
  - 54.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Diodotus', *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. VII, Columbia University, New York, 1995, pp. 422-3.
  55. O. Bopearachchi, 'Coins hoards from Afghanistan and Pakistan' (in Japanese), *Oriente*, 8 September 1995, pp. 13-22.

56. O. Bopearachchi, 'A Unique Indo-Greek Royal Seal of a Monetary Type', *News Letter, Oriental Numismatic Society*, 148, Spring 1996, pp. 12-13.
57. O. Bopearachchi, 'Mir Zakah: le plus grand trésor du monde', *Les Dossiers de la Monnaie*, no. 12, 1997, pp. 12-16.
58. O. Bopearachchi, 'The Posthumous Coinage of Hermaios and the Conquest of Gandhara by the Kushans', *Gandharan Art in Context: East-West Exchanges at the Crossroads of Asia*, ed. R. Allchin, B. Allchin, N. Kreitman and E. Errington, Cambridge, 1997, pp. 189-213.
59. O. Bopearachchi, 'La production monétaire en Asie Centrale et dans l'Inde du Nord-Ouest du V<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. au III<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.', in *Matériaux pour l'histoire économique du monde iranien*, ed. R. Gyselen and M. Szuppe, 1999, pp. 79-100.
60. O. Bopearachchi, 'Le dépôt de Mir Zakah. Le plus grand trésor du monde, son destin et son intérêt', *Dossiers d'Archéologie*, 248, November 1999, pp. 36-43.
- 61.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'La circulation et la production monétaires en Asie Centrale et dans l'Inde du Nord-Ouest (avant et après la conquête d'Alexandre)', *Indologica Taurinensia, Official Organ of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies*, Turin, XXV, 1999, pp. 15-119.
- 62.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Recent Coin Hoard Evidence on pre-Kushana Chronology', in *Coins, Art, and Chronology: Essays on the pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, ed. M. Alram and D.E. Klimburg-Salter, Vienna, 1999, pp. 99-149.
63. O. Bopearachchi, 'Trésors monétaires pré-Kushans trouvés en Afghanistan et au Pakistan', in *Akten XII. Internationaler Numismatischer Kongress Berlin 1997*, I, ed. B. Kluge and B. Weissner, Berlin, 2000, pp. 239-43.
- 64.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Some interesting coins from the Pandayale hoard', *News Letter, Oriental Numismatic Society*, no. 169, Autumn 2001, pp. 19-21.
- 65.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Two More Unique Coins from the Second Mir Zakah Deposit', *News Letter, Oriental Numismatic Society*, no. 169, Autumn 2001, pp. 21-2.
- 66.\* O. Bopearachchi and K. Grigo, 'Thundering Zeus revisited', *News Letter, Oriental Numismatic Society*, no. 169, Autumn 2001, pp. 22-4.
67. O. Bopearachchi, 'La présence des Grecs en Asie Centrale: nouvelles données numismatiques', *Greek Archaeology without Frontiers*, The National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens, 2002, pp. 109-26.
68. O. Bopearachchi, 'Quelques observations sur la gravure des coins indo-grecs', *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique*, May 2002, pp. 73-6.
- 69.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Diomedes Overstruck by Agathocleia', *News Letter, Oriental Numismatic Society*, 172, 2002, pp. 13-14.
- 70.\* O. Bopearachchi and K. Grigo, 'To Err is Human', *News Letter, Oriental Numismatic Society*, 172, 2002, pp. 14-15.
- 71.\* O. Bopearachchi and Ta-Cheng Li, 'Three interesting Indo-Greek coins', *News Letter, Oriental Numismatic Society*, 172, 2002, pp. 15-16.
72. O. Bopearachchi, 'Heliocles I', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. XII, fas. 2, New York, 278, 2003, p. 154.
73. O. Bopearachchi, 'Some Observations on Indo-Greek Die-engraving', *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, XXI, 2000-2 (2003), pp. 38-40.



- 74.\* O. Bopearachchi and W. Pieper, 'Over-struck and Double-struck', *News Letter, Oriental Numismatic Society*, no. 178, Winter 2004, p. 20.
- 75.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Two Rare pre-Kushan Coins', *News Letter, Oriental Numismatic Society*, no. 178, Winter 2004, pp. 18-20.
76. O. Bopearachchi, 'Indo-Greek Dynasty', *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. XIII, Columbia University, New York, 2005, pp. 96-7.
77. O. Bopearachchi, 'Les royaumes grecs en Bactriane et en Inde', *Actes du colloque international. Le monde hellénistique en orient à la lumière de fouilles archéologiques*, Athènes, 2007, XVII, 2007, pp. 51-8, pls XXXVIII-XXXI.
- 78.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'L'apport des surfrappes à la reconstruction de l'histoire des Indo-Grecs', *Revue numismatique*, 2008, pp. 245-68.
- 79.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Was Indo-Greek Artemidoros the son of Indo-Scythian Maues? Amluk Dara Hoard Revisited', *Numismatica Chronica*, 2008-9, p. 25-46.
- 80.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'A Note on Some Interesting Indo-Greek Coins', *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, no. 205, Autumn, 2010, pp. 19-21.
- 81.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'The emergence of the Graeco-Baktrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms', in *Coins from Asia Minor and the East, Selections from the Colin E. Pitchfork Collection*, ed. N.L. Wright, Numismatic Association of Australia, Adelaide, 2011, pp. 47-50, 167-79.
- 82.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Deux documents exceptionnels en numismatique indo-grecque', *Cahiers numismatiques*, no. 189, 2011, pp. 3-6.
83. Bopearachchi, 'New numismatic Evidence on the Chronology of late Indo-Greeks and Early Kushans', in *Proceedings of the Symposium on Ancient Coins and the Culture of the Silk Road*, 2011, pp. 259-83.

#### *C. Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and Kushan Numismatics*

84. O. Bopearachchi and Fr. Grenet, 'Našten, un souverain iranien inconnu entre Grecs et Kouchans', *Studia Iranica*, 22, 1993, pp. 299-307.
85. O. Bopearachchi, 'Našten, un prince iranien inconnu entre Grecs et Kouchans', *Comptes Rendus, Académie des Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres*, July-October 1993, pp. 609-11.
- 86.\* O. Bopearachchi and Fr. Grenet, 'Une monnaie en or du souverain indo-parthe Abdagases II', *Studia Iranica*, 25, 1996, pp. 219-31.
- 87.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Nashten, a Hitherto Unknown Iranian Ruler in India', *Studies in Silk Road Coins and Culture, Silk Road: Art and Archaeology*, Special Volume, 1997, Kamakura (Japan), 1997, pp. 67-74.
- 88.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Indo-Parthians', *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse*, Beiträge des Internationalen Colloquiums, Eutin, 27-9 June 1996, Stuttgart, 1998, pp. 389-406.
- 89.\* Fr. Grenet and O. Bopearachchi 'Une nouvelle monnaie en or d'Abdagases II', *Studia Iranica*, 28, 1999, pp. 73-82.
- 90.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Les données numismatiques et la datation du bazar de Begram', *Topoi*, Lyon, 2001, pp. 411-35.
- 91.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Sabadana or Sarpadana', *News Letter, Oriental Numismatic Society*, no. 169, Autumn 2001, p. 21.
92. O. Bopearachchi, 'Chronologie et généalogie des premiers rois kushans: nouvelles données', *Comptes Rendus, Académie des Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres*, juillet-octobre 2006, pp. 1433-47.

- 93.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Some Observations on the Chronology of the Early Kushans', *Res Orientales*, XVII, 2007, pp. 41-53.
94. O. Bopearachchi, 'Alfred Foucher et les études numismatiques bactriennes', in *Bouddhismes d'Asies. Monuments et littératures. Journée d'étude en hommage à Alfred Foucher (1865-1952)*, 2009, pp. 243-66. The same in *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes Rendus*, Novembre-Décembre 2007, pp. 1875-97.
95. O. Bopearachchi, 'Jihonika', *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. VIV, Columbia University, New York, 2008, p. 645.
96. O. Bopearachchi and W. Pieper, 'Siva Cursing Apasmarapurusa on a Huvishka Coin', *News Letter, Oriental Numismatic Society*, no. 200, Summer 2009, pp. 35-6.
97. O. Bopearachchi, 'Kadphises, Kujula', *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. VII, Columbia University, New York, XV, 2009, pp. 331-2.
- 98.\* O. Bopearachchi and M. Blet-Lemarquand, 'Begram Stūpa Deposit: Further Study on the Origin of Kushan gold', in *Re-Visiting Early India: Essays in Honour of D.C. Sircar*, ed. S. Ghosh et al., B.N. Bhattacharya, Kolkata, 2013, pp. 29-36.

#### *D. Cultural Heritage of Afghnaistan*

99. O. Bopearachchi, 'Recent Discoveries of Coin Hoards in Afghanistan and Pakistan: A Question of Clandestine Diggings and the Illicit Traffic in Antiquities', *Newsletter, Circle of Inner Asian Art*, 8, November 1998, pp. 8-12.
100. O. Bopearachchi, 'Ai Khanoum, un triste destin', *Dossiers Archéologie, Empires Perses d'Alexandre aux Sassanides*, no. 243, May 1999, p. 35.
101. O. Bopearachchi, 'Quelle politique adopter face à la dispersion du patrimoine? Le cas de l'Afghanistan et du Pakistan', *L'Avenir des musées*, Actes du colloque organisé au musée du Louvre, les 23, 24 and 25 mars 2000, Paris, 2001, pp. 289-306.
102. O. Bopearachchi, 'Trésors monétaires découvertes et pillage', in *Afghanistan. Patrimoine en péril. Actes d'une journée d'étude*, Centre d'Études et de recherches documents sur l'Afghanistan, Paris, 2001, pp. 97-108.
- 103.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Vandalised Afghanistan', *Frontline, India's National Magazine*, 19, March 2002, pp. 66-70.
104. O. Bopearachchi, 'The Destruction of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage', *News Letter. International Institute for Asian Studies*, 27 March, 2002, pp. 13-14.
105. O. Bopearachchi, 'Nouvelles trouvailles archéologiques en Afghanistan et au Pakistan et la destruction du patrimoine', *La Timoride. Spécial Afghanistan*, Paris, 24, 2002, pp. 10-20.
106. O. Bopearachchi, 'Preserving Afghanistan's cultural heritage', *Caucasus and Central Asian Newsletter*, Winter 2000/3, pp.17-19.
107. O. Bopearachchi, 'Vandalized Afghanistan', *Nomismatic Chronica*, 2002, pp. 91-9.
108. O. Bopearachchi, 'Sauvegarder le patrimoine afghan', *Parages*, Spring, 8, 2003, pp. 55-65.
- 109.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Preserving Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage: What is to be Done', in *Of the Past, for the Future: Integrating Archaeology and Conservation*, ed. N. Agnew and J. Bridgland, Paul Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles, 2006, pp. 266-72.

- 110.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'A Joy and a Curse', *The Alexander Medallion. Exploring the Origins of a Unique Artefact*, ed. F. Holt and O. Bopearachchi, Imago-Lattara, 2011, pp. 33-73.

#### ART HISTORY AND MARITIME TRADE

##### A. Central Asian and Indian Art

- 111.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'A Faience Head of a Graeco-Bactrian King from Ai Khanum', in *Alexander's Legacy in the East: Studies in Honor of Paul Bernard*, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, vol. 12, ed. O. Bopearachchi, C. Altman and F. Grenet, Michigan, 1998, pp. 23-30.
- 112.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Gilded Silver Statue of a Modest Venus from Begram', in *Papers in Honour of Francine Tissot, Silk Road: Art and Archaeology*, 6, ed. E. Errington and O. Bopearachchi, Kamakura (Japan), 1999/2000, pp. 75-81.
113. O. Bopearachchi and Ch. Sachs, 'Armure et armes des Indo-Scythes d'après leurs émissions monétaires et les données archéologiques', *Topoi*, Lyon, 2001, pp. 321-55.
114. O. Bopearachchi, 'The Contribution of Greeks to Art and Culture of Bactria and India: New Archaeological Evidence', *The Journal of Indo-Turcia (JIT)*, Malatya, 2001, pp. 171-92.
- 115.\* P. Bernard and O. Bopearachchi, 'Deux bracelets grecs avec inscriptions grecques trouvés dans l'Asie Centrale hellénisée', *Journal des Savants*, 2002, pp. 237-78.
116. O. Bopearachchi, 'Contribution of Greeks to the Art and Culture of Bactria and India: New Archaeological Evidence', *The Indian Historical Review*, XXXII, 2005, pp. 103-25.
117. O. Bopearachchi, 'Découvertes récentes de sculptures hellénistiques en Asie centrale', in *Art et archéologie des monastères gréco-bouddhiques du Nord-Ouest de l'Inde et de l'Asie Centrale, Actes du colloque international du Crpoga (Strasbourg, 17-18 mars 2000)*, ed. Z. Tarzi and D. Vaillancourt, De Boccard, Paris, 2005, pp. 51-65.
118. O. Bopearachchi, 'Recent archaeological discoveries from Afghanistan and Pakistan', *Bulletin of Miho Museum*, vol. V, 2005, pp. 19-30.
119. O. Bopearachchi, 'L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara', in *Pakistan. Un autre regard*, ed. D. Evmoon, 2005, pp. 8-15.
- 120.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Acroliths from Bactria and Gandhāra', in *On the Cusp of an Era: Art in the Pre-Kushana World*, ed. D. Meth-Srinivasan, Leiden-Boston, 2007, pp. 119-32, pls. 5.1-5.10.
- 121.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'An Enigmatic Image of Varaha-Visnu from Gandhāra', *Jnana-Pravaha Research Journal*, XII, 2008-9, pp. 102-4, pls. 14.1-2.
122. O. Bopearachchi, 'In Search of Utpalavarṇā in Gadhārān Buddhist Art', in *Un impaziente desiderio di scorrere il mondo. Studi in onore di Antonio Invernizzi per il suo stantesimo compleanno*, ed. C. Lippolis and S. de Martino, Le Lettere, Firenze, 2011, pp. 253-367.
123. Fr. Baratte, O. Bopearachchi, R. Gyselen and N. Sims-Williams, 'Un plat romain inscrit en Bactrien et Parsig', *Res Orientales*, XXI, 2012, pp. 9-28.
124. O. Bopearachchi, 'Avalokiteśvara-Padmapani dans l'art bouddhique du

- Gandhāra: nouvelles données', in *Autour de Bamiyan. De la Bactriane hellénisée à l'Inde bouddhique*, ed. G. Ducoeur, De Boccard, Paris, 2012, pp. 337-43.
125. O. Bopearachchi, 'Chronology of the Early Kushans: New Evidence', in *Glory of the Kushans: Recent Discoveries and Interpretations*, ed. V. Jayaswal, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2012, pp. 123-36.
- 126.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Les premiers souverains kouchans: Chronologie et iconographie monétaire', *Journal des Savants*, janvier-juin 2008, pp. 3-56.

#### B. South Indian and Sri Lankan Art

127. O. Bopearachchi, 'Sigiriya, un point culminant de l'architecture civile de l'antique Ceylan', *Bulletin de l'Association française des amis de l'Orient*, no. 34, Printemps 1992, p. 16.
128. O. Bopearachchi, 'Les jardins de Sigiriya au Sri Lanka', *Asies II, Aménager l'Espace*, ed. F. Blanchon, Paris, 1993, pp. 239-61.
129. O. Bopearachchi, 'Artbouddhique', *Dictionnaire du Bouddhisme. Encyclopaedia Universalis*, 1999, p. 522.
130. O. Bopearachchi, 'Sri Lanka. L'archéologie du bouddhisme', *Dossiers Archéologie*, 254, June 2000, pp. 68-77.
- 131.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Sculptures of Amaravati Tradition in Sri Lanka', *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. L, 2008, pp. 1-26.
- 132.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Andhra-Tamilnadu and Sri Lanka: Early Buddhist Sculptures of Sri Lanka', in *New Dimensions of Tamil Epigraphy*, ed. A. Murugaiyan, Cre-A, 2012, pp. 49-68.
133. O. Bopearachchi, 'Sri Lanka and the Maritime Trade: The Impact of the Role of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara as the Protector of Mariners', in *Asian Encounters Networks of Cultural Interaction*, ed. P. Dhar and U. Singh, New Delhi, 2013, pp. 163-90.

#### C. Maritime Trade in the Indian Ocean

134. O. Bopearachchi, 'Some Observations on the Roman Coins Found in the Recent Excavations at Sigiriya', *Ancient Ceylon*, 1990, Colombo, pp. 20-37.
135. O. Bopearachchi, 'Le commerce maritime entre Rome et Sri Lanka d'après les données numismatiques', *L'Océan et les mers lointaines in l'antiquité*, Actes du colloque de la Société des Professeurs d'Histoire Ancienne de l'Université de Nantes-Angers, 24-26 mai 1991, Paris, 1992, pp. 107-21; *Revue des études Anciennes*, 1992, pp. 107-21.
136. O. Bopearachchi, 'La circulation des monnaies d'origine étrangère dans l'antique Sri Lanka', *Res Orientales*, V, Leuven, 1993, pp. 63-87.
137. O. Bopearachchi, 'Sea-borne and Inland Trade of Ancient Sri Lanka: First Results of the Sri Lanka-French Exploratory Program', *South Asian Archaeology*, 1995, pp. 285-99.
138. O. Bopearachchi, 'Recent Discoveries of Ancient Foreign Coins, Hitherto Unknown in Sri Lankan Context', *Sesquicentennial Commemorative Volume, Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka 1845-1995*, Colombo, 1995, pp. 127-39, pls. I and II.
- 139.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Seafaring in the Indian Ocean: Archaeological Evidence

- from Sri Lanka', in *Tradition and Archaeology: Early Maritime Contacts in the Indian Ocean*, ed. H.P. Ray and J.-F. Salles, New Delhi, 1996, pp. 59-77.
140. O. Bopearachchi, 'Fouilles archéologiques au Sri Lanka: commerce maritime entre l'empire romain, le monde indien et l'Extrême Orient', *Bonjour, Alliance française du Sri Lanka*, no. 26, October 1996, pp. 5-12.
  141. O. Bopearachchi, 'Antichità dello Sri Lanka', *Archeo. Attualità del Passato, Dossier, Rome*, anno XIII, no. 2 (144), February 1997, p. 12.
  142. O. Bopearachchi, 'Ancient Coins in Sri Lanka', *Economic Review*, vol. 23, October/November 1997, pp. 21-6.
  143. O. Bopearachchi, 'The Maritime Silk Roads: Trade Relations between Central Asia and Sri Lanka from the Evidence of Recent Excavations', *Silk Road: Art and Archaeology*, 5, Kamakura (Japan), 1997/8, pp. 269-95.
  - 144.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Codrington's studies on Sri Lankan numismatics: Past and Present' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka*, XLI, Special Number, 1998, pp. 39-64.
  - 145.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Archaeological Evidence on Changing Patterns of International Trade Relations of Ancient Sri Lanka', in *Origin, Evolution and Circulation of Foreign Coins in the Indian Ocean*, ed. O. Bopearachchi and D.P.M. Weerakkody, New Delhi, 1998, pp. 133-78.
  - 146.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Sites portuaires et emporia de l'ancien Sri Lanka: nouvelles données archéologiques', *Arts Asiatiques*, 54, 1999, pp. 5-22.
  147. O. Bopearachchi, H. Falk and R. Wickremesinhe, 'Earliest Inscribed Coins, Moulds, Seals and Sealings from Tissamaharama (Sri Lanka)', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 2000, pp. 117-34.
  148. O. Bopearachchi, 'Ancient Sri Lanka: New Archaeological Data of the Trade between Rome and China', in *Men and Monuments: D.T. Devendra, A Century Tribute*, ed. L. Prematilake, Colombo, 2001, pp. 97-112.
  149. O. Bopearachchi, '*Puratana sri lankava saha tamil naduva atara thibu sanskrutika ha vanija sambandata pilibada nawa puravidyatmaka sakshi*' (in Sinhalese), *Pravada*, Colombo, 18, April-Juin 2001, pp. 57-73.
  - 150.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Archaeological Evidence on Shipping Communities of Sri Lanka', in *Ships and the Development of Maritime Technology in the Indian Ocean*, ed. D. Parkin and R. Barnes, London, 2002, pp. 92-127.
  151. O. Bopearachchi, 'Mission française de coopération archéologique au Sri Lanka', *L'Archéologie à l'École normale supérieure*, Paris, 2002, pp. 143-4.
  152. O. Bopearachchi, 'Les relations commerciales et culturelles entre Sri Lanka et Inde du sud: Nouvelles données archéologiques et épigraphiques', *Cahier du cercle d'études et de recherches sri lankaise*, 2002, pp. 1-16.
  153. O. Bopearachchi, 'Archaeological Evidence on Cultural and Commercial Relationships between Ancient Sri Lanka and South India', in *Honouring Martin Quéré o.m.i.*, ed. G. Robuchon, Clamecy, 2002, pp. 60-75.
  154. O. Bopearachchi and K. Rajan, 'Graffiti Marks of Kodumanal (India) and Ridiyagama (Sri Lanka) – A Comparative Study', *Man and Environment XXVII* (2) 2002, pp. 97-105.
  - 155.\* O. Bopearachchi and K. Ratnatunga, 'An inscribed Abhisheka Lakshmi Coin from Sri Lanka', *News Letter, Oriental Numismatic Society*, no. 178, Winter 2004, pp. 20-1.
  156. O. Bopearachchi, 'Ancient Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu: Maritime Trade', in *South*

- Asian Horizons. Felicitation Volume for François Gros*, ed. J.-L. Chevallard and E. Wilden, EFEO, Pondichéry, 2004, pp. 539-51.
157. O. Bopearachchi, 'New archaeological Evidence on Cultural and Commercial Relations between Ancient Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu', *Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies in History and Archaeology*, vol. 1, Summer 2004, pp. 60-72.
  - 158.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Circulation of Roman and Byzantine Gold Coins in Sri Lanka: Fact or Fiction', *Dal Denarius al Dinar l'Oriente e la Moneta Romana*, Rome, 2006, pp. 181-200.
  159. O. Bopearachchi, 'Coins', in *Anuradhapura: The British-Sri Lankan Excavations at Anuradhapura Salgaha Watta 2*, *British Archaeological Reports (BAR)*, ed. R. Coningham, Oxford, 2006, pp. 7-26.
  - 160.\* O. Bopearachchi, *Tamil Traders in Sri Lanka and Sinhalese Traders in Tamil Nadu*, monograph, International Centre for Ethnic Studies, Colombo, 2008, 32 p.
  161. O. Bopearachchi, S. Disanayaka and N. Perera, 'Recent Archaeological Evidence on the Maritime Trade in the Indian Ocean: Shipwreck at Godavaya', in *The Ports of the Indian Ocean from the Red Sea to the Gulf of Bengal*, Kolkata, ed. M.-F. Boussac and J.-F. Salles, Calcutta, 2013, pp. 393-411.

#### D. Book Reviews

162. O. Bopearachchi, 'Le monnayage de la Bactriane et de l'Inde antique', *A Survey of Numismatic Research 1985-1990*, Bruxelles, 1991, pp. 131-38.
163. O. Bopearachchi, Review of R. Krishnamurthy, on *Late Roman Copper Coins from South India: Karur and Madurai*, Madras 1994, in *News Letter, Oriental Numismatic Society*, no. 141, Summer 1994, pp. 3-4.
164. O. Bopearachchi, Review of Ellen M. Raven's, *Gupta Gold Coins with a Garuda-Banner: Samudragupta – Skandagupta*, Garnet Publications (2 vols) 1994, *South Asian Archaeology*, 12, 1996, pp. 161-2.
165. O. Bopearachchi, Review of *Metallurgy in Numismatics*, vol. 3, ed. M.M. Archibald and M.R. Cowell, Royal Numismatic Society, London, 1993, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1997, pp. 251-3.
- 166.\* O. Bopearachchi, 'Bactrian and Indo-Greek Coins', *A Survey of Numismatic Research 1990-1995*, ed. C. Morrisson and B. Kluge, Berlin, 1997, pp. 137-41.
167. O. Bopearachchi, 'Gréco-Bactriens, Indo-Grecs, Indo-Scythes, Indo-Parthes', *A Survey of Numismatic Research 1996-2001*, Madrid, 2003, pp. 189-94.
168. O. Bopearachchi, 'Numismatique des Kouchans', *A Survey of Numismatic Research 1996-2001*, Madrid, 2003, pp. 669-73.
169. O. Bopearachchi, 'Inde du Sud et Sri Lanka', *A Survey of Numismatic Research 1996-2001*, Madrid, 2003, pp. 685-8.
170. O. Bopearachchi, 'Etudes numismatiques kouchanes', in International Numismatic Commission (General Editors M. Amandry and D. Bateson), *A Survey of Numismatic Research 2002-2007*, *International Association of Professional Numismatists*, Special Publication 15, Glasgow 2009, pp. 505-7.
171. O. Bopearachchi, Ingo Strauch, *Foreign Sailors on Socotra: The Inscriptions and Drawings from the Cave Hoq*, *Verleichende Studien zu Antike und Orient*, no. 3, Hemen Verlag, 2012, Bremen, in *Topoi*, 2013.



